

Södertörn University College | School of Life Sciences | Development
and International Cooperation
Bachelor's Thesis 15 ECTS | Spring Semester 2012

Women's education at The Open University of Tanzania - a road to development?

By: Amanda Anderson

Supervisor: Arnold Renting



ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the importance of higher education for women of Babati, Tanzania. The research has been carried out by focusing three research questions; What does an education at the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) mean for the female students on a personal level? What is the female students' perception on the importance of women's higher education for development? How can the female students' perceptions on the importance of women's higher education be analyzed within the context of the term women empowerment?

In order to answer these questions semi-structured interviews were conducted in Babati town, Tanzania in February 2012 with female students and graduates of the Open University of Tanzania. Out of these interviews is concluded that higher education has significant personal effects for the women interviewed such as increased happiness, independence and self-esteem, which in turn have effects on development. Also it can be shown that the definition of the term women empowerment is disputed and thereby insufficient as a mean for development.

Keywords: Higher education, women empowerment, personal development

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1:1 BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM FORMULATION	1
1:2 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	3
2. METHODOLOGY	4
2:1 FIELDWORK PREPERATIONS	4
2:2 THE FIELDWORK	4
2:3 CHOICE OF METHOD AND RESPONDENTS	5
2:4 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	6
2:5 CRITICISM OF THE SOURCES	6
2:6 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS	7
2:6:1 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY	8
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	10
3:1 PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT	10
3:1:1 DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM	10
3:1:2 HAPPINESS	11
3:2 TERTIARY EDUCATION	11
3:2:1 DEVELOPMENT	13
3:2:2 EDUCATION AND GLOBALIZATION	13
3:3 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT	14
3:3:1 POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM	15
4. RESULTS AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS	17
4:1 PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT	17
4:2 TERTIARY EDUCATION	19
4:3 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT	24
5. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS	26
5:1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES	28
LIST OF REFERENCES	
APPENDIX 1	

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to give an introduction and background information regarding higher education globally and in Tanzania. Further the thesis problem formulation, its purpose and research questions are included.

The importance of higher education is today apparent and the number of students gaining access to tertiary education is increasing in all parts of the world. The global economy is increasingly getting more knowledge-driven and therefore a well educated population is of great importance. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) tertiary education contributes to social and economic development through the formation of human capital and the building, use and maintenance of knowledge (OECD 2008, p. 13). Tertiary education can therefore be seen as especially important for poor countries as Tanzania. To have a well educated population, and especially women, may be one of the most important steps towards social and economical development.

The number of students who continue their education from secondary to tertiary level is increasing all over the world. Globally the amount of students in tertiary education has grown from 32 million in 1970 to 159 million in 2008 (UNESCO 2010, p.12). We can also see a positive trend regarding gender disparities: since the 1970s women enrolment are exceeding men in several regions such as Latin America, Central Europe and North America. In two out of every three countries with data, female enrolment ratios in higher education are exceeding those of men. Despite this global progress Sub-Saharan Africa is falling behind. In 2008 the participation in the region in tertiary education was 10 percent or less, and the gender dissimilarities are severe. There was a positive progress in gender parity at the tertiary level in the region during the 1990s but the process stagnated in 2000. Today none of the countries in the region have been able to achieve gender equivalence at this level of education (ibid, p. 68-69).

1:1 BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM FORMULATION

Despite this grim outlook, in Tanzania progress has been made. Here, enrolment in universities has increased from around 37,000 students in 2004/05 to almost 119,000 students in 2009/10. Together with students enrolled in non-university tertiary institutions the total tertiary enrolment in 2009/10 reached just over 169,000. Despite this increase, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) for the tertiary level of education is at a low 5, 3 percent (Mshoro 2010). The GER for the tertiary level of education in Sweden were, in 2009, 71 percent (The

World Bank, n.d.). Out of the 169,000 students enrolled in tertiary education in Tanzania 2010, 45 percent were women (UNESCO n.d.).

One of the largest institutions for higher education in Tanzania is The Open University of Tanzania (OUT). The OUT was founded in 1992 and is today a nationwide learning institution with 25 regional centers across the country (OUT Prospectus 2011/2012, p.4). One of these centers is the Manyara regional center which is located in Babati town, Manyara region. For the entire OUT the total number of enrolled students were, in 2008, 44 099 (OUT, n.d.). Students enrolled in the Manyara regional center were, in 2011/12, around 500. Out of these 500 students approximately 45 % are female (Interview with R12).

That women's education and women empowerment is an important part of development is not a modern day perception. Since the United Nations (UN) declared the "Decade of Women" in 1975 the worlds' focus on women empowerment and women rights have ever more increased. One of the main focus areas for Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the UN and international actors was then, and are still today, women's education. It was assumed that if women learned their rights empowerment would be the result (Medel-Anonuevo 1995, p.5). Following the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" conducted in 1948, the "UN Declaration of the Decade of Women" was pushed through by the growing feminist movement during the 1970s. 1975 was stated as the International Women's year and the Decade of Women was declared the years 1976-1985. The first World Conference on Women was also held in 1975 and was followed by a second conference in 1980. Since then the UNs focus on women have steadily increased with several conferences, the formulation of the number three Millennium Development Goal (MDG) "Promote gender equality and empower women", the forming of UN Women in 2011 and more (UN n.d.).

Also in development studies women empowerment is a topic of constant discussion. There is a large consensus amongst scholars that women play a crucial role in development. The well known writer Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom states that development can be seen as a process where peoples' freedoms' broaden. He describes several important outcomes deriving from women empowerment, one of these is the correlation between women gaining education and lower fertility ratios (Sen 2002, p. 284). There is also a more critical voice being heard from feminist theorists such as Chandra Talpade Mohanty. In her classic work "Under Western Eyes" she criticizes the "*global hegemony of Western scholarship*" (Mohanty 2003, p.21) and means that women cannot be seen as a homogenous

group. Mohanty means that by talking about empowering the “women of Africa” problems are created since it form a homogenous “third-world woman” that stands in contrast to the “western woman” (Mohanty 2003).

It is important to look closer into this subject since women empowerment and women's education is constant up-to-date topics. The correlation between women's higher education and development as well as women empowerment and development is today seen as a given fact and is not being questioned. Here a problem exists of partly disagreement on the term women empowerments' definition as well as a gap between perceptions on the importance of women's higher education between theory and practice. A third problem is the neglect of the importance of personal gains through higher education. The results of women's higher education which we cannot measure, such as happiness, is not being taken seriously despite the fact that these results seems to be the most apparent.

1:2 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the OUT's importance for the women of Babati, Tanzania. Additionally it will examine the correlation between women's higher education and development. This is important and interesting to investigate since the correlation between women's higher education and development is seen by many to be non-questionable. One part of this thesis aim to investigate the meaning and concept of women empowerment and to understand how the term can be understood. Another part will focus on the personal importance of education for the female students and to investigate if the personal gains can be interlinked with development.

To obtain as much useful information and data as possible, these three research questions were focused on:

- What does an education at the OUT mean for the female students on a personal level?
- What is the female students' perception on the importance of women's higher education for development?
- How can the female students' perception on the importance of women's higher education be analyzed within the context of the term women empowerment?

2. METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to explain the process of the study and the methods chosen. Interview technique, respondent selection and methodological reflections are also included.

2:1 FIELDWORK PREPERATIONS

Prior to the excursion in February 2012 a number of lectures were given in order to gain as much information about Tanzania as possible. Different aspects that could be of use were discussed such as natural resources, political system and economics. The aim was to give an all-embracing knowledge and understanding about the Tanzanian society. With this background knowledge and also due to personal interest women's higher education were set to be the topic of the thesis. Initial purpose and research question were formed in consent with the thesis supervisor and a memorandum was written. Preparations for the theoretical framework were conducted through reading literature and previous research, in order to gain insight into the complex scholarly ground. Also phrases on Swahili, which is the primarily used language in Tanzania, and courtesies was learned in order to easily make contact and create bonds with the local population. During the first week in Tanzania further preparations were conducted in form of excursions and visits to different places around Babati. Visits were made at different farmers and agricultures, schools, churches and hospitals in order to gain insight in the Tanzanian society and the context in which the thesis was to be written.

2:2 THE FIELDWORK

In February 2012 the just over three week field study was conducted in the town of Babati, Tanzania. After an almost 24-hour journey, we arrived to Babati which is a district located in the Manyara region in the northern part of Tanzania. Here approximately 300 000 people lives in two different parts, Babati rural and Babati urban. This thesis was conducted in the urban part of Babati also called Babati town. Babati town is a fast growing town with an increasing population mainly due to the road that goes through it and works as a travel route for commercial traffic. We settled in at our guest houses and at the conference centre where we would come to spend most of our time. After the first introduction week the field studies began with an introductory meeting with the field assistants. Two other students and I were allocated a field assistant which were a member of the OUT staff and therefore suited this thesis well. With the field assistant it was decided that I was to execute the majority of my

interviews together with one of the other students. This was decided since we had similar topics and because it would simplify the process of finding respondents.

2:3 CHOICE OF METHOD AND RESPONDENTS

Since the aim of this thesis was to discover respondents' perceptions on different subjects the method of semi-structured interviews was chosen. This was the best possible method since quantitative methods would not give sufficient information and structured interviews would not give room for the respondents' own thoughts and perceptions. The aim with the interviews was partly to reach a discussion and not only the researcher asking questions and the respondents answering.

The thesis is deductive in the sense that its' foundation is the theoretical framework and also inductive since the results is derived from the empirical research. This mixture between deduction and induction is called abduction and for this thesis the interaction between theory and empirical analysis gives the most fruitful results.

After discussing with the field assistant it was decided that the first interviews were to be conducted with staff of the OUT. Two members of the staff were interviewed in order to gain background information about the university. After these initial interviews it was decided that the main respondents would be female students of the OUT and female graduates of the OUT. I wanted to interview both students and graduates in order to gain information about their perception on the importance of higher education and development. The graduates could give information about what their education had led to after graduation and this was interesting in order to find out if they had been employed and if their overall life-quality had improved. In the end nine women were interviewed, five which were currently studying at the OUT and four who had graduated. One of the interviews was a group interview with three graduates, this was because they worked at the same school and it was easiest to interview them at the same time. The rest of the interviews were conducted with one respondent. Two additional interviews were conducted, one with a woman who had not studied at the OUT but had lived in Babati her whole life and had great overall insight. This interview was conducted at the end of the field studies in order to gain overall knowledge about the situation for women in Babati and also how it has changed over time. The respondent was recommended both by the field assistant and by Vesa-Matti Loiske, one of the teachers during the field studies, because of her great knowledge about Babati and its societal context. The final interview was conducted with my field assistant who also was a member of the OUT staff in order to summarize the

findings and discuss further the concept of women empowerment since I, during the interviews, began to reflect over the terms' definition.

The primary respondents were the nine female students and graduates, the additional four interviews worked as a complement to the thesis material. Ten out of the thirteen interviewees were female, the two members of the OUT and also the field assistant were male. The main respondents were from the start decided to be female since the aim of the thesis was to discover and discuss women's perceptions. A conscious decision to not interview any male students or graduates was made since the thesis aim was to investigate the importance of women's higher education from the women's point of view. Therefore it was decided that the male perspective was irrelevant. All the respondents were found through the field assistant due to his vast network with both students and graduates of the OUT that he gained through his employment at the university. Without the field assistant it would have been a more difficult task to make contact with suitable respondents.

2:4 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Since, during the field studies, I began to reflect on the meaning of the term women empowerment, but never discussed it with the interviewees, a method of discourse analysis has been used. The aspect of women empowerment was not included in the original thesis plan and was therefore not discussed with the interviewees but the choice to include it in the thesis has been made later when I started to reflect upon the interviewees' perception on the importance of women's higher education. The definition of women empowerment became questionable. Discourse analysis is a way to discover the underlying perceptions and contexts which are not being spelled out: it is a way to read between the lines. Discourse analysis is not only breaking the distinction between idea and reality, it is also weaves together language and action (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 306). With the tool of discourse analysis I was able to read between the lines and find the complexity of problems with the term women empowerment which is further discussed in the results and the empirical analysis.

2:5 CRITICISM OF THE SOURCES

The different sources which have been used in this thesis will here be presented and discussed. The first source is the writer and scientist Amartya Sen, Sen is originally an Indian economist who today works as a professor at Harvard University. Sen received the Nobel price of economics in 1998 for his research on famine catastrophes. Sen is perceived to be

reliable in the sense that he is a well renowned writer and scientist with a long working life in the field of development science. The Task Force on Higher Education and Society is used as a source when looking at the importance of higher education for development. The Task Force was put together by the World Bank and UNESCO and consists of 13 experts from different countries. The Task Force' report is used as a foundation for investigating the importance of higher education and is seen as reliable in the sense that it is conducted by prestigious international institutions. However it must be kept in mind that the World Bank and UNESCO are western organizations bound by the global framework and the western hegemony. The report is probably written with intentions which we cannot know of, therefore a critical viewpoint when reading the material is necessary.

A third source which is being used in the section on women empowerment is the feminist writer Chandra Talpade Mohanty. Mohanty is seen as a front figure for post-colonial feminism and her work "Under Western Eyes", which is used in this thesis, is perceived to be an eminent work criticizing western feminism and the western hegemony. Mohanty is seen as reliable since she is widely seen as a prominent agent of post-colonial feminism and her work is therefore suitable to use when discussing this subject.

In excess of these three main sources former research on the subject of higher education and women empowerment has been used. Karlsson and Mansory and their research in Afghanistan, Parparts' discussion on empowerment, Kadeer and her definition of women empowerment and others. To be able to retrieve an overview on the subjects of higher education, women empowerment and also personal development and happiness, many sources has been used and former research has been looked through. This has given the thesis an understanding of what has been previously written and thereby what deficits that can be identified.

Besides the secondary sources that have been used the primary source of this thesis are the respondents. These are presented in the previous part of this chapter and some general information is given in Appendix 1.

2:6 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Since the majority of the interviews were conducted together with another student the two theses are inevitably in some ways weaved together. This thesis was expanded through the other students' thesis since the other students' interview questions were of use for this thesis

as well. This I do not perceive to be a problem, on the contrary this thesis gained dimensions which had been overlooked if the interviews had been conducted by me alone. The other student's thesis treats personal gains through higher education and therefore, through the questions on that subject, a part of this thesis came to treat personal gains as well. Besides that similarity the two theses is separated and I do not believe there is any problem with the two being too much alike.

Since the interviewees were educated at a higher level the interviews were conducted in English and the majority without the field assistant present. In one of the interviews some communication issues appeared since the respondent did not understand some of the questions, this was easily solved when the field assistant asked the questions in Swahili and translated the answers to us. Besides this one interview there were no problems with communication since the respondents spoke English well. In other cases where you need to work with a translator difficulties can appear such as misunderstandings and information getting lost in translation.

The one interview which was conducted with three respondents may be less reliable than the rest of the interviews. This is because when having other people present during the interview the respondent may refrain from expressing a feeling or opinion. It is difficult to have a deep discussion when others are present and therefore this interview may not have been successful in discovering the respondents' true perceptions. Except this specific interview some other disturbances were present during a majority of the interviews. These disturbances could be other people being present in the room, other people passing through and moving in the area, phones ringing and the respondent answering etcetera. None of these disturbances were specifically severe but a bit trying, both for me and for the respondent, when a conversation or discussion was interrupted.

2:6:1 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability of research is concerned with whether the results of a study are repeatable or not (Bryman 2008, p.31). A big part of this thesis is composed of my own thoughts and perceptions and therefore would it be a difficult task for another researcher to find the same results. A post-modernist approach to the findings has been used in this thesis in the sense that I, as researcher, have interpreted the findings. Post-modernism is a complex way of thinking which is characterized by a suspicion on the implication that it is possible to find a definitive version of any reality (ibid, p.680). Since the findings of this thesis are based upon the

researchers interpretation of the reality, the results is hardly repeatable. Here the role of the researcher is arguable since I myself have a backpack of knowledge and a way of seeing and interpreting the results. The mechanisms of different contexts are difficult to shed light on and with the use of the post-modernist approach and also discourse analysis my role in the interpretation of the results is prominent. A conscious decision has been made to allow my own interpretation on the results, especially in the section on women empowerment. The post-modernist approach is a way of questioning our capacity ever to know anything since researchers cannot make the same interpretations. Therefore this thesis is not repeatable.

The validity of research can be divided in two areas, the internal and the external. The internal validity is concerned with whether or not the research is measuring what was intended to be measured (ibid, p.32). This is one of the most difficult parts of doing research since it can be hard to abide by the thesis purpose and research questions. This thesis is perceived as internally valid since the research questions is followed through the whole thesis and also in the results and analysis answered to. The external validity is more difficult to establish. External validity is defined by whether the results are generalizable beyond the specific research context (ibid, p.33). A qualitative research like this is hard to generalize since it is based upon personal reflections, perceptions and feelings. The aim of this thesis is to find perceptions on the importance of women's higher education and the personal importance for the women interviewed. With the focus on personal gains and perceptions the study is confined to the respondents and therefore not generalizable.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aim to present the different theoretical frameworks which have been used in the research project. The chapter is divided in three different sections according to the research questions: personal development, tertiary education and women empowerment.

3:1 PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

3:1:1 DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM

Amartya Sen is with his theory of “development as freedom” criticizing the conventional way of defining development as increase in gross domestic product (GDP) and as industrialization. Sen means that development can, and should be, viewed as processes where peoples’ real freedoms are expanding. He means that economic growth and industrialization is two of the means needed for development but that development is dependent on other aspects as well. These aspects are political, e.g. the right to participate in public debate, economical and also social, such as the access to medical care and education. These aspects, amongst several, are by Sen seen as inevitable parts of development, their importance for development is not contingent by their contribution to GDP growth, it is rather peoples’ expansion of freedoms through these aspects that are in the core of development. The personal growth gained through the expansion of real freedoms is according to Sen both the means and the goal of development (Sen 2002, p. 17-20). The different aspects are also contributing to each other. Social possibilities are the measures being made by the community for e.g. education and healthcare and that have impact on the individual freedom. These measures are not only important for the individuals’ life in the direct aspects of being healthy and such, but also for political and economical participation. For example, the possibility to gain education and learn how to read contributes to a persons’ political participation through the access of newspapers (ibid, p. 57-58). Sen also discusses the importance of women’s education and the many effects it has. One of the most important impacts, according to Sen, is the decrease in fertility rates. Educated women have a stronger position in the family and therefore have greater influence on family planning matters (ibid, p. 208). He also shows that mortality rates amongst children decreases alongside women gaining education. This correlation is due to many different reasons but maybe mostly because of mothers care for their children’s wellbeing and due to the possibilities educated women have to steer the family’s decisions in that direction (ibid, p. 277). Sen also discuss the importance of strengthening women’s voice and women’s actions through independence and influence. This is to be achieved through opportunities for livelihoods, their economical role outside the home, education, and right to

ownership etc. (ibid, p. 270). He illuminates the fact that a positive progress in one area of a woman's life often has positive effects on other aspects as well. Work outside the house, for an example, leads to the woman's contribution to the family being more visible which in turn leads to the woman having a stronger voice since she is less dependent on others. Freedom in one area seems to benefit freedom in other areas as well (ibid, p. 276).

3:1:2 HAPPINESS

Another aspect of personal development that is closely interlinked with freedom is happiness. Recent investigations, like those discussed in Inglehart et.al, have shown that free choice has significant impact on happiness and there are theory's suggesting that the human pursuit of happiness is no longer focused only on economic prosperity but on maximizing free choice in all aspects of life. Free choice is for many as valuable as economic security (Inglehart, Foa, Peterson & Welzel 2008, p.266). The discussion about human happiness is not new: it derives back to the end of the eighteenth century and the philosophical school of utilitarianism. The main idea of utilitarianism, even though there are many different versions, can be concluded in this sentence: the proper course of action is the one that maximizes the overall utility. Utility, in its original form developed by Jeremy Bentham, is defined as satisfaction or happiness (Sen 2002, p.80). Happiness can amongst today's focus on economical prosperity be seen as an obscure and "fuzzy" term and may easily be overlooked. But nevertheless it is an important aspect to consider when discussing development. If we were to follow the rules of utilitarianism, all our decisions would be dependent on what leads to the greatest amount of happiness, not only for ourselves but for everyone around us. This view, of happiness derived from the caring of others, is in focus for others as well, the fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet for an example states on his website that "*the more we care for the happiness of others, the greater our own sense of well-being becomes*" (Dalai Lama, n.d.).

3:2 TERTIARY EDUCATION

"Higher education is no longer a luxury: it is essential to national social and economic development" (The Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, p. 14)

The World Bank and The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established a task force of experts from 13 different countries with a mission to explore the future of higher education in developing countries. This Task Force on Higher

Education conducted research, discussions and hearings for two years and in the 2000 year report the conclusion that “*without more and better higher education, developing countries will find it increasingly difficult to benefit from the global knowledge based economy*” was stated (The Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, p. 9). The Task Force highlights that as knowledge is becoming more important in this globalized and highly technological world countries need to educate their people at a higher level in order to compete in the global economy (ibid, p. 9). Unfortunately across most of the developing world the importance of tertiary education for development is not being sufficiently realized. With the recent years focus on primary education, partly in order to reach the MDG goal to achieve universal primary education, higher education has been neglected. The universities of developing countries are poorly funded which leads to low quality and there are also problems with poor regulation and in some cases corruption (ibid, p. 16). The deficits in higher education in developing countries have some serious consequences for equality. As the knowledge gaps between poor and rich countries widen the gap in per capita income grows as well, and it is not only between countries the gaps broaden, inequality within countries may grow due to only a small percent gaining access to higher education (ibid, p. 34-35).

In the report the Task Force presents four main areas where higher education contributes to development. The first area is income growth, here the report state that higher education contributes to income growth and a nations' position in the world economy through labor productivity, entrepreneurial energy, enhancement of life quality and social mobility, encouragement to political participation, strengthening of civil society and promotion of democratic governance. Higher education leads to these different aspects of development through the creation of new knowledge and platforms for free and open discussion. The second area is the creation of open-minded leaders: here the report means that higher education may give leaders the confidence and knowledge needed to deal with today's economic and political difficulties. The third area to which higher education contributes is expansion of choices. Here the Task Force defines development, in a similar way as Amartya Sen in his theory of development as freedom, as essentially being concerned with expanding peoples' choices. Higher education contributes to expansion of choices through expanding social mobility and boost students to achieve their full potential. The final area of focus is on increasing skills: here the report points out the importance of higher education for training scientists, engineers and similar in order to invent, adopt and operate modern technology.

With these groups improved skills problems such as prevention and treatment of serious diseases can be addressed locally and appropriate solutions can be found (ibid, p. 92).

3:2:1 DEVELOPMENT

Development can be defined in different ways and seen from different angles. Through the history of development studies different theories and definitions have crossed and replaced each other, theories have been up-to-date for a while and then been replaced just to reappear again. Four broad groups of development theories can be identified: classical-traditional, which include modernization theory and top-down approach, historical-empirical, dependency approaches such as world-system theory and neo-Marxism and finally the alternative approaches which include bottom-up and basic needs theories (Potter et al. 1999, see Vandai & Potter 2002, p. 62-63). To go in to these different theories and approaches is a whole thesis in itself and they will therefore not be investigated closer here. What you can draw out from this is that development is not an easy word to define, different theories, studies, institutions and people see development in diverse ways. In this thesis, however, Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom, which is discussed and explained in the previous part of this chapter, is being used.

3:2:2 EDUCATION AND GLOBALIZATION

One interesting aspect of education in the context of globalization is discussed in Pia Karlsson and Amir Mansory's PhD thesis written at Stockholm University in 2007. Here they examine the educational system in Afghanistan and how the system has changed over time. Even though the context in Afghanistan is different from the Tanzanian one their thoughts on globalization and western influence on the educational system is interesting and worth mentioning. They state that western type of education was introduced in the country without consideration for the internal traditions and culture and have therefore been at times resisted (Karlsson & Mansory 2007, p. 27). There is a conflict in Afghanistan between the western type of education which is characterized by individualism and competitive examinations, silent reading and comprehension, and the Islamic kind where the collective spirit, group studies, oral reading and memorization is in focus (ibid, p. 5). Also the global demands for educational quality, as stated e.g. in the MDG goals, is discussed in the thesis. Karlsson & Mansory states that there is a pressure on the educational system in Afghanistan to meet the global standards needed for economic participation (ibid, p. 30). The writers also state that

there is a global tendency of privatization and decentralization present in Afghanistan where the role of the central state is reduced and the role of the lower levels, local communities and private actors are increasing (ibid, p. 31). Even though this thesis is conducted in an Islamic context and not focused specifically on tertiary education the points made about the influence of globalization is worth discussing and may be relevant for the Tanzanian context as well.

3:3 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

The term “empowerment” first emerged in the 1960s within the civil rights movements that fought for Afro-Americans’ democratic rights in the U.S. The leaders of the movements were not satisfied with the changes being made and called for “black power” where black people should unite, recognize their heritage, define their own goals and create their own organizations. The term emerged within women’s movements in the 1970s and where probably internationally introduced in the book “Development, Crisis, and alternative Visions: Third World Women’s Perspectives” written by Sen and Grown in 1985. The book was prepared for the conference held at the end of the UN Decade for Women in Nairobi in 1985. In the book women empowerment is discussed and the writers identify women’s organizations as a central part of gender transformation (Medel-Anonuevo 1995, p.13). Women empowerment is today a popular term used by all kinds of actors on the global scene, from the UN and the World Bank to small, radical NGOs and everywhere in between. The term is used as an unquestioned goal of development, e.g. in the UNs third MDG: “promote gender equality and empower women.” Initially women empowerment was used in alternative development approaches and was regarded to be best conducted through participatory, grass-root level activities. In the 1990s the term was adopted into mainstream development theories with main focus on economic development, the term became mainstreamed and coupled together with words as participation and partnership. The term was now, and is still today, a given part of development (Parpart 2002, p. 338). Even though women empowerment is seen as a self-evident part of development it’s definition is disputed. Parpart means that *”mainstream institutions and their practitioners for the most part envision empowerment as a means for enhancing efficiency and productivity within the status quo rather than as a mechanism for social transformation”* (ibid, p. 339). Kadeer expresses an understanding of empowerment as a process of change. This is because she sees empowerment as inevitably linked with disempowerment: empowerment is in the processes *“by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability”* (Kadeer 2001, p. 19). When

seeing it from this view the term is similar to Sen's theory of development of freedom, it is in the processes of change, in broadening of freedoms and expansion of choices, where empowerment and development may thrive.

3:3:1 POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM

"It is when "women of Africa" becomes a homogeneous sociological grouping characterized by common dependencies or powerlessness (or even strengths) that problems arise – we say too little and too much at the same time" (Mohanty 2003, p.25).

Mohanty criticizes in her classic work "Under Western Eyes" western feminism and western hegemony. Mohanty is analyzing the production and construction, being made in some western feminist texts, of the "third world woman." She points out that no kind of feminism is homogenous or singular in its goals, but she found patterns of "the west" being used as the primary referent in both theory and practice. This is what she calls the "western hegemony" (Mohanty 2003, p. 17-18). Mohanty is suggesting that some feminist writings are colonizing the heterogeneities of the lives of third world women and are thereby creating a heterogeneous "third world woman" in the context of western humanist discourse (ibid, p.19). Due to the complicated interconnections between first and third world economies, and also due to the history of colonialism, western feminists must examine themselves and their role in the global framework and in the context of the hegemony of western scholarship. The average third world woman that is being constructed stands in indirect, but inevitable, contrast to the notion of the western woman. According to Mohanty the women of the third world are being seen as *"ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized etc."* (ibid, p. 22), in contrast to the distinctions of the western woman as *"educated, modern, as having control of their own bodies and sexualities and the freedom to make their own decisions"* (ibid). In her analysis of different feminist writings she found that women in the third world are being defined in terms of their object status, in other words in terms of how they are affected by different institutions and systems. Through this definition the women of the third world are being victimized and objectified. They are seen as victims of male violence, of the colonial process, of the economic development etcetera (ibid, p. 23). By viewing third world women as a homogenous group that is placed in different structures, they are defined as subjects outside social relations. Instead, they should be viewed in the way they are constituted through these very structures (ibid, p.40).

Through the construction of the “third world woman” western feminist discourse are digging an even deeper hole and expanding the gaps between the different worlds. Because, without the third world there would be no first world. Without the “third world woman” there would be no “first world woman.” Mohanty is suggesting that the one is enabling and sustaining the other (ibid, p.42).

4. RESULTS AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter the results of the fieldwork is presented and also empirical analysis with correlations to the theoretical framework. The chapter is divided in three parts with each part first going through the results of the fieldwork and secondly an analysis with linkage to the theoretical framework. In order to create flow in the text the respondents are called R1 and R2 etcetera, where the letters and numbers stand for respondent and number of respondent.

4:1 PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

When asked questions about the personal benefits of higher education the interviewees gave similar answers, they all agreed that higher education contributes to personal growth. When asked if their education had given them a different social status the answers were not so unified. Two different kinds of answers were given, on one side were those who thought their education had affected their social status in a positive way. The positive changes they had experienced were; receiving more respect as a well educated woman, that other people admire their education and looked up to them and also the fact that other women were inspired to study at the tertiary level themselves. On the other side people's jealousy and envy were brought up, R1 expressed it as those who understand the meaning of education respect her but others think she is bragging about her education and think she is superior. *"They have negative attitudes because they do not understand."*

When the question of happiness was brought up the interviewees were unanimous in their answers. All of them felt that higher education had brought more happiness in to their lives. They expressed different reasons behind this greater sense of happiness; the feeling of pride, confidence, reception of respect and also the feeling of becoming someone else. They all expressed a positive feeling of growing as a person through their education. R1 explained it well: *"it helps me understand myself, the environment as well as other people. Before going to OUT I was not aware, I was like another person. I'm finding myself now."* One important aspect of the feeling of happiness was amongst the interviewees the capability to help others through their education. R2 said: *"I feel proud of my education because I know I use it for the better of other people."* It is not only for themselves and their families that they feel happy: their happiness is also derived from the possibility to help others.

One of the most important aspects of personal development through higher education for the women interviewed was the greater self-esteem gained. Here the women interviewed said that they had better confidence since starting their education, that they could understand themselves better and that with better confidence it is easier to find a job and to be

independent. The greater feeling of confidence is linked to independence according to the interviewees. This correlation is especially true for women in a country like Tanzania since higher education helps them not to be dependent on their husbands. This independence gained can both be emotional through the feeling of gaining more respect but it also has a financial aspect. Through higher education women are able to find jobs with higher salaries, and to make their own money is for the women interviewed an important part of their independence.

There is no doubt that higher education affects a person, especially a woman in Tanzania, substantially. Through their tertiary education at the OUT these women are gaining respect and room in the society, they feel happier, they have greater self-esteem and they are more independent.

ANALYSIS

The interviewees were unanimous in their perception of the importance of higher education on a personal level. Studying at the OUT gives them a number of gains that are important both for their personal growth and for development of the society. Higher self-esteem, happiness, respect and independence are different kinds of freedoms that are, for these women, expanding through their education. Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom is here working in its way of explaining the core of development as the expansion of freedoms such as the right to education and political participation. One aspect that the interviewees were not as unanimous about was the change in social status through their education. Here both positive and negative effects were brought up and this is especially interesting when considering women's position in the society. It is evident that the gender divisions are strong in the Tanzanian society, even though the disparities are decreasing. Most of the interviewees highlighted the fact that other women were inspired by them to study at a higher level, at the same time as some of the interviewees expressed jealousy and incomprehension from those who were not educated themselves. This is interesting since it shows that the society is divided in two groups, those who have come to understand the importance of higher education and those who do not. The fact that the majority of the interviewees had a positive experience and felt that the society is mainly responding in a positive way shows that the gender disparities and the patriarchal society are going through a positive process of change.

There is one aspect missing in Sen's theory of development as freedom: he only treats education in its general sense and does not discuss the importance of tertiary education. This

is a deficit since the effects of higher education for a person is different from the effects of primary and secondary education. Tertiary education is according to the women interviewed giving them an awareness and understanding of the society, and themselves, on a level which they never gained through lower grades of education. The self-esteem obtained through learning a specific subject on a higher level is giving them the possibility to employment and higher salary and further, by earning their own money, to be more independent.

The aspect of happiness is, although a bit hard to define, important for development, especially when defining development as expansion of freedoms. Happiness may possibly be the ultimate kind of freedom. For the women interviewed happiness was closely interlinked with other benefits gained from higher education, such as independence and self-esteem. Happiness is for these women the possibility to have control over their own choices and their own lives. Also the possibility to help others were for the interviewees of great importance, here a chain can be identified of women gaining higher education leading to them feeling happier and more capable to help others which may lead to development in the sense of expansion of freedoms. Happiness for the individual student may lead to maximization of happiness in the society. Here we can see that utilitarianism and its' theory of utility maximization is applicable. If higher education leads to happiness both for the students themselves and for people around them the right course of action for maximization of utility is to have more people studying at the tertiary level of education.

4:2 TERTIARY EDUCATION

When discussing women, tertiary education and development the interviewees had similar thoughts. They agreed that women's education is very important and have great impact on the society and on development. In all interviews the woman's role in the household was brought up, namely that women are caregivers and those who take care of the children were for the interviewees a given truth. R6 even expressed it as: "*as you know men cannot stay well with the children.*" Even though these women are educated the roles in the household is clear, they, as mothers, have the paramount responsibility for the children.

When asked about the most important effects of women gaining higher education the answers were all somehow connected to the family. The possibility to get a job with higher salary were important not for their own sake but for the sake of their families. Not one of the interviewees expressed any desire to spend the money on themselves. Even the women who

did not have children were clear about where the money should be spent. R7 expressed it as: *“if she is in a good position, the family is in a good position.”* There is a problem with men spending money on other things than the family and what R7 means is if the woman makes her own money she will make better decisions on where to spend them. This is also connected with the fact that women take care of the household and the children. They are the ones who fetch water and cooks food and therefore they are more aware of the problems following money being spent on the wrong things. R7 means that the men does not understand the consequences of, for instance, the electricity bill not being paid since they are not the ones who are directly affected by the electricity not working. If the woman is making the money she is the one who decides where to put them and she will make wiser decisions than the man.

That women are the ones who take care of the family also means that they are the ones raising the children and teaching them the facts of life. All the interviewees expressed that children are closer to their mothers than their fathers and therefore it is the mothers' responsibility to educate them. As R8 expressed it: *“women give the education to the society first through caring for their children, they can apply their knowledge to the children. In Tanzania very few men take care of the children, so women's education is very important.”* Women gaining education also, indirectly, leads to children gaining knowledge. Even though their role as mothers is evidently important they also expressed the importance of education as a way to get out of the house. R1 means that with education you can have new experiences, meet new people and learn new things: *“staying inside just cooking and taking care of children you cannot develop”*. When women get a higher education they can experience more than just being a mother and a wife and this is important for development. Education also gives women a sense of security since they are able to manage without a husband. R1: *“if your husband dies you can still manage if you are educated, If not you get very poor.”* Security through education is for these women a contribution to their independence.

Another aspect that was brought up during the discussions was the fact that educated women give birth to fewer children. R2 said that education gives you awareness about the problems with having many children, such as having difficulties affording clothes and education and even food. Educated women are more aware of these problems and therefore they choose to have fewer children, all the interviewees were either mothers to one or two children, with the exception of one woman who had three children, or they were not mothers at all. With an education it is easier for women to learn about family planning and understand the consequences of having many children.

Even with an education it seems as the women interviewed is family oriented and the roles of the household is clear, women are the ones who take care of and educates the children. This knowledge chain is important for development since well educated women have greater capabilities to educate their children than those without education. The fact that women choose to spend their money in a different way than men can also be a contribution to development. Education also gives women the opportunity to new experiences outside the household, and it gives them a sense of security since they can manage without a husband if so needed. Educated women are also more aware of family planning and they often choose to have one or two children and not more.

ANALYSIS

Tertiary education is becoming increasingly important today and in this globalized world it is challenging for developing countries to compete in the global economy. Knowledge and higher education is today a demand especially for countries as Tanzania: if they are to claim space in the international knowledge-based economy they must invest in tertiary education. According to the World Bank and UNESCO both the level and the amount of tertiary education is alarmingly low in developing countries. This leads to widened gaps both between countries and between groups within countries. Even though a positive trend can be seen, women are lacking behind and with the insufficient focus on tertiary education the gender gaps risks broadening even more. The four different areas in which the Task Force on Higher Education and Society identifies correlations between tertiary education and development stands both in contrast and in reliance to the thoughts and perceptions of the women interviewed. The Task Force states that higher education leads to development through income growth, expansion of choices and increased skills. Also the creation of open-minded leaders is highlighted by the Task Force but this is not something that was discussed with the interviewees. These aspects in which development can be reached through higher education are not confined to women but are valid for men as well. The first area, income growth, was one of the important aspects of women's education that was discussed with the interviewees. What they brought up were the fact that with higher education women are able to find better jobs and thereby better salaries. This is one important aspect of development, when seen as freedoms as well since women who earn their own money can be independent and gain respect in the household. This is also correlated with a feeling of security since a good income gives the woman capabilities to manage without a husband. Except being more independent

and having a sense of security the women expressed a family-oriented view on the importance of earning their own money. They emphasized the importance of having a good income not for their own sake, but for the better of their families. This is also correlated with the perception of men not spending their money in a good way, the women interviewed meant that with their own income their families would be better off since they make wiser financial decisions than the men. In this aspect the Task Force and the interviewees agree, it is important with higher education since it brings opportunities to a better income. What the Task Force here misses is that there exists a difference in societies like the Tanzanian one between most of the men and the women, and therefore the effects of educating a man and educating a woman at the tertiary level is different from a financial viewpoint. This is a verification of the importance of educating women in a country like Tanzania, since with a woman's education better life-quality for families and children follows in a greater sense than with men's education.

The second aspect which the Task Force highlights that was discussed with the interviewees was expansion of choices. Here the Task Force is in line with Amartya Sen and his focus on development as expansion of freedoms. The interviewees both agreed and disagreed. Since the women interviewed all were family-oriented they did not express that making choices were the most important aspect. In their point of view the most important effect of them getting educated is the possibilities gained to take care of their families. That women are the ones who take care of the children is strongly rooted and not something these women would choose to refrain from. The women did express an expansion of freedom in the sense of gaining new experiences, they meant that education is a way to get out of the house and experience other things than being a mother and a wife. Nevertheless, new experiences are not as important as caring for their families. In the aspect of expansion of choices the Task Force misses that the one choice most women in countries like Tanzania will not make is to refrain from having a family. There was one choice in which the interviewees expressed an expansion through their education and that was the decision of not having many children. The women interviewed meant that with higher education women gain awareness about the difficulties of having many children and therefore make the decision to have only one or two.

The last aspect that the Task Force brought up and that was discussed with the interviewees was increasing skills. Here the Task Force highlights the importance of higher education for training scientists, engineers' etc. to be able to adopt and operate modern technology so that problems can be solved locally. This was not important for the women interviewed, they had

another viewpoint. When discussing increased skills the family was again in focus. The skills they got from higher education were important because of the greater possibilities gained to care for their family. Improved skills for the women interviewed is not becoming an engineer or a scientist, it is the capability to be the best possible caretaker for their families.

The collective base for the women interviewed when discussing women's education is the family. The interviewees agreed that the most important effect of women gaining higher education is the ability to take care of their children and their family. This is the paramount reason to why these women choose to study further and also the goal which they strive to reach. Women are in the Tanzanian society the ones who raise and take care of the children and with a higher education they gain capabilities to do so. Educated women have the financial means to provide for the family, they have knowledge which they can pass on to their children, they make wiser financial decision than the men and they give birth to fewer children. This is the effects which the interviewed women brought up and is for them the answer to why it is important to educate women. Here the difference between theory and practice is evident, the Task Force, the World Bank and the UN have a different viewpoint when investigating development and higher education than do the women who actually live in the context discussed. It is evident that the Task Force has a wider view on the importance of tertiary education for development than the women interviewed. For the interviewees the wellbeing of themselves and their families are in focus, in their perception development is not nation's position in the world economy or broadened gaps between countries, it is the possibility to enhance the quality of life for themselves and their families.

Inevitably the question of how to define development comes to mind, and that is a question with many answers. Growth in GDP, industrialization and enhanced influence in the world economy is classic indicators of development, but for the women interviewed development is something different. Development is for them freedom, happiness, self-esteem, independence and capabilities to take care of their families. Development is for them improvement in life quality for themselves, their children and the people in their closest circle. Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom is the theory which comes closest to defining development in the same way as the women interviewed. It is an individualistic viewpoint where the single person is in focus, and development is to be achieved through this individuals' expansion of freedoms. For these women higher education is one way in which their freedoms are expanding.

4:3 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

This part of the thesis and the thoughts on women empowerment came in to the picture during the field studies and were not in the original thesis plan. It was not until the end of the studies that I started to question the interviewees view on women empowerment. The meaning of women empowerment has not been discussed with the female students, it has only been briefly talked over with my field assistant which also was a member of the OUT staff. What I reacted on and what I want to discuss further was the women's view on the importance of women's higher education and the effects of their education. It was when I realized that these women's education did not seem to have significant, if any, effect on gender roles in the household that I started to reflect on the meaning of women empowerment. As we have seen there are many positive, both personal and societal, effects of these women's education at the OUT. They are gaining independence and respect and they feel more confident and happy. It also has effects on families in both financial and educational ways. What it does not seem to have effect on is the norm of the woman as caretaker of the family and the deeply rooted family-based focus. The women interviewed had a view of the importance of higher education that were different from my own, in their perspective the most important effects of women gaining higher education were the possibilities gained to take care of their children. Is this women empowerment? This I would like to discuss further.

ANALYSIS

The term "empowerment" was founded through contexts of injustice: it was from the beginning used by oppressed groups as a way to break free from their suppressors. Empowerment was to be achieved through unifying groups, creation of organizations and formulation of common goals. The term quickly spread to groups such as women movements and the term "women empowerment" is today a widespread norm and goal for different institutions such as the UN. Women empowerment has transformed into a mainstreamed, non-questionable and given truth when discussing development. Despite its given importance the definition of the term is disputed. The term can be seen as a mean for enhancing efficiency and productivity within the status quo as well as it can be seen as a way of changing the status quo. When considering the discussions with the interviewees about the importance of women's education and its positive effects the definition of women empowerment becomes questionable. When viewing empowerment in its original form as a way of oppressed groups breaking free from their suppressors the women interviewed cannot be defined as

“empowered.” If these women is to be seen as a suppressed group their suppressors is inevitably men in the context of the Tanzanian patriarchal society. And if these women are to be seen as empowered, according to the original definition, they would be going through a process of breaking free from their suppressors, i.e. men. And this is not the effects which the women interviewed are experiencing through their education at the OUT. When talking about their education and its’ effects both on a personal and on a societal level the discussions always, without exceptions, had its’ main focus on the family. The most important thing for the women interviewed was in all cases and in all aspects the family and their opportunities to be the best possible caretaker. Therefore, since the definition is not agreed upon, women empowerment as a mean for development is not functioning.

There are further problems with the term women empowerment which is being discussed within post-colonial feminism and that is the western hegemony and western feminists’ creation of a heterogeneous third world woman. Here the problem lies in the fact that the western world, including the UN and other institutions, is talking about empowering women and thereby inevitably bunching together all women as a heterogeneous group. Firstly it is problematic to have the perception that all women are victims under the same circumstances and thereby thinking that one solution is suitable in all different contexts. Secondly, by creating a third-world woman a dichotomy is being created with the notion of the first-world woman on the contrary. When viewing these women as “third world” they are seen as suppressed, ignorant, family-oriented etc., in contrast to the western women who are free to make their own choices. The discussions with the interviewees clearly shows that the family are their top priority and that despite their high-level education the family always comes first. Does this mean that they are not empowered, despite their attendance to the OUT? Since the definition of empowerment is widely disputed one cannot decide whether these women fall under the category of empowered women or not. And even if I or someone else with a western point of view decides that these women are empowered since they attend higher education it would be irrelevant since we do not share the same view on the terms’ definition. As long as the definition is not agreed upon between the institutions trying to incorporate the term and the women living in the contexts discussed it will not be successful.

5. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

In this concluding chapter final reflections are given in order to connect the different parts of the analysis and to give answers to the three research questions.

The importance of higher education is evident and clear regardless viewpoint. The UN, the World Bank and other transnational organizations states that higher education is important for development. In development studies the importance of education is repeatedly being proved, although what has been written about higher education is insufficient. The interviewed women in this thesis are, through their improved quality of life, also establishing the importance of women's higher education. The women are at times hindered by the society and not everyone understands the importance of higher education: due to the context of the patriarchal society women are still primary valued as wives and mothers. Despite tertiary education the deeply rooted traditional role of the women as foremost mothers is still present, but progress is being made and the women interviewed expressed mainly positive response from the society. The women interviewed were all family-oriented and their role as mothers was most important for them: to be able to provide and take care of their families were the paramount reason to why they choose to study at the OUT. The perception that women are benched in their household roles are in some way refuted since the women interviewed expressed that the one choice they would not make, and therefore did not felt deprived of, is the choice to refrain from having a family.

The one aspect that the interviewees most widely agreed upon was the increased happiness gained from attending the OUT. Happiness may be the ultimate kind of freedom and these women all felt that higher education brings them happiness in different ways: higher self-esteem, independence, pride and confidence being the most substantial. When considering the theories of utilitarianism one could say that higher education is one way of maximizing happiness since the feeling of happiness spreads. Through these women's attendance at the OUT they gain the possibility to not only live happier lives themselves but also the possibility to improve the lives of their families. The answer to the first research question, what an education at the OUT mean for the women on a personal level, is apparent. The personal gains in shape of foremost increased happiness have positive impact on these women's and their families' lives in ways which would not be possible without their attendance at the OUT.

More hands-on effects of women's higher education were also found, such as the possibility for women to find better jobs and thereby providing for the family which has effects purely financially as well as promoting women's independence. The women interviewed expressed

that women often choose to spend their money more wisely than the men and therefore the family benefits more from the woman providing. Higher education also increases skills but for the women interviewed increased skills is not the possibility to become an engineer or a scientist, it is the improved skills they can use to be the best possible caretaker of their family. The interviewed women's answer to the second research question, the importance of women's higher education for development, is more narrow than, for example, the UN's. For the women it is, in all aspects, their own and their family's well-being that is top priority and the positive effects they gain from attending the OUT is important since it gives them possibilities to take care of their families. The view on development differ as well, also here the women have a family oriented view in contrast to classic development theories about e.g. economic growth.

Another difference between theory and practice can be found in the perception of the term women empowerment. If the women are to be seen as empowered, according to the definition of them as oppressed groups breaking free from their suppressors, they would be going through a process of breaking free from the men and this is not what is happening. Despite their high-level education none of the interviewees expressed any desire to break free and refrain from having a family. The term women empowerment is problematic since the definition is not agreed upon. One cannot decide who is empowered and who is not since different people have different perceptions of the terms' meaning. Also the term is problematic since it treats women as a homogenous group despite the widely different contexts and complexities different women live in. Additionally the creation of the third-world woman creates a dichotomy and a post-colonial relationship where western women are in a superior position as the helping hand to the poor and ignorant women of the third-world. The answer to the third research question on the perception of women empowerment therefore is complex and hard to answer. What we can conclude is that the term is widely disputed between theory and practice and thereby, together with other complexities, the term is working insufficiently as a mean for development.

When considering the discussions with the women interviewed the answer to the question why women's higher education is important is evident. For these women the family is the single most important entity in their lives and everything they do is for the better of their families. That the Tanzanian society is a patriarchal one is clear but this does not give the west and the western hegemony the superiority to define who is empowered and who is not. The definition of empowerment is set in western contexts and according to the classic

definition these women are not empowered, but since the women's perception is a different one only they have the power to define their own freedom. The effects of these women's attendance at the OUT are many and important, both for the women and for development. The effects higher education has on a personal level for these women are unmistakable; they express increases in self-esteem, independence, confidence and pride. The women are, through their education at the OUT, experiencing a higher level of life-quality and the sensation of increased happiness is impossible to ignore. And additionally their feeling of increased happiness is trickling down to not only their families but to the whole society. These effects of higher education we may not be able to measure in numbers or statistics but nevertheless they need to be acknowledged and encouraged. Higher education is important, especially for women, and especially in countries like Tanzania. In concrete effects we can find that educated women give birth to fewer children, children of educated women gain more and better education and also families with an educated mother are better off financially. Even though these concrete effects are important for development it is a mistake to not appreciate the aspects which we cannot measure. Maybe happiness is the ultimate kind of freedom and maybe we need to shift our focus from economic growth and GDP and concentrate on people's real opportunities to live a happy life. And as these women have shown: one aspect which seems to lead to a happy life is higher education.

5:1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

What was not discussed with the interviewees but nevertheless is interesting to consider is the origin of universities in countries like Tanzania. As the example of Afghanistan shows, the educational tradition planted in the country originates from the West and is a part of the western hegemony (Karlsson & Mansory 2007). That this is the case in Tanzania is an interesting complexity to discuss. The global demands that are set for educational quality put pressure on all countries to meet the standards needed for economic participation in the world. These demands and standards are set by western norms and institutions such as the UN's millennium development goals. The question is what impact the western hegemony, in both educational systems and in the standard-setting of global economy, has on countries like Tanzania. A recommendation would be to consider these topics in a different study since they are both important and interesting.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Bergström, Göran & Boréus, Kristina (2005). *Textens mening och makt – Metodbok I samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*.
Second edition. Lund: Studentlitteratur

Bryman, Alan (2008). *Social Research Methods*.
Third edition. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet (n.d.). *Compassion and the Individual*. (Electronic)
<http://www.dalailama.com/messages/compassion>
Retrieved 2012-04-17

Inglehart, Ronald. Foa, Roberto. Peterson, Christopher & Welzel Christian (2008).
Perspectives on Psychological Science. (Electronic)
<http://pps.sagepub.com/content/3/4/264>
Retrieved 2012-04-17

Interview with Respondent number 12.
Conducted 24 February 2012.

Kadeer, Naima (2001). *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment*. In SIDA. *Discussing Women's Empowerment*.
Stockholm: Novum Grafiska AB

Karlsson, Pia & Mansory, Amir (2007). *An Afghan Dilemma - Education, Gender and Globalization in an Islamic Context*.
Stockholm University

Medel-Anonuevo, Carolyn (1995). *Women, Education and Empowerment: Pathways towards Autonomy*. (Electronic) UNESCO.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001006/100662e.pdf>
Retrieved 2012-04-04

Mohanty Talpade, Chandra (2003). *Feminism without borders*.
London: Duke University Press.

Mshoro B, Idrissa (2010). Reducing Poverty Through Education - and How. (Electronic) *UN Chronicle*.
http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/chronicle/cache/bypass/home/archive/issues2010/un_academic_impact/reducing_poverty_through_education?ctnscroll_articleContainerList=1_0&ctnlistpagination_articleContainerList=true
Retrieved 2012-03-29

OECD (2008). *Tertiary education for the knowledge society*. (Electronic)
<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/36/18/41303688.pdf>
Retrieved 2012-04-04

Parpart, Jane (2002). *Gender and empowerment: new thought, new approaches*.
In Desai, Vandana & Potter, B. Robert (ed.). *The Companion to Development Studies*.
New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Potter et al. (1999) *A framework for considering development theories*.
Harlow: Prentice Hall in;
Desai, Vandana & Potter, B. Robert (2002). *The Companion to Development Studies*.
New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Sen, Amartya (2002). *Utveckling som frihet*.
Göteborg: Bokförlaget Daidalos AB.

The Open University of Tanzania (2011). *Prospectus 2011/2012*. (Electronic)
<http://out.ac.tz/announcements/Prospectus%202011-2012%20for%20printing3.pdf>
Retrieved 2012-04-03

The Open University of Tanzania (n.d.). *About OUT*. (Electronic)
http://out.ac.tz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6&Itemid=14
Retrieved 2012-04-03

The Task Force on Higher Education and Society (2000). *Higher Education in Developing Countries – Peril and Promise*. (Electronic)
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPTEIA/Resources/Peril_and_Promise.pdf
Retrieved 2012-04-25

The World Bank (n.d.). *School enrollment, tertiary (% gross)*. (Electronic)
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR/countries/SE--XS>
Retrieved 2012-03-29

UNESCO (2010). *Global Education Digest 2010 – Comparing Education Statistics Across the World*. (Electronic)
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001894/189433e.pdf>
Retrieved 2012-03-27

UNESCO (n.d.) *Beyond 20/20 WDS – Table view*. (Electronic)
<http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/tableView.aspx>
Retrieved 2012-03-29

UN (n.d.) *Global Issues – Women*. (Electronic)
<http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/women/>
Retrieved 2012-04-04

APPENDIX 1 – General information about the respondents

R1

Sex: Female

Age: 27

Education: Studying for her bachelor of social science

Occupation: Traffic police officer

Children: 1

R2

Sex: Female

Age: 37

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Special needs officer at the Babati town council

Children: No children

R3

Sex: Female

Age: 27

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Secondary school history teacher

Children: No children

R4

Sex: Female

Age: 34

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Secondary school chemistry and biology teacher

Children: No children

R5

Sex: Female

Age: 40

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Secondary school biology and agriculture teacher

Children: No children

R6

Sex: Female

Age: No information

Education: Studying for her bachelors' degree in literature and English in education

Occupation: Secondary school English teacher

Children: 2

R7

Sex: Female

Age: 53

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of science in agriculture

Occupation: Agriculture department officer

Children: 2

R8

Sex: Female

Age: 32

Education: Studying for her bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Secondary school English and geography teacher

Children: 1

R9

Sex: Female

Age: 37

Education: Studying for her bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Secondary school English, geography and civics teacher

Children: 3

R10

Sex: Female

Age: 30

Education: Studying for her bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: Accountant

Children: No information

R11

Sex: Male

Age: 32

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: OUT staff

Children: 1

R12

Sex: Male

Age: No information

Education: Have a bachelors' degree of arts in education

Occupation: OUT staff

Children: No information

R13

Sex: Male

Age: No information

Education: Is trained to be a veterinary

Occupation: OUT staff

Children: No information