

Working Paper

**“THE GIRL EFFECT”:
A CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW OF GIRLS’ EDUCATION IN
TANZANIA**

2012

**This paper is a work in progress and represents a literature review for a larger project.
Please do not circulate or cite without the permission of the author.**

©Erin Kenny, Ph.D.

ekenny@drury.edu

Drury University, Springfield, Missouri

Visiting Scholar, Center for the Education of Women

Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan

330 E. Liberty St. Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2274 734.764.6005

www.cew.umich.edu

Acknowledgments

This document, and much of the work that surrounds it, would be impossible without the amazing gift of time and support that the Center for the Education for Women at the University of Michigan has afforded me this semester. As a single mommy and an associate professor at a small liberal arts university with a heavy undergraduate teaching load for non-majors, I have little time to write. Or read. Or . . . think? I found the opportunity to stroll leisurely to the UM library to marvel at the collection, to sit and read rare books for hours in coffee shops, or just to stare into space while rolling over some kernel of a new idea incredibly liberating, healing, and exhilarating. In my brief time in Ann Arbor, I have tried to maximize every single moment that I was allowed to engage in this return to a life of the mind that I had known in graduate school.

The generosity of my parents, Kate and Tom Kenny, and the good-natured resilience and love of my bouncy eight-year old daughter during these three months away from my daily responsibilities, remind me – always - to strive to produce something worthwhile that will honor the lives of my family and the stories shared with me by students during my year of research. I’ve missed my daughter an ache, and it made me a better scholar and a more focused writer.

I sincerely thank Beatrice Benjamini, Witness Mtekere, Namwaka Lyamba, and Dina Msseemmaa for their able research assistance during my year in Tanzania. I also thank Patrick Mboki, Eric Emmanuel Ecay, Andreia Ferreira, Sandra “Lieb” Stoeckel, Federico Ercolano, Franziska “Greßfrau,” Magdalena Sterfrau, Jennifer Klinkerman, and Karah Germroth for friendship and kindness.

The Center for the Education for Women is an extraordinary place to be. My only complaint is that they share too many deliciously tempting baked goods!! I found a warm and welcoming environment that facilitated my work in every way. In particular, I want to thank Jean Campbell, for generously funding the Visiting Scholar Program. Also thanks to Gloria Thomas, who took a chance on me, despite several diffuse proposals over the course of a year, and to Ching-Yune Sylvester, who included me in the WOCAP Write-Ins. These hyper-focused writing sessions with brilliant women from around the world - all typing frantically into laptops around me - filled me with energy and gave me confidence. My greatest thanks go to Beth Sullivan, who negotiated and facilitated the logistics of a stay in Ann Arbor so comfortable that I fear I am spoiled.

To these new friends, I say thanks so much for all you do for women in your community and in the world. Your work matters. It encourages me enormously as I leave the warmth of your company.

Erin Kenny, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Anthropology

Drury University

Springfield, Missouri 65802

My seven-year old daughter and I spent the last year in Tanzania, where I conducted ethnographic research with university students, mostly women. I am an economic anthropologist, and I wanted to write this book to reflect the ideas and the things that university students in Tanzania value. I learned Swahili, but probably only got to a second grade level. I did a lot of interviews and focus groups. I lived on campus, and I visited students in dining halls and dorms and classrooms. I socialized with students, I shared their jokes, I heard their stories of joy and pain. I went dancing with them, I went with them to have their hair and nails done, I ate with them. Most of all, I listened to them. And I promised them I would share their stories.

- *From the introduction to a longer version of this work*

The title of this document comes from a development initiative/program called [“The Girl Effect.”](#) underwritten by the Nike Corporation. Used in preparation for a longer work about the challenges and strategies of young women in higher education in Tanzania, this document critically outlines selected literature at the intersections of economic development literature, education initiatives in Tanzania, and feminist ethnography. This document is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather as a potential place to start when investigating any of these three topics.

In recent years, a host of parties interested in improving the world have converged on the notion that investing in women is the single most effective, powerful way to promote economic development. New York Times journalists Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn’s 2010 blockbuster book *Half the Sky*, (and the [accompanying website](#) and Independent Lens [documentary series on PBS](#)) is possibly the most visible of these consciousness-raising initiatives and they established an agenda for world’s women focusing on three particular abuses:

- sex trafficking and forced prostitution,
- gender-based violence, including honor killings and mass rape,
- maternal mortality (we are still losing one woman a minute to preventable complications during childbirth).

However, implicit in all of these initiatives is the far-reaching impact of initiatives to improve women’s economic opportunities includes efforts to keep girls in school. Girls in Tanzania face a number of challenges to go to school and to stay in school. On recent development report cites six key themes that make conditions more difficult for girls to achieve their educational goals: 1) economic vulnerability of girls; 2) lack of support for girls education within the patriarchal family structure; 3) adolescent girls’ puberty and sexuality; 4) the situation of health and education services available for adolescents; 5) overlap of development projects which do not always address root causes of problems; and 6) girls’ own contradictory and complex view of their future economic, political, and social possibilities ([Bangser 2010](#)).

From [the Girl Effect](#):

It has been shown that an educated girl will invest 90% of her future income in her family, compared to 35% for a boy. Yet 250 million adolescent girls live in poverty and are more likely than boys to be uneducated, married at a young age, and exposed to HIV/AIDS. Today, less than two cents of every international development dollar go to girls, the very people who could do the most to end poverty. As long as girls remain invisible, the world misses out on a tremendous opportunity for change.

<http://www.girleffect.org/learn/the-big-picture>

Three main critiques of the girl effect:

- racialized sentimentality present within imagery
- reducing development initiatives to economics, arguing that the only reason to empower women/girls is so that they will contribute to economies, and the employment of neoliberal or individualistic notions of solutions for success (eg., recent World Bank document about “The Girl Effect Dividend” – Measuring the
- implicitly includes essentialist notions about reproduction and sexuality - which is always heteronormative - and includes a notion of profligate men, who threaten and harm women

My idea, what do we do. We always want to DO something. The viewer in the developed world wants an answer: how do I help? How do I enter the problem with a solution?

Methodology of this Study

Study Area – This study will be conducted in the Morogoro Region of Tanzania on the Mzumbe University main campus. Participants within this study will be women who live on campus, in the dormitories and hostels.

Research Design - A principal framework for this study proceeds from the findings of the African Gender Institute, principally the 1996 workshop held in Kaduna, Nigeria, which identified gender as indigenously based knowledge about relationships between “men” and “women” in different contexts and in different ways (AGI 1997). This perspective seeks to understand the implications of being gendered as a man or a woman for a particular time and place and requires research of both men’s and women’s experiences, but by paying rigorous attention to women’s experiences through social science methodologies. Through social science investigations, the AGI aims to build analyses and theories based on real life experiences –

including differential strategies and resources that might vary for men or women. This study is modelled on the AGI approach to gender research and investigation. The guiding questions and methodology of this study are similar to those used by Kwesiga (2002) and Johnson (2011). Theoretically, however, this study borrows heavily from an anthropological technique known as the “lifeworlds” approach. This approach seeks to acknowledge “the domain of everyday, immediate social existence and practical activity” (Jackson 1996:7). The lifeworld is above all a social world: it is not statically reproduced, but rather, it allows for human creativity and addresses the ways in which individual people seek to resolve ambiguities of lived situations through strategizing and mobilization of whatever resources are available to them. The “lifeworld” is “never a seamless, unitary domain in which social relations remain constant and the experience of self remains stable. Nor is it ever arcadian; it is a scene of turmoil, ambiguity, resistance, dissimulation, and struggle” (1996:27). Crucial to this dimension of analysis is the notion of the “personhood,” which is always perceived as gendered and within a particular point in a lifecourse, and the way(s) that the individual person establishes and acts upon his or her own agency to maintain a self that is respectable, valued, successful according to the specific behavioural standards for that person’s identity within that cultural context. Women students in this study are confronting rapid social change and trying to fit their lives and their aspirations into a dynamic social field. I believe this approach best suits the ambiguous, often anxious, circumstances confronting the women in this study.

The methodology of this study relies heavily on **qualitative research** including detailed examinations of life narratives/interviews that is only possible through an ethnographic, case study approach. Ethnography, frequently used by anthropologists, studies behavioural patterns, culture, and the interactions of a society. The case study approach allows for certain representative or highly articulate respondents to be isolated and examined in more thorough detail, thus adding the research study a dimension of individual, lived experiences. Some interviews will be audiotaped with a digital recorder, to allow for ease of playback and direct quotations. Interviews will be transcribed and coded. This technique allows for more thorough inclusion of the substance of the interviews, and allows for extensive use of quotations and key themes pointed to by the participants themselves.

The initial sampling methodology will be a simple random sample based on surveys: students enrolled in introductory level courses will be surveyed regardless of background or gender (see Appendix). After identifying qualified and interested research participants (female, first generation college students who reside on campus), I will move to purposive sampling to collect intensive life history interviews, initially relying on prepared interview schedules, but eventually leading to semi-structured interviewing (see Appendix for interview schedule).

Quantitatively, data will be collected in the preliminary targeted sample surveys to create tables of very basic demographic statistics, including frequency analysis of certain key criteria (number of women enrolled, region of origin, declared major) and some basic mean/median data

(average age, average family size, average level of parent education). I will also plot Life Narrative Grids, to allow for comparison between participants. The collection period will correspond to that of the second half of the academic year 2011-12, with perhaps an extra month added to follow-up on intriguing insights or to wrap-up data collection.

Further, in the spirit of engaged learning, I anticipate that at least some of that data used for this study will be collected with the assistance of students as part of a course on gender and development theory through surveying, interviewing, and participant observation. This will give students practice and experience on collecting research data.

(Barriers to) Girls' Education in East Africa

For many years, a dominant discourse in development literature has surrounded the imperative to improve education initiatives in the developing world. Education – which means sending a child from within the domestic sphere of the household to a school, located within the “nation” or the state – is seen as one strategy of investment, both in terms of finances committed to that child’s educational experience (uniforms, boarding costs, school fees) and in terms of the loss of labor while the child is in school. For rural families, both because of general livelihood strategies and because of distances traveled to attend schools, this investment is proportionally higher.

But most development professionals and educators will tell you: even if you can get girls to school, and set them up at a desk next to a boy so they can spend the day learning (assuming, of course, that their stomach isn’t empty and they aren’t beaten by teachers, two far-too-common common circumstances), the REAL challenge with girls education is KEEPING girls in school. Retention becomes an especially thorny problem as girls mature, and they are needed for labor at home, their family fears they will inevitably “fall pregnant,” or they are expected to marry.

This emphasis on the value of education for transforming the social challenges of developing countries includes initiatives like universal primary education, and efforts to include equity between girls and boys at all levels of education. This particular policy gathered momentum and salience after the 1990 “Education for All” conference held in Thailand (see Brock-Utne 2000, cited in [Switzer 2009](#)). The United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals specifically identify women’s education as a key factor for improving economic development around the world.

There is wide agreement in development circles that women’s education is important. A great deal of development literature begins with a widely-accepted premise that “when you educate a man, you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman, you educate a nation.” A large number of development projects are built directly around this notion (Camfed, Girl Effect). Statistics show that for each year a woman stays in school, her overall lifetime fertility falls, allowing her to invest more resources in the children she has.

But, while many projects deal directly with the importance of women's education, there is little literature in place that looks critically at the role of women's access to **higher** education. Simply finishing Form 4 or Form 6 does not guarantee a livelihood, and women graduates still face barriers to economic independence as they aspire to move to a role within the emerging middle class of a stressed economy. Higher education is imperative for a thriving civil society because it develops skills of higher order thinking to influence policy makers, government workers, businesses, and other professional fields (Bloch et al., 1998).

Enormous progress has been made in lifting barriers to gender access in education, especially in areas where lifting a single barrier, such as household, markets, or institutions. Progress has been slower, however, where multiple barriers need to be lifted at the same time (World Bank 2011:141). Typically, barriers to women's economic empowerment include a lack of educational opportunities, a lack of adequate access to credit, inflexibility in financial arrangements, lack of collateral, lack of borrowing knowledge and experience, lack of basic financial management skills (including problem solving, management, record keeping, and management of stock), and lack of ability to accumulate assets (McDonnell et al., 1993). It is frequently argued that a university degree improves the opportunities for a woman to develop the social capital, skills, and networks necessary to achieve higher levels of economic empowerment.

International guidelines for development funding agree that commitment to women's education ranks high on the list of international priorities for sustained economic growth. In 1993, delegates at the Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls signed on to the Ouagadougou Declaration, calling on governments to establish the education of girls as a priority, to set targets, provide appropriate resources, and to monitor progress (UNESCO 1993). Both the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing (Paragraphs 69-79) and Article 10 of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women re-affirmed the critical importance of education and training as a basic human right. The widely-supported Millenium Development Goals (especially #6) support the notion that women can be important agents of change, when given the opportunity to access life-long education.

African scholars and researchers have also supported the important role of women's education, especially at the university level. The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), based in Nairobi, has conducted a number of these studies. Karega's *Statistical Overview of Girls' Education at the University Level* (2001) provides a statistical overview of four higher education institutions in Kenya (Kenyatta U), Tanzania (U of Dar es Salaam), Niger (Abdou Moumouni U), and Uganda (Makerere U). The overview includes data on undergraduate and graduate student enrollments, academic staff, and residence halls. Two of these studies were further developed into in-depth studies: U of Dar es Salaam (Masanja 2001) and Makerere

University (Kasente 2005). While each of these studies did address the issue of female students, they mostly concentrated on the gender mainstreaming processes of the university administrations, and made recommendations for future progress.

However, it is important to be clear that education and literacy alone does not necessarily improve the lives of women in Africa – or the lives of their families: “learning to read and write does not mobilize women of the Third World unless it is accompanied by the acquisition of further basic knowledge and skills genuinely adapted to their daily existence and needs” (Chlebowska 1990:15). In other words, literacy alone does not resolve challenges unless it also empowers women to direct their own personal development and that of their community through enhanced social and economic mobility. The ability to measure “success” for educated women, then, is thus highly contextualized, and determined by cultural perceptions of favourable lifestyles.

Educational researchers measure gender disparity in secondary and tertiary education across Africa by looking at educational access, attainment, and accomplishment (Bloch, Beoku-Betts, and Tabachnick 1998). Access is easily measured by recording school enrolment rates; attainment refers to rates of completion and continuation (Bloch et al., 1998); and accomplishment is measured according to rates of participation in the labour force and career mobility in professional and managerial fields (Beoku-Betts 1998:159).

There are a few ethnographic studies of women’s higher education in Africa. Egbo (2000) conducted a study of differences in women’s educational opportunities for urban and rural women in Nigeria. Her analysis uses a critical feminist lens to discuss the social context of literacy and the relationships between gender, literacy, and power for African women, noting that even within the category of “women,” there is differential access to education and other resources. In Tanzania, Stambach (2000) studied a secondary school near Mount Kilimanjaro, where she highlighted the deep cultural anxiety surrounding the issue of women’s education in rural areas, and the subsequent conflicts that can emerge within communities based on varying opinions about the significance of women’s education. Stambach’s school-based study reinforces other findings about cultural anxieties surrounding western education in general (Weiss 2009), but for girls and women in particular. Representing a break from many of the traditional initiation rituals practiced for women across Tanzania (Bendera 1999), placing girls into to formal settings with teachers and possibly contradictory belief-systems where the juxtaposition between cultural expectations for women and girls and the ideals of modern schooling may be difficult to balance (Bhalalusesa 2000).

Possibly the most comprehensive recent work on women’s higher education in Africa was conducted in Uganda by Kwesiga (2002). She focuses on the role of familial influence, parental attitudes, socio-economic status, and gender differentiated roles and how these issues impact women’s persistence in education. Kwesiga’s approach inspired a recent ethnography of

Tanzanian women in higher education was conducted as an Education Policy doctoral dissertation by Johnson (2011) at the University of Dar es Salaam. She looked specifically at the experiences of “first generation” women students at the university.

So, education is going to make it all better, right? In a generation or so, we will witness a transformed version of Africa?

Basically, across Africa and throughout international development initiatives, there is widespread support and long-standing belief in the premise that keeping girls in school influences development outcomes ([DFID 2005](#), Floro et al. 1990, Behrman & Rosenweig 2002, Berhman & Wolfe 1989, King & Hill 1993, Glewwe 1999, Malhotra et al. 2003, [UNESCO 2005](#), [UNICEF UK 2011](#).)

And yet, fifty years into the best intentions of development programs designed after the Bretton Woods Agreement, barriers to education remain across the developing world. **Changes in per capita income and changes in health and wellbeing**

The question remains: are efforts to improve education really effective for meeting development goals? A [study conducted last year at Georgetown University](#) determined that in the United States, higher education does little to close inequality gaps relative to class, race, or gender (Phillip 2011). Why, then, do we continue to place so much faith in the education of women and girls abroad?

Here’s my (short) answer: education alone is not enough. Especially if we are expecting or anticipating that individual (girls) will be able to step in and heal the inequities of the continent. The encroachment of a neoliberal notion of the individual’s role to be entrepreneurial, to improve the Self, to change the society is perhaps the most pervasive of the current spate of development projects from micro-finance to entrepreneurial investments in environmental tech. Are these initiatives important improvements? Sure. Are they enough? No, no they are not. As long as the girls of the Girl Effect continue to live in societies that are restricted by chronic underdevelopment and a lack of transparency, they cannot possibly be expected to empower themselves, their communities, or their continent.

At minimum, though, I would agree that talking about girls and women, and including their voices in the international discussions about poverty and what can potentially be done about it, is a huge step in the right direction.

And so, with this research, I add some voices to that conversation. They are eager to share their stories with you.

Studying Youth: Concepts and Methods

It does seem to be a cultural universal that every generation looks to the next generation and launches a variety of critiques about the ways that the values and the choices made by youth threaten the very social fabric.

The central role of youth today in processes of social reproduction and social transformation is visible everywhere in the global media. Powerful images show us the emergence of youth-based global subjectivities, rising from the movement of international capital, decades of neoliberal economic reforms, and technologies that allow for immediate access to entertainment and expressive formats. In terms of political economy, this means that media representations – and popular depictions of youth culture – have become more narrow and have expanded beyond geographical limits, evolving into transnational conglomerates which influence youth around the world (see Brad Weiss' work on the *kinyozi* culture of Arusha, Tanzania (2002, 2009); see also [McChesney and Schiller](#), also, look at Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*.)

Youth studies are often linked to class and education, and anticipate that a prolonged period of youth – before the assumption of adult responsibilities – is a privilege that allows for the suspension of “adult” responsibilities and a transformation of subjectivity, priorities, and goals. Perhaps it is too cynical to say that youth are targeted as a consumer market, which in turn, makes them vulnerable to socio-economic exclusion (see, for example, the work of Comaroff & Comaroff 1999, 2000; Ruddick 2003). Also, it is imperative not to over-generalize the category of “youth.” Like gender, youth is a category that is socially constructed by institutions, such as the economy, the educational system, history, culture, and the media. There is an emerging anthropology of youth studies that tries to address these topics with greater sophistication and improved methodology (see Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995; Cole 2004; Durham 2000; Cole & Durham 2009; Leichty 2002; Forbes, 2010; Weiss 2002, 2009). Cultural geographers also contribute to this new horizon of youth studies research (Katz 2004; Skelton & Valentine 1998).

Since the 1980s, youth studies within the social sciences have had three main foci:

- a) **Effect studies** – based on the assumed premise that media has a direct and powerful influence over its audience, this position has been critiqued for viewing youth as passive victims to a more powerful, manipulative industry;
- b) **Subculture studies** - best exemplified by the so-called “Birmingham School” (eg., Stuart Hall, Simon Frith, Dick Hebdidge, Sarah Thornton), this thread of studies acknowledges a more complex relationship between youth and media; however, critics have said that this position sometimes unrealistically imagines youth culture as somehow distinct from the world of commerce, economics, and the market;
- c) **Representation studies** – the mostly textual analysis center on the representation of teens, and the messages of youth-oriented cultural texts; posing the question of how

accurate and valid are the stereotypes of teens, and from where do these constructions/motifs/ideologies about youth arise?

In the United States, there has been an emergence of academic interest on the millennial teen media, which is distinct from previous forms of youth media in its “tendency towards simultaneous, interconnected, multi-media products that no longer recognize medium-specific limits or boundaries” (Wee 2010:11) (*think, all things Disney*). Implicitly, this new form of media presence must also interrogate economic and institutional changes including the multi-media conglomeration of the global entertainment industry, the rise of new technologies, and the emergence of new economic strategies of marketing, production, and distribution.

But what about the role of gender in youth studies?

Many gender-focused studies of youth in the western world specifically reference the ways that girls “lose” themselves as they mature in a cultural system that continually denigrates their experiences in favor of deference to their male peers. In an international context, prolonged education in relation to a prolonged youth period also has gendered considerations, as McRobbie (1990) demonstrates in her research on girls’ culture in the United Kingdom. Girls not only have the opportunity to prolong their education and improve their employment options, but they also push marriage and childbearing (though not in all cases) forward.

A Closer Look: Education in Tanzania

Led largely by the energy of Julius Nyerere’s visionary leadership, Tanzania presents an exemplary case for improvements in education initiatives. While there is evidence that efforts at universal primary education have improved, the number of male university

In general, statistics do show that across Tanzania, girls have less access to education than boys, and on average, girls do not perform as well as boys on national exams. However, as many qualitative studies of gender and education from Tanzania illustrate, there is a great deal of variation within the broad category of “gender,” which may include financial resources of the household of origin, experiences of education within the family, occupations of family members, and whether or not the family lives in an urban or rural setting (Helgesson 2006:4).

The commitment to these initiatives is also written into official policy under the [Tanzania Development Vision 2025](#), which proposes “a well-educated and learning society,” with several specific goals targeted at higher education (URT Vision 2025 Planning Commission, 1999).

Problem and challenges to educational goals include low student enrollment (less than 70%), imbalance in science relative to liberal arts; gender imbalance; poor financing; unregulated,

uncontrolled proliferation of tertiary training institutions; and a tendency to distort the real worth of academic programs ([URT Higher Education Policy 1999](#)).

It is outside the scope of this study to look exhaustively at secondary education in Tanzania. However, with regard to higher education at the university level, there are a few important comments to make. The flagship university of Tanzania is the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), which was first established in 1961 as a college of the University of London. In 1963, it became a constituent college of the University of East Africa, and in 1970, along with other constituent colleges in Nairobi and Makerere, it became an independent national university.

The early period of Independence viewed the university system as a strategic weapon against poverty, ignorance and disease and the political leadership made efforts to draw the universities into national politics. In 1974, the Musoma Resolution was passed, directing that students were only eligible for higher education if they had completed one year of compulsory national service and had a minimum of two years work experience with positive recommendations from employers.

Even today, in a country of more than 30 million, fewer than 20,000 students study at the university level (Mkude et al 2003:21). Until very recently, most graduates expected to go into parastatal jobs, which offered job security and the possibility for postgraduate studies outside the country. Today however, with the transition to a market economy, there have been some efforts to transform curricula, especially the addition of new programs in commerce and management. Mzumbe University, which was re-dedicated as a national university in 2003 as an institution to focus on social sciences, commerce and management, education and law. (You'll notice here that there is not much opportunity in the way of liberal arts.)

The financial crises of the 1980s, which implemented neoliberal policies across the continent as countries reluctantly submitted to the IMF-World Bank structural adjustment programs, caused a parallel crisis at the universities. Universities languished from neglect, with books, equipment and teaching materials becoming rare commodities. Because of runaway inflation, the total value of faculty salaries fell 47% during the 80s (Mkude et al 2003:7). In the early 1990s, there were a number of violent student riots, and universities across the countries closed. Aided in part by international donor interest and enrichment of curricula focusing on engineering and agriculture, the Tanzanian legislature formed the ITP (Institutional Transformation Programme) in 1993 to commission a comprehensive review of higher education in the country.

One of the areas addressed by the ITP has been an examination of gender. For example, in 1995, only 17% of the student body at UDSM was female (Mkude et al 2003:67). At the agriculturally-based Sokoine University in Morogoro in 1999, less than 20% of the student body was female (Mkude et al 2003:87). At UDSM, a number of practical measures to promote increased female enrolment include lowering the entry cut-off point by 1.5 points for women; conducting pre-entry programs for women wanting to join science-based programs; granting a

20% tuition waiver to female students who join the university under the Human Resources Development Trust Fund scheme in the Faculty of Engineering, and giving women priority in campus accommodation. Paradoxically, working as consultants for aid and donor agencies, faculty members can earn the equivalent of a monthly salary for a few days of work, which weakens the commitment of the institutions to restructuring the curriculum.

With regard to computing investment, at least at the UDSM campus, an ICT Master Plan was completed in 1995 to address the rising role of internet-based resources in higher education (Mkude 2003:40). One reason for supporting higher education is that it promotes economic growth, which in turn affects the country's tax base and the possibility of increasing official funding for higher education and the potential for future cost-sharing measures. Economic growth is a pre-condition for job creation and employment. Finally, policy choices influence the total revenues available for education overall.

As a result of structural adjustment programs after 1985, Tanzania carries a heavy debt load, which resulted in the escalation of national debt from US\$1.5 billion in 1982 to nearly US\$1.5 billion in December 1998 (Mkude 2003:57). Tanzania has qualified for debt relief under the revised Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC2) whereby debt relief is conditional on enhanced anti-poverty programs. In 1998, for example, only 57% of youth between 7-14 year olds were in school, compared with 67% in 1988 (Mkude 2003:57). Of the 804 Tanzanian students obtaining postgraduate degrees at UDSM between 1992 and 1998, only twenty percent were female (Mkude 2003:67).

*

In the end, however, Varvus does not present an optimistic view of the ability of education to improve the lives of the average Tanzanian. She says, "In the absence of a concomitant restructuring of national and international development priorities, schooling can transform very few lives" (2007:5).

*

Amy Stambach's *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro* (2000) is a great read. (*It's the kind of book you would read even if it weren't an academic textbook!*) It also shows clearly how school children and the entire Chagga community located in northern Tanzania are continually engaged in negotiations to balance the competing influences of African and Western cultural traditions. Schooling was seen as disrupting the normative relations of intergenerationality and gender – giving youths and women unprecedented opportunities for self-expression and economic gain. In particular, as Stambach notes, there is immense anxiety around the role of girls and women in a transforming system. Women's schooling was seen by many as undermining the social norms that structure social life and everyday interactions within the community, and that allowing girls to continue to attend school was contributing directly to the economic decline and

underdevelopment of the region by keeping those girls separate from their domestic duties. However, others thought that education for girls allowed the people of the region to “talk to the world” and allowed everyone the opportunity to be lifted out of poverty to a higher social and economic level.

And so, paradoxically, even within Tanzania, Stambach shows that girl’s education can be viewed as a sign of either cultural demise or economic reinvigoration, as evidence of either state control or international development, and of an idealized utopian society or a community fraught with social conflicts. Schooling in Kilimanjaro under the new education curriculum stresses the development of a modern identity and a modern approach to everything from agriculture to home economics. However, while students are being encouraged to pursue a modern identity through modern practices, girls are encouraged to stay bound to the domestic sphere.

These contradictions that are present in the education system are to be found in the wider social and economic context as well, as documented by other studies: “While modernity may appear to many as an expanded opportunity for agency, younger people today straddle an often wide divide. On the one hand, being respectful to one’s parents, cultivating proper relationships within the community, and making a living up to the local ideals of personhood establish respect and make various life transitions, in particular marriage, easier. On the other hand, many chafe against what they see as the constraints of the household, of elders’ authority, and of expectations of the local community. Yet it is very difficult to disconnect from these relationships, as they both shape personhood and define, to a degree, identity. Identities are not created in vacuo. Today, modern and traditional have become commonly used terms to define individuals and cultural practices. The category of traditional is actively discouraged by both the state and the churches, so younger people who have received education from the state and who attend church seek increasingly to distance themselves from being identified with the traditional “ (Snyder 2002:168-9)

*

Another study of Tanzanian youth comes from Linda Hegelsson (2006), who relies on grounded theory, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Basically, she describes grounded theory as a path of discovery that starts with “loose questions” that tries to discover what is going on in the field by regarding respondents as actors, looking at interrelationships between conditions, actions and consequences and the meaning of different experiences, and relying heavily on a use of narratives. (Important to note, this technique has also been criticized as fracturing data, looking at human realities, and not a universal experience, but supporters feel like the rich data that can be generated by this technique outweighs the critiques.)

More specifically, in grounded theory a narrative is regarded as something told by somebody in a specific context and every place and situation is a site of narrative production (Czarniawska 2004), involving the position in the characters in the story, as well as the narrator himself or

herself. This is important from an actor's approach because in the narrative presented, the actor will use different forms to present herself. Narrative elements include time, space, actors and events. "Individual narratives can be used to analyze how people create meaning in their lives and how their narratives relate to grand narratives of society" (Arvidsson 1998, cited in Hegelsson 2010:62).

As Hegelsson points out, while Europe and America are facing deindustrialization, in sub-Saharan Africa, the biggest social changes come from the transformation of de-agrarianization. The amount of GDP from agriculture fell from 40% in 1965 to 32% in 1990. Hegelsson cites four major changes in the social processes of east Africa:

1. Occupational adjustment - non-farming activities are on the increase, both regarding the types of activities (informal sector) and in magnitude (carpentry, weaving, brewing, midwifery, bicycle repair, traditional healing, hair, shop-keeping, food stalls, kiosks)
2. Income earning reorientation – increased costs for service such as education and health causes a growing demand for cash but the gains from agriculture are on the decline, eg. Less money from these ventures
3. Changing social identification – a move away from main identity as a farmer
4. Spatial relocation of rural dwellers – urbanization and transport increases , so that some can combine rural/urban elements to lifestyle

She then relates these social changes to the lives of youth. Hegelsson then cites the work of cultural geographer Cindy Katz, whose research on the ecology of youth has eroded due to economic restructuring and compares young people's physical as well as social environment in Sudan and New York City, and Skelton and Valentine, whose book *Cool Places* (1998) brings forward not only public actions and resistance by youth, but also to look at "perhaps invisible youth who may be under educational and social pressure" (I related this to the adamantly "non-activist" students who were critical of the student strikes that took place in the capital city. For this reason, they were pleased to be at Mzumbe University, where the disruption of student strikes was unknown).

*

Looking at another study about the transformation of youth subjectivities (albeit, not in Africa), Mark Liechty (1995) addresses the issue of youth self-peripheralization in Kathmandu, Nepal. Based on his research with youth, he identifies relationships between:

1. state modernism – includes development initiatives which can be measured by the introduction of health centers, roads, etc.;

2. consumer modernity – based on capitalist ideology which it is possible to buy an identity through commodities, refers to a form of post-colonial imperialism “a colonization of the mind via the commoditization of identities” (1995:169); and

3. experiences of modernity, where people can experience an intersection of state modernism and consumer modernity, but where this experience also constitutes intense disappointment when faced with the global realities of limited resources and unequal power relations.

In this way, Liechty deals with commercial media interests and the experiences of middle-class youth and adults, and argues (like Comaroff and Comaroff) that teens have been created as a youth identity which comprises a consumer group. He refers to youth respondents who, through images from the global media that highlight areas from the developed western world, regard themselves as living “out here.” Liechty sees this as self-peripheralization, which is part of Nepali youth identity (this can be compared with Weiss’ discussion of youth in Arusha, 2009). In fact, argues Liechty, the deterritorialization which is the result of globalization can have a very real territorializing effect on the minds of young Nepali people, thus limiting their opportunities by making them feel powerless to shape their own future.

*

Adding a comparative dimension of rural youth and their aspirations, Katherine Snyder’s study (2002) introduces another nuanced view of the contradictions present in the development discourse that have characterized public culture in Tanzania for decades. She also finds widespread sentiment in the Iraqw community that she studies that there are marked differences in perspective between generations – framed in terms of “backward-looking” or “forward thinking” or modern. Snyder analyzes these different perspectives as representative of changing views in personhood. Key in African studies, studies of personhood have benefited from Melanesian societies and the notion of the “relational” person, including the importance of relationships for defining personhood. “The debate about the possible universality of the individual has been bound up in certain distinctions that are commonly made between the self and the person. The self is seen as inner and private, whereas the person is discussed in terms of relationality and social interaction” (Snyder 2002: 156).

The idea of generic individualism is referred to in Kiswahili, as the problem of *ubinafsi* (selfishness). Snyder states “Personhood is formed through relations and through individual agency. Identity is the public face of personhood, involving more strategic actions through which individuals emphasize different qualities, whether it is ethnicity, gender, modernity, or tradition.” (2002: 157). Many of the key transitions of personhood are culturally managed by adherence to specific rites of passage. In particular, the rite of female circumcision precedes adult sexuality sanctioned by marriage; marriages are enactments of social responsibilities and are negotiated and sealed by the economic transaction of bridewealth (for this group, includes

livestock). *(This discussion also echoes points made by Sylvia Tamale (2005) among university students in Uganda, see a summary of that article in the following section.)*

However, Snyder documents the ways that marriages make efforts to include elements of western influence: “While modernity may appear to many as an expanded opportunity for agency, younger people today straddle an often wide divide. On the one hand, being respectful to one’s parents, cultivating proper relationships within the community, and making a living up to the local ideals of personhood establish respect and make various life transitions, in particular marriage, easier. On the other hand, many chafe against what they see as the constraints of the household, of elders’ authority, and of expectations of the local community. Yet it is very difficult to disconnect from these relationships, as they both shape personhood and define, to a degree, identity. Identities are not created in vacuo. Today, modern and traditional have become commonly used terms to define individuals and cultural practices. The category of traditional is actively discouraged by both the state and the churches, so younger people who have received education from the state and who attend church seek increasingly to distance themselves from being identified with the traditional “ (Snyder 2002:168-9).

Snyder goes on specifically to talk about weddings and wedding gifts (mirroring a chapter in Amy Stambach’s book, discussed earlier, on changing notions of brides and weddings among schoolgirls in Kilimanjaro, a region separated by geography and language from the region studied by Snyder). “Traditional resources embedded those who controlled them in networks of relationships within the local community and among kin. With modern goods however, this sense of obligation . . . is not emphasized, and individuality is stressed rather than the connections of individuals” (Snyder 2002:169).

She concludes that today’s young Iraqw draw strategically “upon modern cultural capital (education, church membership, appeals to government initiatives) to gain access to modern goods, and this gets them out from under the control of elders who have more traditional resources” (Snyder 2002: 169). *(This mirrors finding by Prazak (2000), referencing the disruptive social influences of changing intergenerational relationships and power in neighboring Kenya; see the discussion of that article in the following section.)*

The female body, sexuality, and sexual predation

The Menstrual Controversy

One of the bodies of literature in development studies that tries to address the reasons that girls often lag behind their male counterparts in terms of test scores or matriculation comes from what I might call “the menstrual controversy.”

Puberty represents a culturally-charged transformation of the human body, especially in terms of gender. Across the world, societies seek to manage and to shape the behaviors and ideologies of the community through rites of passage and regulatory practices to manage menstruation. In Africa, ethnographic studies on the topic of first menses include those by Brooks-Gunn & Peterson (1983), Buckley & Gottlieb (1988), [Mensch, Bruce & Greene \(1998\)](#), Turner (1969), and Van de Walle & Renne (2001).

Some argue that one of the primary reasons that boys outperform girls in school is because maturing girls are forced to skip school when they menstruate, due to [the lack of toilet facilities](#) or the [lack of sanitary pads](#) to accommodate their uncomfortable situation. There is also a concern that

This position has been supported by the Forum of African Women Educationalists ([FAWE](#)).

There is also a concern that when girls leave the safety of the schoolyard, looking for privacy during that time of the month, they are [at higher risk for rape and sexual assault](#).

Corporate interest Proctor & Gamble (makers of Always® and Tampax®) launched its [“Protecting Futures”](#) campaign, featuring girls from Namibia in 2006. (To me, this raises questions about the sustainability of solid waste disposal in many parts of the world (including the US), but the website assures me that P & G is on it. No worries. Build a loyal market base by donating products.) Vancouver-based LunaPads, which makes a reusable product, also has a campaign called [Afripads](#).

I frequently wonder when people looking for solutions to problems – whatever they may be – will evolve passed this knee-jerk essentialism. So we have [Lions Clubs and Rotary Clubs](#) – organizations of very nice men who could be friends with your dad from all over the world – collecting money to buy “sanitary towels” for girls in Ghana. (Look, I had a friend in college who claimed that men had better stereo equipment than women because women have to spend money on tampons and men don’t. I am not questioning the biological differences between men and women, or the very real difference in access to resources and material wealth, but is [this really a development priority](#)? Or is my problem more about the way this discussion is framed? [Does a sanitary napkin really effect rates of success in school??](#))

Recently , there has been a call to investigate these largely anecdotal discussions about the direct connection between menstruation and school attendance. A good deal of evidence collected in Nepal based on randomized evaluations that there is no demonstrable connection between menstruation and school attendance (Oster & Thornton 2010).

However, in sub-Saharan Africa, and refuting the findings in Nepal, a 2010 study conducted by [the Said Business School at Oxford](#) in Ghana finds that providing sanitary pads does indeed have demonstrable effects on improving girls school attendance. Researchers of the study attribute a

rise in girl's confidence and self-esteem to the improvement in school attendance. After six months, the study documents a change from 21% absenteeism to 9% absenteeism in girls.

Discourses and discussions about sexuality in Africa usually don't progress beyond considerations of disease and population control. But HIV rates do exist on campuses in relatively low numbers. During the peak years of the pandemic, at the University of Dar es Salaam from 1986 to 1999, only 40 reported AIDS cases among students and 106 reported AIDS cases among staff (Mkude 2003:69).

*

Sylvia Tamale, who is on the faculty at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, writes about "women's secrets," and relates them to rites of passage that are sometimes conducted among university aged women. Tamale starts with a thorough understanding of Foucault's notion that the body is a central component in the operation of power – which is bound up with capitalism and patriarchy, control of women's reproductive capacities – and yet, actors are not without power, and they can perform aspects of gender and sexuality through resistance to powerful structures. Among the Baganda of Uganda, there is a rite of passage typically performed to initiate young women into sexuality. The rite, known as *Ssenga* – cultural/sexual initiation institution – is overseen by a paternal aunt whose role is tutor young girls and women in a wide range of sexual matters, including pre-menarche practices, pre-marriage preparation, erotic instruction and reproduction

Today, in Kampala, one may find commercial *ssengas*, whereby women avail themselves for hire by young women and their parents for traditional coming of age instruction. "The institution of Ssenga facilitates and reinforces patriarchal power, while at the same time subverting and parodying it" (Tamale 2005: 12). The rite of initiation has been the topic of conversation and controversy, even on the university campus: "During Makerere University's orientation week last year, the authorities roundly condemned commercial *Ssengas* who 'hawked their advice' to female students. The authorities were particularly concerned by the emphasis on that campus Ssenga sessions placed on sexual intercourse techniques, how to attract men, and how to extract money from a lover. They felt that these were not matters that 'honorable educated girls' should be focusing on. It is clear, however, that much of their discomfort derived from the potential that such Ssenga sessions held for young women to take control of their sexuality." (Tamale 2005: 25)

*

Medical anthropologist Stella Nyanzi at the University of London writes a number of articles about gender, sexuality, and youth in neighboring Uganda (and across the African continent, more generally), always employing impressive and extensive methods of data collection with culturally appropriate research teams. In her co-authored article about adolescent attitudes about

sexuality (2001), she summarizes ten main themes that run through research about sexuality with this population:

1. Sexual partners were commonplace from as early as thirteen years of age;
2. Adolescents are used as go-betweens between their sexually active peers;
3. Boys should initiate the process;
4. Girls distinguished between romantic love and pure sexual desire; boys did not mention romantic love at any time;
5. The system is sustained by peer pressure and surveillance about who is having sex and who is not;
6. Exchange plays an important role in the negotiation of sexual relationship. Money or gifts may also be given and received to strengthen the relationship;
7. Adolescents also have sex with adults, (though this is more true for girls than for boys);
8. Love is intertwined with sexual desire, financial transaction, and prestige; "For girls, material reward [receiving gifts] is an important aspect of relationships and they have to be explicit enough to get as good a deal as possible; but if they are too interested in money they may be stigmatized as 'loose.' On the other hand, if they are not interested in money at all they may be suspected of being infected and wanting to spread HIV. Boys try to persuade girls that they have money, but they do not want to place too much emphasis on money because they are concerned that the girl may no longer see them, only their money. On the other hand, a boy who courts a girl but never gives her anything would not be taken seriously at all." (p. 96);
9. Sex is not exchanged for income; rather the demand of girls for exchange is mainly for extras rather than essentials. "Consequently, the suggestion of money is largely, though not exclusively, a rhetorical device, just as the gifts are primarily symbolic, their actual value often being insignificant. Negotiations therefore constitute, to a large extent, a ritual performance in which sex, money and prestige are intertwined . . . Each wants a partner who is sophisticated, but not too experienced, because this increases the risk that they might be infected and would lead to criticism by peers that the partner is promiscuous." (p. 96);
10. Girls suffer from a double standard about sexual expectations: "There is a clear tension between the traditional idea of female chastity and submissiveness and the modern image of sexual freedom. This image is partly due to exposure to certain genres of Western magazines, films, television programs, etc. in which sexual license and promiscuity are emphasized rather than the romantic monogamous ideal. In this context, virginity and abstinence were not only held in low esteem but actually stigmatized by the majority of participants." (Nyanzi et al 2000:96)

*

As in other parts of Africa, limitations inherent within the contemporary economic conditions of Tanzania create opportunities for transactional sex to be intimately linked with the social processes of intergenerational transformation. “Young women engaged in the sexual economy are contributing to a process of class formation that engenders new hierarchies associated with globalization and neoliberal reform (Cole 2004:574).

*

As noted by Maganja et al (2007), the students I interviewed expressed high levels of mistrust in their characterizations of motivation of sexual partners in sexual relationships. Men believed that women engaged in sexual relationships solely for the purpose of financial enrichment, and also expressed contempt for single, professional women who were able to meet the financial needs of their households without men. Women students believed that men were incapable of sexual fidelity, and that the only way to be with a man for a long term relationship was to monitor his cell phone use closely for evidence of “play” outside the relationship.

What is most interesting about this finding is that Maganja’s study looked at vulnerable and at risk urban youth, while this research was conducted among relative elites at a university campus. The gender antagonism reported was consistent

*

In neighboring rural Kenya, Prazak (2000) conducted an ethnographic study on how sexuality is configured and understood across generations. Her findings parallel those reported by Stambach and Snyder (mentioned earlier): she notes “The growing importance of education, mandated by shifting economic , political, and social contexts is helping redefine roles and expectations, but has not yet become fully integrated into the discourse or processes needed to define guidelines for regulating adolescent sexuality to reflect more closely the contemporary situation within which adolescents learn about and practice appropriate sexual behaviors” (Prazak 2000: 83).

Overall, Prazak found that the general reluctance to discuss sex inhibited her collection of data, however she found that learning about sexuality used to be through achieved exclusively through intergenerational relationships with grandparents (see Tamale’s article, 2005, also discussed here). This point about the transformation of intergenerational ease regarding discussion of sexual matters is echoed by Denise Roth Allen’s (2000) findings in rural Tanzania. Today, however, girls are being circumcised earlier, but married later, so there are several years elapsing between these two events, when girls are able to be sexually active; entire community concerned about rates of pregnancy among school girls. This increased lag time raises a great deal of anxiety about the sexuality of girls. “The ideology of sex for procreation remains the normative guide to sexual behavior” (Prazak 2000:84).

Prazak's research confirms that "Sex and reproduction are still seen as integrally linked. Sexuality is not discussed as a thing itself, separate from reproduction." (Prazak 2000: 95). She concludes, "At this point in time, even though the structures of experience and opportunity which provided guidelines for regulating adolescent sexuality have been largely eroded or transformed, they have yet to be replaced by a coherent set of institutions or ideas that would reflect more closely the contemporary situation in which adolescents learn about and practice appropriate sexual behaviors" (Prazak 2000:95).

*

Discussions about sexuality in africa are most commonly concerned with disease or population control

This volume discusses sexual rights as distinct from reproductive rights, and examines response and policy regarding sexual decisions

The last three decades have seen little change in the representation of marriage or gender roles in Kenyan film (Diang'a 2007).

Sexuality is conflated with reproduction. "Clearly, the hegemony of reproduction-oriented sexuality is nothing but the hetero-normative masculine conception of human sexuality . . . indeed, apart from sexual intercourse between heterosexuals, many other aspects and dimensions of sexuality (eg. Desire, emotion, romance, care, and companionship) are seldom directly related to the production of the production of children" (Makinwa-Adebusoye and Tiemoko 2007:10).

"Conflating sexuality with reproduction simply confuses womanhood with motherhood" (Makinwa-Adebusoye and Tiemoko 2007:10) – this is a way to approach university sexuality"

Emphasize the lack of sexual education and the religious teachings that strongly support marriage as a framework for sexuality.

Urbanization and growing economic differentiation contribute to the complex way that religion and the marital institution influence sexuality. "Two important developments in urban settings that have a major bearing on sexual expression and sexuality are the concentrations of populations and increasing individualism in many aspects of sexuality. Individualism and high population density not only affect sexual encounters but also enhance anonymity. This provides room for expression of alternative or non-conventional forms of sexuality. It also provides room for sexual group formation and social movement such as those of sexual minorities and commercial sex workers. However, changes and transformations of sexuality in cities remain largely outside of marriage. (Makinwa_Adebusoye and Tiemoko 2007:9).

Violence and homophobia

#

One of the most efficient ways patriarchy uses sexuality as a tool to create and sustain gender hierarchy in African societies is through secrecy and taboo (Tamale 2003; Madunagu 2007).

Denial of sexual rights are part of socio-cultural norms/patriarchy that not only affect women, but also men who have sex with men.

Across almost all societies, the concept of “pleasure” is the most contentious aspect of sexuality (Madunagu 2007:91)

Transactional Sex and the Political Economy of Intimacy

One finding of the research that I conducted on a university campus in Tanzania was the high degree to which women students engaged in sexual relationships with older men for material gain. This alerted me to the possibility of thinking about the political economy of intimacy, and the ways that relationships between men and women may be motivated by a pragmatic materiality, complicated performances of intimacy, and a continuum between genuine and feigned (Hoefinger 2011) where meanings of terms like “love” are contested. As economic sociologist Viviana Zelizer points out in *The Purchase of Intimacy* (2007), relationships constantly integrate material exchanges into “larger webs of mutual obligations without destroying the social ties involved. Money cohabitates regularly with intimacy, and even sustains it” (p. 28).

Transactional sex is complicated to discuss, because it is not reducible to “sex work.” [A study funded by USAID](#) in 12 African countries found that young women engaged in a high degree of sexual activity in exchange for gifts or money ([Chatterji et al. 2004](#)). From the literature, the study identified four key factors influencing transactional sex among adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa. These included 1) a desire on the part of the women to cover education-related expenses and to gain connections in social networks; 2) peer pressure to obtain luxury items such as expensive clothing, jewelry, fashionable hairstyles, accessories, and makeup; 3) implicit (rather than explicit) parental pressure to seek funds for educational-related expenses, luxury items, and necessities for the household; and 4) adverse economic conditions. The study also surmised that transactional sex practices were most common among unmarried urban women under the age of 25. Enrollment in school did not seem to alter the percentage of women engaging in transactional sex practices.

However, importantly, **the study did NOT find that extreme poverty was an overriding factor leading young women to exchange sex for money and gifts.** Rather, “being economically well-off, having multiple partners, having an older partner, having first sex related to an exchange, and having first sex before age 16 are associated with a young woman being involved in transactional sex” (Chatterji et al. 2004:2).

This study also found that evidence that directly contradicts the common, anecdotal explanation that young girls will have sex with older men for gifts of money. This study demonstrates that young men are at greater risk of engaging in transactional sex than older men.

*

Fataki

Across Africa, transactional sex is normative, widely accepted as an economic and sexual reality by young people and their parents (Hunter 2002; Wamoyi et al, 2011). Outside of marriage, women expect to be compensated for sexual favors. Young women regularly and actively use their sexuality as an economic resource (LeClerc-Madlala 2003; Wamoyi et. al, 2010, 2011; Maganja 2007; Plummer & Wight 2010).

The literature on this topic is quite vast.

“Macro-level factors shaping transactional sex (e.g. economic, kinship and normative factors) overwhelmingly benefited men, but at a micro-level there were different dimensions of power, stemming from individual attributes and immediate circumstances, some of which benefited women. Young women actively used their sexuality as an economic resource, often entering into relationships primarily for economic gain.” (Wamoyi 2010)

Even in peer relations, women do not offer sex without an expectation of material remuneration. While more than half of young Tanzanians between the ages of 16 and 24 self-report that they are sexually active (Maswanya et. al, 1999), these rates vary for males and females. Obviously, motivations for having sex differ between men and women. In the previously mentioned study, males self-reported being sexually active at about 75%, while females reported sexual activity at 40%. In another recent ethnographic study, young men reported that they frequently seek to satisfy their sexual desires as a way to experience pleasure and to outwardly demonstrate their masculinity, while the young women in the study confessed to thinking that men were “stupid” for paying for sex and considered themselves lucky to be in the position to profit from the needs of men (Wamoyi et. al, 2011).

High partner turnover can be attributed to the interpersonal dynamics of transactional sex, as the amount of remuneration given in each transaction tends to vary at different stages of a relationship. Typically, women expect to be given more the first time they engage in sex with a new partner and will set their expectation quite high, depending on their assessment of what the man is able to pay (Wamoyi et. al, 2010). This means that women can gain most from new relationships, and may be motivated to seek new partners more frequently to maximize the amount of money or the quality of the gift they are able to demand based on their relationship to a man and his relative sexual desire for her attention. Commonly, too, women will seek to find older men, under the assumption that they are more wealthy and better able to give expensive

gifts (Longfield et. al, 2004; Luke, 2003; Silberschmidt & Rasch 2001). As a result, there are a high proportion of sexual encounters that can be framed as intergenerational sexual relationships between younger women and older, frequently married, men.

“Fataki” means xxxxx. He is usually older, married, successful, and often has children near the age of the girl he targets.

In Tanzania, there has recently been a good deal of public commentary on the issue of older men, who are in the position to spare resources, and much younger girls, who are often not in the position to refuse the advances of older, more powerful men, and certainly not in the position to negotiate that condoms be used to prevent the spread of disease. A recent study conducted by the National Institute for Medical Research determined that young, unmarried women in Dar es Salaam between the ages of 18 and 24 were able to negotiate condom use during sex with peer-aged boyfriends almost half the time (48%), but during sex with a sugar daddy, the opportunity to make a decision about condom use fell to 21% (Maswanya et. al, 2011).

“You can even see them, in the towns. They move in cars, hunting for girls. They say that young girls in secondary school are cheaper to date than girls at university. Girls will be happy with a plate of chicken and chips, and maybe give them 5000 or 10000 shillings. University girls want more than that, usually.” [Namwaka]

A few of the girls in this sample actually said that one of the main advantages to the relative isolation of Mzumbe University was the removal of Sugar Daddies from their immediate social world.

“You can still see them though. Don’t you see all these cars that come up in here and along this road on Friday afternoon? Those are the Sugar Daddies, coming to get someone for the weekend. I don’t know if he takes them to his house, or if it’s just a hotel, or what it is, but that’s why you can see all these cars here.” [Anna]

*

In a long-term, qualitative sample of over 900 participants in rural Tanzania, Plummer and Wight (2011) demonstrate that young men’s motivations for sex were mainly pleasure and masculine esteem, while young women were mostly persuaded to have sex for material gain.

*

One of Michel Foucault's main theories and most widely cited contributions to social theory addressed the ways that public discourse regulates and controls sexuality. Along these lines, Liv Haram's ethnographic research of adolescents among the Meru in northern Tanzania explores the cultural logic of secrecy in sexual life. She examines how young people within this "respect culture" manage multiple and concurrent love affairs in a morally acceptable way by keeping them secret. (Respect cultures are characterized by a high degree of hierarchy that dispense social correctives around the issues of "respect," "discipline, and "shame;" many of these societal controls produce effective circumscription on sexuality, fertility, and pleasure.) Many of these social norms are highlighted through the management of sexuality at the time of circumcision. Social rules prescribing sexual behavior for men and women are different: "Though females are likely to conceal the number of their love affairs to protect their respectability, males are likely to overreport the number of their love affairs, since they thereby gain in respect, at least among their peers" (Haram 2005:62).

Keeping secrets about sexuality and sexual behavior are key to maintaining dignity and showing respect: this is probably best understood in a western cultural context as the dictum of "don't ask, don't tell." Those engaging in "bad" or immoral behaviors should not engage in them publicly. Rather, they should not publicly acknowledge their involvement in unsanctioned behavior but should appear above it, hence the proverb and moral guidance "Eyes have no curtains" (standing in stark contrast to the more western principle of transparency or openness – "Openness signifies morally good and truthful sexuality, but secret and silenced sexuality signifies hidden, unfaithful, morally bad, and, in the time of AIDS, dangerously risky sex" - p. 69).

Haram shares a number of examples of relationships between men and women that are governed by transactional sex. She points out that though it is normative for women to accept gifts from their lovers, there is an upper limit for the tolerance on this behavior. Too many extravagant gifts can launch the critique that a woman has misbehaved and is "*mchoyo*" (greedy). Even years later, communities will remember the behaviors of these young women in their youth and may attribute what they consider to be misfortunes (miscarriages, HIV, financial ruin) to inappropriately-managed sexual behaviors from a woman's youth. Haram cites the work of Lynn Thomas' monograph from Kenya when she notes, "young women's bodies and reputations remain crucial sites for constructing and contesting political and moral order" (2003:177).

*

Based on ethnographic research, Leclerc-Madlala (2008) focused a study on sexual exchange for material gain in an urban township of Durban, South Africa. She notes that a popular South African weekly featured a story in 1998 about women students at a Gauteng university who exchanged sex for account payments and fashionable clothing. Authorities were angered by what they saw as reports of prostitution on campus and the possible damage to the university

reputation. She notes that in 2000, the same newspaper featured an article on “common consumerist sexual exchange relationships” amongst women at a KwaZulu-Natal University. “A central concern is the relationship between local sociocultural processes in the form of particular heterosexual dynamics, and global economic forces together with abstract narratives of modernity. . . For many women in these communities, exchanging sex for financial or lifestyle rewards is an important part of their orientations towards sexual encounters **and often have little to do with being poor.** Here words such as ‘prostitution’ or ‘survival sex’ misrepresent the character of relationships where implicit understandings link material expectation to sex and are not entirely separate from everyday life” (Leclerc-Madlala 2008:211).

Further, Leclerc-Madlala writes that in this South African township, “Young women exploiting their desirability in an effort to attract men who can provide them with expensive commodities such as jewelry, cellular phones, fashionable clothing and opportunities to be seen as passengers in luxury automobiles, seemingly has little to do with poverty-related survival strategies. Arguably, such practices are more about satisfying “wants” as opposed to meeting “needs,” and may reflect a desire to acquire what Handler (1991) referred to as symbolic capital, in this case symbols of a modern and successful life.” (Leclerc-Madlala 2008:214)

I quote extensively here from her insightful conclusion:

“Women’s power and agency within the confines of current economic and gender inequities must be clearly understood [for policy development, esp. in the area of HIV prevention interventions] . . . Women who consciously choose multiple partners and engage in transactional sex are seeking to assert themselves and further their interests. They are fully aware that they are acting in a calculating and exploitative way. Using their sexuality to access goods and services is construed as a pragmatic adaptation to modern and costly urban life. . .

I would suggest that the sexual exchange principle that allows women to view their sexuality in an instrumental way is wide spread not only in South Africa, but also throughout the sub-continent and possibly beyond. The consumptive nature of what is described as transactional sex in the African context today can be viewed as linked to urbanization, the emergence of consumerism and the wide disparities of wealth, and are not likely to become more ‘normative’ in the future. **Ultimately, women’s access to material goods and women’s participation in the economy as controllers of financial resources is required if women are to forego the material rewards that are a central component of their relationships with men.**” (Leclerc-Madlala 2008:229).

*

In urban Tanzania, Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001) conducted a study among 15-24 year old girls in Dar es Salaam. They concluded that young women are “active agents, entrepreneurs who deliberately exploit their partner(s).”

*

Methodologically, feminist anthropologists recommend that a move to detailed qualitative research is useful to address the inadequacy of terminology about sexuality and economics. The following studies explore alternative methodologies for examining transactional sex in a more nuanced way:

Kaufman and Stavrou (2002) looked carefully at linkages between sexual exchange and violence in KwaZulu-Natal within the framework of economic considerations for adolescent sexuality and the continued high rates of HIV transmission.

Hunter (2002) provides a historic study of two neighboring communities in northern KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa). The distinctions between sex for subsistence and sex for consumption noted against the differing forms of gendered material inequalities and lifestyles typical of a township and an informal settlement. Hunter concluded that the association made by both men and women in these relationships between sex and gifts was a central factor in driving multiple-partnered sex, and also in supporting a particular masculine construction of sexuality that drives the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Thorpe 2002 - sexual dynamics among students in two township schools; argued that the financial element within relationships was of greatest concern to boys who felt anxious about meeting the financial demands of girlfriends.

Selikow et al 2002 - - youth culture, argues that a combination of poverty with the current materialist/consumerist culture underpins the wide prevalence of women’s engagement in sexual relationships for conspicuous consumption; not usually preceded by verbal agreement, but governed by shared understandings that link sex to money and are not necessarily related to poverty

Wojcicki 2001 and 2002 - - “informal sex” differs from “commercial sex” – in sex-for-money exchanges operate through a system of implied consent and high levels of social acceptance of violence against women; not usually preceded by verbal agreement, but governed by shared understandings that link sex to money and are not necessarily related to poverty

*

Specifically, for additional literature on transactional sex/non-professional sexual exchange practices in African countries, see the following literature: In Ghana – see Ankomah 1992; Fayorsey 1996; In Lesotho – see Spiegel 1991; Romero-Daza 1994; In Kenya –

[from chatterji bib]

In Malawi, see Swidler A. and S.C. Watkins. 2007, especially for innovative methodology that involves participant observation; In Mali – see Castle and Konate 1999. This study of both urban and rural young women aged 15-19 found that women who classified their relationship as “sporadic” rather than leading to marriage were more likely to engage in transactional sex.

In Namibia – see studies by Mukonda 1998; Katjire et al 2000

In Senegal – see Niang 1995. Many studies of adolescent sexuality have been conducted in South Africa – see especially Dunckle, K et. al 2007, Varga 1996 & 1997; Webb 1997; Luiz and Roets 1998; and Preston-Whyte et al 1998. In Uganda, see studies by McGrath et al 1993; Agyei and Epema 1994; Seeley et al 1994; Seeley et al 2010. For studies on transactional sex practices in Zambia, see Nzovu and Lwanga 1997. In Zaire, Schoepf 1991 and 1992a and 1992b. In Zimbabwe, see studies by Basset and Molyi 1991; Vos 1994; and Basset and Sherman 1994.

*

For more detailed discussions of transactional sex among adolescents in Tanzania, see Bond et al 1992; Luna and Rotheram-Borus 1992; and Nnko and Pool 1997.

*

When you read about the colonial attempts to construct masculinity in East Africa, you begin to see how complex the historical construction of gender and class is and how practices from decades ago could still continue to influence attitudes about gender and identity today ([miniskirt article here](#)). The British, concerned with the creation of “working men” in the colonies, placed men to work in long or short trousers depending on the job, they legislated their earnings, and they dictated where the workers could live (White 1990).

One compelling area of study has been discussion the issue of “lifestyles” (Chaney 1996, 2001). Identity studies frequently pivot around the issue of structure and agency: if structure – represented by our culture - poses our ideal selves within a set of place-bound, heritage-bound, sex-bound options, agency – - offered by Chaney as our lifestyle - - suggests that as individuals, we each may “choose” our ideal selves from a variety of options that hinge on our own imagination, style, and desire. In the contemporary world, UK-based sociologist David Chaney suggests that while there are absolutely limits to self-invention - including those posed by differential access to wealth, power, knowledge, technology, and personal style - technology also allows an emergence of multiple possible lifestyles - available to virtually everyone . “The manner in which young Africans are beginning to fabricate their lifestyles is vital to understanding Africa’s future (Fair et al., 2009:30).

Of course this is nothing new – this is the work of the Comaroffs, as well as the flaneur literature –

As literature from across the continent shows, young Africans are using the internet to open access to spaces previously denied them and to move into larger or more influential social networks (see Burke 2000, Cole 2004, Durham 2000; Jeffrey 2008, Rasmussen 2000, Simone 2008, Smith 2007, Fair et al. 2009 others) - -

In tweaking the work of Chaney, I would like to suggest that “personhood” might be a more careful way of understanding lifestyle choices in an African context. In most of Africa today, and especially on a university campus, people are very aware of their connection to each other – and their obligations and responsibilities. Students today are crafting cultural strategies that allow them access to the fluid lifestyle choices suggested by Chaney, but they continue to be aware of those structures of culture that constrain their choices, and their decisions about the kind of PERSON they choose to be.

Technology – a new hope?

Nearly as prevalent as the confidence in education to heal the social dilemmas of the developing world is the notion that technology – specifically in the guise of mobile telephony – will hearken improvements across the spectrum. These initiatives, usually known as “ICT for Development,” forecast a brighter tomorrow using the technology of today. The main question raised by anthropological research centers around the possibilities that the “digital divide” would exacerbate or improve differences between the rich and the poor (see, for example, ethnographic work on the cell phone in Jamaica by Horst & Miller 2006). Some would even say that the millennial rise of new information and communication technologies (ICT) tucks neatly into the neoliberal economic tidal wave that homogenizes world media, and accommodates the growth of large, controlling corporate interests, usually located outside the developing world. In global media, the prevailing logic says “get big fast or get swallowed”: in 2003, nine companies owned 80% of the global music market (McChesney & Schiller 2003). Anthropological studies look closely at the ways that “new media and technology transform domestic space AND shape new autonomy between children and parents, transforming boundaries between work and home in a “flexible” global economy and also notions of community, individual, and society” (Horst & Miller 2006).

For many developing countries, the relatively recent availability of cheap and accessible cell phones (and cell phone towers) represented the first opportunity to engage in telecommunication in a regular way. Mobile technology sheds light on notions of information, appropriation, and development. It also challenges and changes notions of gender (see the edited journal collection by Ling & Horst 2011).

Young people, in particular, have been keen to capitalize on mobile technologies. As I conducted my ethnographic study on a university campus in Tanzania, it was impossible to remain unaware of the powerful role that cell phones played in the life of students. During interviews, phones would ring. Students would sit, alone or in groups, chatting on the phone, or scrolling through text messages.

*

Just as Fischer concluded in his work on telephones – meaning the historical introduction of land line based telephones to American homes - in American culture, access to the telephone did not necessarily introduce radical new behaviors but rather allows users to “more vigorously pursue their characteristic ways of life” (Fischer 1992:5). Fischer concludes that “telephone calling solidified and deepened social relations” (Fischer 1992:266). Many ethnographic studies of cell phones in the US context look at how parents give phones to children in order to facilitate scheduling and increase flexibility (Ling 2004). But as other ethnographic studies of cell phones in the nonwestern context have shown, cell phones are frequently employed to maximize relationship of communication and connection, especially in ways that give and receive help, especially financial (Horst & Miller 2006).

Today’s smart phones are not only designed for speaking to someone in the home village. Smart phones are designed to keep the user in continual connection with the world, especially through social networking applications.

Here, application of the sociological theory offered by the work of Manuel Castells might be useful to understand a mechanism by which cyber-technologies may alter or transform the way a person thinks, or at least the way that a person might imagine the organization of a society. Castells’ work on the development of cybernetic culture and the way it is transforming subjectivity of the “Self” asserts, “Our societies are increasingly structured around the bipolar opposition of the Net and the Self; the ‘Net’ denotes the network organizations replacing vertically integrated hierarchies as the dominant form of social organization, the ‘Self’ denotes the practices a person uses in reaffirming social identity and meaning in a continually changing cultural landscape” (1996:3). Based on the interviews collected in my research, I argue that increasingly, for Tanzanian youth, social networking has become predicated on individual networking (see Horst & Miller 2005 & 2006 for ethnographic evidence from Jamaica; see also the innovative, community-based work of sociologist Barry Wellman 1999, 2002). In other words, ideas of the “Self” are emerging, though not without discomfort, contestation, or conflict. Mobile technology also challenges and changes notions of gender (Ling & Horst 2011) and intergenerationality.

*

Some studies aim to describe how mobile communication sheds light upon notions of information, appropriation, and development and how it is challenging, and in many cases changing, notions of gender. The latest statistics show that there are more cellular phones in the developing world than in the developed world (Ling and Horst 2011). While the internet has stolen headlines, it is the mobile phone that has been widely used by people who are living at the “bottom” of the pyramid. A movement called ICT for Development attempts to use marketing strategies, like mapping motivations to purchase and use products, to development initiatives via perceived benefits of the mobile. Araba Sey (in the collection by Ling and Horst) reveals a myriad of motivations and practices that underline appropriation in Ghana. “One point in her analysis is that the motivation to have a mobile phone is not the result of a centrally planned development initiative, but it is simply individuals adopting technology that makes sense to them and helps them with the arrangement of their daily affairs.” (Sey 2011: 365)

Other studies examine transformations in interpersonal relationships. In Jamaica, Horst and Miller (2006) found that men, and to a lesser degree, women made efforts to disguise the names and numbers saved in their phone and tend to avoid using voicemail and other forms of communication (e.g., SMS) that leave behind a trail. Lásen has also described the lengths to which romantic partners need to go when they are continually available to one another. Specifically for women, phones are devices that allowed mothers who migrated to work abroad to cultivate the sense that they were an active part of their children’s lives. In this study, it allowed Filipina mothers to help legitimate working overseas (Madianou and Miller (2011) – in Ling and Horst).

While mobile phone technology is usually discussed as liberating, the presence it adds to the life of its owner can cut two ways. In the case of young women, it can be used to control users and encourage them to do the bidding of others (Wallis (2011) in Ling and Horst). Additionally, phones facilitate coordination and social cohesion, but they can also change rules about who can interact with whom (p. 370).

*

A study in the UK found that teens invoked ritual qualities while texting, including orderly exchange of messages in the spirit of reciprocity. They viewed their messages as containing particular memories and having value over and above their mere content. Sending a text “is shown to mobilize social relations, strengthen the bonds of social allegiance and provide a means to draw lines between friend or foe” (Taylor and Kiel xxx:2). Another study of US undergraduates found that text messaging was most frequently invoked to transmit messages for friendship maintenance and romantic or social functions associated with highly intimate and relational concerns (Thurlow 2003). These studies emphasize the social lives of objects; in other words, the way that telephones transform social relationships, including altering the element of privacy and the way that privacy is understood within intimate relationships.

Cell-phones enhance the ability to be continually in touch with another person, and allow for co-existing in time, or simultaneity. Studies from around the world – show that most SMS usage takes place between the ages of 13-28 because it is convenient, informal, fast, and cheap. In Japan, Malaysia, and Europe, nearly half of the users in this group send five or more text messages a day.

Researchers have been conducting ethnographic field studies of teenage mobile/cell phone use around the world: for example, in Japan, cultural geographers Ito and Daisuke (xxx) applied the work of Doreen Massey to document the “power-geometry of space-time compression” made possible by mobile technologies by observing a structured set of social norms in university student mobile communications. Ito and Daisuke note that even though some new practices were emerging in texting, most interactions via cell phone remained under the surveillance/structured disciplines of adult control because they remained financially dependent on parents while attending university. The middle class and elite Japanese university students in this study grew up with messaging technologies, and reported that the monthly bill of about yen 7186 (about \$90) was paid for by parents, with whom they still lived. “Mobile phones are embedded in existing power-geometries and creating new social disciplines and accountabilities” (Ito and Daisuke xxx:5; see also Green 2002). In particular, in Japan, girls became savvy consumers of trends in communication and fashion, and this transformation of girls from domestic, modest and quiet members of society has thrust them into the popular imagination as icons for ongoing social concerns about moral decline and growing promiscuity of youth. “Mobile youth culture is an object of both fascination and concern, produced by adults and industrialists, as well as subject to regulation and repression” (Ito and Daisuke xxx:7). “Public perception, however, persists that youth technoculture is related to moral decline” (Ito & Daisuke xxx:14). For example, a practice known as ENJO KOUSAI started in the nineties, where high school girls meet older men in public places to date them for money was recently the topic of an exposé in a popular weekly magazine. Ling and Yttri (2002) coined the term “hyper-coordination” to refer to the expressive and socially active uses of mobile phones by teens in Norway. An ethnographic study of Malaysian university students also found women to be more active texters (the same was noted in Japan).

*

Longe et al (2007) conducted a study of teenage exposure to pornography in Nigerian cyber cafes. In this seemingly unedited article (which, in addition to multiple grammatical errors, contains innumerable errors in basic citation and stretched my patience with its lack of internal organization), the authors argue that next to issues of piracy and fraudulent scam activity, pornography is a huge concern across Nigeria, especially among youth. Because there is virtually no oversight by the Nigerian government on access to the internet, the rates of early exposure to pornography are quite high. The authors estimate that children as young as 7 are exposed to pornographic materials. They administered 270 questionnaires over a three-month

period and in four locations to children and teenagers between the ages of 7-14. Their findings show that children and teens from medium and high-income households have the most access to the internet and are more prone to viewing pornography. Nearly a third of the respondents in the study (27.6%) reported viewing pornography frequently.

There was no breakdown in the findings according to level of education or gender.

*

Many studies about media/film in Africa focus on the complex and continuing dimension of cultural imperialism. Larkin's (1997) article focuses on Hausa viewers of Indian Bollywood cinema and its effect on the medium of Hausa love stories. He offers a view of "parallel modernities" = Indian cinema "offer Hausa viewers a way of imaginatively engaging with forms of tradition different from their own at the same time as conceiving of a modernity that comes without the political and ideological significance of that of the West. (Larkin 1997: 407). "Media figure prominently in creating interconnections between different peoples who can now consider alternative lives based not on their experiences in their own locality but on a range of experiences brought to them through international mass media. As more people throughout the world see their reality 'through the prisms of possible lives offered by the mass media,' appadurai argues that contemporary ethnography must now expand to find ways of understanding the social reality of imagination: 'fantasy is now a social practice; it enters in a host of ways, into the fabrication of social lives' "(Appadurai 1991:198, cited in Larkin 1997:410).

Larkin also addresses the political economy of the entertainment industry. Often, American films are the most expensive, and so films from other countries can be more attractive to viewers. "Indian films place family and kinship at the center of the narrative tension as a key stimulus for characters' motivations to a degree that rarely occurs in western films. They are based on a strict division between the sexes, and love songs and sexual relations, while sensuous, are kept within firm boundaries. Kissing is rare and nudity absent. . . more complexly, Indian films are based upon negotiating the tension of persevering traditional moral values in a time of profound change" (Larkin 2007:413). The power of narrative to describe social life remains an important component – which may be stronger in African cultures with a recent oral tradition (Jackson 1982; Beidelman 1993). Beidelman, in particular, argues that imagination has both group and individual importance and exercises potentially subversive powers.

Larkin then, outlines the boundaries of social transformation in contemporary Hausa society. The oil boom of the 1970s thrust Nigeria into fast capitalism of an oil economy, with parallel changes in social dynamics, including the form of urbanization, consumption habits and the political system, what Watts and Pred (1992) call the "shock of modernity." The country has become dependent upon imports for food and there is also an internationalized (globalized?) consumption tastes for a rising middle class. "Creating the easy assumption that fast capitalism

means fast westernization” (Larkin:416). Then, in the 1980s with the economic crash there has been a growing self-consciousness about the changing nature of society, marked by Islamic revitalization and critique of secular westernization. Larkin concludes “. . . through spectacle and fantasy, romance and sexuality, indian films provide arenas for considering what it means to be modern and what may be the place of Hausa society within that modernity.”

*

Bella Ellwood-Clayton (2005) examines infidelity. “Cross-cultural studies have replicated findings that the cell phone provides its users a site to explore their desires, versus traditional face-to-face communication which may act to restrain such expression (Ellwood-Clayton 2003,2004,2005; Kasesniemi and Rauntianen 2002; Pertierra et al. 2002). She highlights her findings from interviews that show that texting affords flexibility, (crafted) spontaneity, and a great deal of privacy for romantic communications, and including the ability to contact another at virtually any time. Ellwood-Clayton notes that these factors work together to position texting as a tool of “enchantment.”

In the ways that participants defined “infidelity,” it was discovered that the act of infidelity may have degrees of significance. Generally, if there is a breach of trust or relationship agreement, it is because partners implicitly understand the terms of fidelity. Citing Pittman (1989), Ellwood-Clayton says that “infidelity is not in the sex, necessarily, but in the secrecy. It isn’t whom you lie with. It’s who you lie to.”

Typically, women’s affairs are less likely to be tolerated by their male partners. Australian researchers Byrne and Findlay (2004) demonstrated that texting influenced the ways that romantic relationships are initiated, allowing women more flexibility in gender scripts. Secrecy arises because the potential losses (marriage, friendship, respect of coworkers, relationships with children) are difficult to comprehend. According to a UK study, 45% of people admit to lying about their whereabouts by text. “Texting grants users the ability to craft their communication, to position their spatial and temporal locations so to impact favorably upon impression management” (Ellwood-Clayton 2005:11).

The cell phone can also become a tool for gathering information and data on a suspected partner. Ellwood-Clayton argues that phone technology is allowing for philanderers to fake fidelity, while managing questionable relationships that might be considered unethical.

*

Dorothea Schulz (2007) conducted anthropological research in San, Mali among urban dwellers. She concentrated on how Malians watch television, especially US soap operas and Brazilian telenovelas to explore forms of public subjectivity that mass-mediated entertainment culture in Mali creates. She creates “a sketch of the institutions and degree of commercialization of

cultural products, as well as of the setting in which broadcasts are consumed by urban middle and lower-middle class households, to assess what subjectivity is presupposed and created in the course of media reception in urban Mali” (Schulz 2007:21).

Television consumption is a recent phenomenon – national television has been around since the mid-1970s, but today there are a profusion of satellite television channels from outside the country. Additionally, there are more and more households with cheaper television sets from Southeast Asia. She also describes the market for making private videos. She also yet these too must be viewed within the larger frame of consumption of commercial culture. “Daily life in town is shaped by recurrent confrontations between the generations and sexes. People straddle, in various ways, a need for greater individual autonomy and responsibility with the persistent normative order of patriarchal authority and family membership . . . regardless of their particular responses, they all share the perception that the reliability of (kin and other) social relations is under threat” (Schulz 2007: 25).

*

In Dar es Salaam, a city of 3.5 million people, the unemployment rate is estimated between 13-40%. The word for “youth” in Kiswahili is “kijana” and usually refers to any person between the ages of 15 and 30, but typically refers to unmarried individuals. Another term commonly used to reference youth-based music and film is “bongo,” which literally means wisdom, but it is used as slang for a) the knowledge and skills needed to survive under difficult circumstances; and b) more generally, Dar es Salaam. Perullo’s article (2005), on hooligans (“wahuni”) and heroes, points out that “education is an important concern for Tanzanian youth. With failing schools, limited resources in classrooms, and teachers who fail the same national examinations that they teach to their students, youth are aware of the problems that exist in their schools.” (Perullo 2005:88). There are songs about education, challenges of boarding school, or working out relationships with a teacher. Not just in Tanzania, but around the world, youth, especially in urban areas, are often associated with words as “hostile, violent, and destructive.” One of the most dramatic creative forms of this sentiment is characterized by rap music.

Unlike many other African cultures, Tanzania has a long history of music that explicitly discusses social and political issues, including Dansi and Taarab artists wrote songs that commented on problems of urban life (Perullo 2005: 77) during colonial period and in early years of national independence. Anthropologists are typically suspicious of the influence of exported media on culture no matter how popular they are (see Abu-Lughod 1993, Ginsburg 1991, Hannerz 1992). Karin Barber (1987) notes that the “imported commercial entertainments . . . symbolize Western culture (though they include Chinese Kung Fu movies and Indian romantic melodramas)” [p. 25].

Economic liberalization is central to providing youth access to rap. In the mid-1980s, under the presidency of Ali Hassan Mwinyi, liberalization brought about easier access to foreign goods,

including hip-hop clothing, music, magazine and it allowed independent radio stations and newspapers to emerge, and it permitted many potential producers to import equipment needed to record local artists = creating jobs for deejays, announcers, journalists, producers, and engineers. Using regional slangs or “standard” Kiswahili, rappers write about problems they seen in contemporary Tanzania – including failing schools, limited employment and financial possibilities, lack of adequate healthcare, and corruption of local leaders. Popular music creates an arena where social issues and class issues are openly interrogated, especially gender changes. Professor Jay’s popular 2001 song (“*Ndio Mzee*” / “Yes Elder”) seized on cynicism of youth around the issue of broken promises by politicians and combines humor and politics. – politicians even referenced the song – “Rap . . . is powerful enough to reach mass audiences quickly, influence people’s (particularly youths’) outlook on issues, and place pressures on various areas of Tanzanian society. Since freedom of speech has increased during the post-socialist period and youth control many areas of the media, rappers’ lyrics quickly move into broader public spaces, encouraging comment and reaction . . . in certain circumstances, a well-articulated rap can strengthen the presence of youth voice, opinions, and ideologies in contemporary society” (Perullo 2005:86). In Kiswahili (Bongo) music, there is an absence of cursing in songs – since that is unacceptable in public. (Cursing in English is generally ignored.) Interestingly, “songs about the plight of women in urban society are the most controversial” (Perullo 2005: 89). Basically, “the attitude of many urban males in Dar es Salaam is that women are inferior, second-class citizens, who need to rely on men for guidance and support; they view women as sex symbols and objects of desire.” Rap songs that admonish women for being sexually active, straying from norms, are popular. The new emergence of female artists with tough, socially conscious lyrics; including Zay B (real name is Zainab Lipangile), who speaks directly to young women and comments on their need to take control of they lives. In the video for “MAMA AFRIKA” 2002, Lipangile “notes that men give gifts to women in return for sex. Well-off men (*buzi*) provide women with gifts including candy, food, drinks, and clothes. They often give these gifts at clubs, such as the Awa. Zay B suggest stha thte gifts are insignificant, not worth the problems that sex can cause. Importantly, she uses the word “rape” to refer to the sexual act of wealthy men buying sexual favors of young children” (Perullo 2005:93).

“*Buzi*” means goat – but is slang for a male lover who provides financial support for a woman in exchange for sex. Rap is popular across Africa – anyone can participate since it is cheap (doesn’t require instruments, requires only a turntable) and is widely accessible. Perullo concludes by noting that youth does not have a unified vision for the future, but is a huge force for the future.

*

An article by Bidwell et al. makes an effort to contextualize material settings in rural Africa to bridge the digital divide by concentrating on locational information. “For generations, oral information transfer, contextualized in material settings, has sustained the identity and livelihood

of africa's rural communities. We propose that devices that are sensitive to people's interactions in their specific rural environments offer new opportunities for communities to practice knowledge from animal husbandry to plant use" (Bidwell et. al 2011:8).

The authors note that African personhood is experienced as bodily interactions and relationships between bodies, movements, settings, knowledge and identity and that kin relations are built into the village's physical infrastructure. "Participants relate wisdom to relationships between people and proposed that interpersonal bonds are embodied and oriented in social-relational space" (Bidwell et. al 2011:9).

*

Nadine Dolby's analysis (2006) of the Big Brother Africa (BBA) program demonstrates how popular culture is a critical component of people's lives and identities throughout the world (see Stuart Hall 1981, Laurence Grossberg 1989). Pop culture is a site of struggle, a place for the negotiations of identities dictated by race, gender, nation, and sexuality are touched profoundly by power within any given society (cf. Hall 1981). Hall says, "popular culture is one of the sites where this struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged; it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises, and where it is secured" (1981:239, cited in Dolby 2006).

In popular culture studies, there is an increasing interest in emergent cultural and media forms that merge "global" sensibility with indigenous "Bongo" (or Kiswahili) aesthetics, including contemporary music (Larkin 2004, Hofmeyr, Nyairo & Ogude 2003 in Kenya); music & films (Diawara 2003); popular magazines (Nuttall 2003); clothing and fashion (Hansen 2000); television (Barnett 2004, Fair 2003); urban & rural culture (Barber 1997, Zeleza & Veney 2003); sports (Rice 2005 – for example, the celebrity of George Weah in Liberia). Another area of exciting research is the mediascapes of South Africa (see the work of Rob Nixon 1994, drawing theoretically from Appadurai).

Grossberg (1989) argues that, particularly for youth, popular culture is a central force of "affective investment" for people: images, personalities, and possibilities plant themselves firmly in the hearts and minds of people, influencing even the capacity of their imaginations. "Regardless of their actual access to media, youth around the world are captivated by images and sounds that flow from screens and boomboxes; being part of popular culture is a key component of modernity and feeling that one is somehow connected to the global flows described by Arjun Appadurai [1996] (Dolby 2006:32).

Mamadou Diouf says "the condition of young people in Africa, as well as their future, is heavily influenced by the interaction between local and global pressures: the fragmentation or dissolution of local culture and memory, on the one hand, and the influence of global culture, on the other" (2003:2). He says: "in many ways, young Africans can be seen as searching for a

narrative that provides a territory for the free play of their imagination” (2003:6, cited in Dolby, 2006).

National broadcasting was limited, often due to the World Bank requirements to curtail public spending. As noted earlier, in the 1990s, the availability of satellite and digital technologies changed options for television viewing across Africa. Despite less expensive television sets and cheap imported entertainment that flooded African screens and advertisements were sold to replace lost state funds (see Bourgault 1995), according to Kenyan researchers Tomaselli and William Heuva (2004), television ownership that in 1996, only 3.5 percent of African households had televisions.

Regarding the wildly popular reality television program called *Big Brother Africa*. According to Dolby, beginning in 2003, BBA became the most watched television show on the African continent. BBA represents inexpensive programming, based on a show first successful in the Netherlands. The concept of the program brings together twelve single, English-speaking professionals in their twenties from Anglophone countries of Eastern and southern Africa, including Tanzania, Kenya, South Africa, Namibia, Zambia, Uganda, Angola, Malawi, Botswana, and South Africa. Participants also come from two west African anglo-phone countries: Nigeria and Ghana. It is fair to say that this group represents a small elite. However, the reception of the program in African countries demonstrated an enthusiasm and a degree of public debate that transcended the composition of the actual participants in the program. The program remains very popular, especially among college students, who often watch the program in their dorm rooms or with friends. **BBA was frequently a topic of discussion in my interviews on the Mzumbe campus in the Spring of 2012.**

The program’s format allows viewers to send in SMS messages to interact with contestants and to participate in the program as it unfolds. One of the main comments about the program is that it provides a forum with potential for pan-African dialogue about key issues, including how economic, political, and cultural failures of African nationalist projects have minimized the importance of the socialization of youth (Diouf 2003). Conversations about the program include a great deal of speculation about the on-screen romances that emerge during the course of the filming, but also discussions about premarital sex, AIDS, the role of women in African societies, the relative merits of different national programs to reduce poverty and promote economic growth, racial, ethnic and national stereotypes, health care, and other issues. People who don’t ordinarily think of themselves as “political” may be drawn into the discussions, thus promoting a more democratic and wider set of voices in dialogue (Dolby 2006).

Sources Consulted

Abu-Lughod, Lila.

Ahlberg, Beth Maina. 1994. Is there a Distinct African Sexuality? A Critical Response to Caldwell. *Africa* 64(2):220-42.

Allen, Denise Roth. 2000. Learning the Facts of Life: Past and Present Experiences in a Rural Tanzanian Community. *Africa Today* 47(3/4):2-27.

_____. 2002. *Managing Motherhood, Managing Risk: Fertility and Danger in West Central Tanzania*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Amit-Talai, Vered and Helena Wulff. 1995. *Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. London and New York: Routledge.

Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Mary, Ann E. Biddlecom, Christine Ouedraogo, and Vanessa Woog. 2005. [Qualitative Evidence on Adolescents' View of Sexual and reproductive Health in Sub-Saharan Africa](#). Occasional Report No. 16.

<http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/2005/03/01/or16.pdf> New York: The Alan Guttmacher Institute. Accessed 6 December 2012.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arnfred, Signe. 2004. "African Sexuality"/Sexuality in Africa: Tales and Silences. In *Re-Thinking Sexualities in Africa*, edited by Signe Arnfred, p. 59-78. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

BBC. 2010. [Hundreds of Kenyan Teachers sacked Over Sex Abuse](#). www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11492499, accessed on 19 November 2012.

Bangser, Maggie. 2010. ['Falling through the Cracks': Adolescent Girls in Tanzania Insights from Mtwara](#). http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADT624.pdf USAID contract number GEW-I-00-02-00020-00, accessed December 3, 2012.

Barber, Karin, editor. 1997. *Readings in African Popular Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bastien, Sheri. 2009. Reflecting and Shaping the Discourse: The Role of Music in AIDS Communication in Northern Tanzania. *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* 11(8):751-65.

Basset, M. and M. Mholyi. 1991. Women and AIDS in Zimbabwe: The Making of an Epidemic. *International Journal of Health Services* 21(1):143-56.

- Basset, M. and J. Sherman. 1994. *Female Sexual Behavior and the Risk of HIV Infection: An Ethnographic Study of Harare, Zimbabwe*. Report Series No. 8, Women and AIDS Research Program, International Center for Research on Women, Washington, DC.
http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNABY334.pdf, accessed 6 December 2012.
- Behrman & Rosenweig 2002. *American Economic Review* 2002(92):323-34.
- Behrman & Wolfe 1989. *Journal of Human Resources* 24:644-63.
- Beguy, Donatien, Caroline W. Kabiru, Evangeline N. Nderu, and Moses W. Ngware. 2009. Inconsistencies in Self-Reporting of Sexual Activity among young People in Nairobi, Kenya. *Journal of Adolescent Health* 45:595-601.
- Bledsoe, Carolyn. 1990.
- Bommier, Antoine and Sylvie Lambert. 2001. Education Demand and Age at School Enrollment in Tanzania. *Journal of Human Resources* 35:177-203.
- Bourgault, LM. 1995. *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Brock, Colin and Nadine Cammish. 1997. *Factors Affecting Female Participation in Education in Seven Developing Countries, 2nd edition*.
http://www.dfid.gov.uk/R4D/PDF/Outputs/Misc_Education/paper09.pdf. DFID Education Research Paper #9, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. and A Peterson, eds. 1983. *Girls at Puberty: Biological and Psychological Perspectives*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Buckley, Thomas and Alma Gottlieb, eds. 1998. *The Anthropology of Menstruation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Buchert, Lene. 1994. *Education in the Development of Tanzania: 1919-90*. London: James Currey.
- Byrne & Findlay 2004. Preference for SMS versus telephone calls in initiating romantic relationships. *Australian Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society* 2:1-14.
- Caldwell, John C. 1980. Mass Education as a Determinant of the Timing of Fertility Decline. *Population and Development Review* 6(2):225-55.
- Caldwell, John C., Pat Caldwell, Bruce K. Caldwell, and Indrani Pieris. 1998. The Construction of Adolescence in a Changing World: Implications for Sexuality, Reproduction, and Marriage. *Studies in Family Planning* 29(2):137-53.

- Calves, Anne Emmanuele, Gretchen T. Cornwell, and Parfait Eloundou Enyegue. 1996. *Adolescent Sexual Activity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Do Men Have the Same Strategies and Motivations as Women?* University Park, PA: Population Research Institute.
- Cameron, J. and W.A. Dodd. 1970. *Society, Schools, and Progress in Tanzania*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Carter, Marion W., John Marie Kraft, Todd Koppenhaver, Christine Galavotti, Thierry H. Roels, Peter H. Kilmarx, and Boga Fidzani. 2007. "A Bull Cannot Be Contained in a Single Kraal": Concurrent Sexual Partnerships in Botswana. *AIDS and Behavior* 11:822-30.
- Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*.
- Castle, Sarah and Mamadou Kani Konaté. 1999. The Context and Consequences of Economic Transactions Associated with Sexual Relations among Malian Adolescents. *The African Population in the 21st Century: Proceedings of the Third African Population Conference* 2:105-28. Durban, South Africa.
- Chatterji, Minki, Nancy Murray, David London, and Philip Anglewicz. 2004. The Factors Influencing Transactional Sex among Young Men and Women in 12 Sub-Saharan African Countries. USAID: The Policy Project. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADA925.pdf, accessed 1 October 2012.
- Chaney, David. 1996. *Lifestyles*. London: Routledge.
- _____. 2001. From Ways of Life to Lifestyles: Rethinking Culture as Ideology and Sensibility. In *Culture in the Communication Age*, edited by James Lull. London: Routledge.
- The Citizen (Dar es Salaam). 24 October 2012. thecitizen.co.tz/editorial
- Clark, Shelley. 2010. Extra-marital Sexual Partnerships and Male Friendships in Rural Malawi. *Demographic Research* 22(1):1-28.
- Coe, Cati. 2005. *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cole, Jennifer. 2004. Fresh Contact in Tamatave, Madagascar: Sex, Money, and Intergenerational Transformation. *American Ethnologist* 31(4):573-88.
- Cole, Jennifer and Deborah Durham, eds. (2008). *Generations and Globalization: Youth, Age, and Family in the New World Economy*. Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Comaroff & Comaroff. 1999 and 2000.
- Czarniawska, Barbara. 2004. *Narratives in Social Science Research*. Sage Press.

- DFID. 2005. [Girls' Education: Towards a Better Future for all](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/docs/girlseducation.pdf). <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/docs/girlseducation.pdf>. UK: Department of International Development, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Diouf, M. 2003. Engaging Potcolonial Cultures: African Youth and Public Space. *African Studies Review* 46(1):1-12.
- Dolby, Nadine. 2006. Popular Culture and Public Space in Africa: The Possibilities of Cultural Citizenship. *African Studies Review* 49(3):31-47.
- Dunkle, K, Jewkes R Nduna M, Jama N, Levine J, Sikweyiya Y. 2007. Transactional Sex and Economic Exchange among Partners with young South African Men in the Rural Eastern Cape: Prevalence, Predictors, and Associations with Gender-Based Violence. *Social Science & Medicine* 65(6):1235-1248.
- Durham, Deborah. 2000. Youth and the Social Imagination in Africa. *Anthropological Quarterly* 73(3):113-20.
- Ellwood-Clayton. Bella. 2005. Unfaithful: Reflections of Enchantment, Disenchantment . . . and the Mobile Phone. [online](#)
- Exavery, Amon, Angelina M. Lutambi, Godfrey M. Mubyazi, Khadija Kweka, Godfrey Mbaruku and Honorati Masanja. 2011. Multiple Sexual Partners and Condom Use Among 10-19 Year-Olds in Four Districts in Tanzania: What Do We Learn? *BMC Public Health* 11:490.
- Fair, Jo Ellen, Melissa Tully, Brain Ekdale, Rabi K. B. Asante. 2009. Crafting Lifestyles in Urban Africa: Young Ghanaians in the World of Online Friendship. *Africa Today* 55(4):29-49.
- Fischer
- Floro et al 1990
- Forbes, Marcia Althea. 2010. *Music, Media and Adolescent Sexuality in Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak Publications.
- Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. London: Penguin Books.
- Furuholt, Bjorn and Stein Kristiansen. 2007. A Rural-Urban Digital Divide? Regional Aspects of Internet Use in Tanzania. Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Social Implications of Computers in Developing Countries. Sao Paulo, Brazil.
[Http://www.ifipwg94.org.br/fullpapers/R0090-1.pdf](http://www.ifipwg94.org.br/fullpapers/R0090-1.pdf), accessed 17 October 2012.
- Gibbs, Nancy. 2012. Your Life is Fully Mobile. *TIME Magazine* - <http://techland.time.com/2012/08/16/your-life-is-fully-mobile/>
- Giddens, Anthony. 1992. *The Transformation of Intimacy*. California: Stanford University Press.

- Gillette, Arthur Lavery. 1977. *Beyond the Non-Formal Fashion: Towards Educational Revolution in Tanzania*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Center for International Education.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago.: Aldine.
- Glewwe 1999. *Journal of Human Resources* 34(1):124-59.
- Griswold, Wendy, Erin McDonnell, and Terence McDonnell. 2006. Glamour and Honor: going Online and Reading in West Africa. *Information Technologies and International Development* 3(4):37-52.
- Grossberg, L. 1989. Pedagogy in the Present: Politics, Postmodernity, and the Popular. In H. Giroux and R. Simon, eds., *Popular Culture, Schooling and Everyday Life*, p. 91-116. Granby Mass: Bergin & Garvey.
- Haram, Liv. "Eyes Have No Curtains": The Moral Economy of Secrecy in Managing Love Affairs Among Adolescents in Northern Tanzania in the Time of AIDS. *Africa Today* 51(4):57-73.
- Hattori, Megan Klein and F. Nii-Amoo DoDoo. 2007. Cohabitation, Marriage, and 'Sexual Monogamy' in Nairobi's Slums. *Social Science and Medicine* 64:1067-78.
- Heald, Suzette. 1995. The Power of Sex: Some Reflections on the Caldwells 'African Sexuality' Thesis. *Africa* 65(4):489-505.
- Helgesson, Linda. 2006. *Getting Ready for Life: Life Strategies of Town Youth in Mozambique and Tanzania*. Doctoral Thesis, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University, Sweden.
- Herman Edward S. and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*.
- Hinzen, H and VH Hundsdörfer. 1979. *The Tanzanian Experience: Education for Liberation and Development*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.
- Hoefinger, Heidi. 2011. 'Professional Girlfriends': An Ethnography of Sexuality, Solidarity, and Subculture in Cambodia. *Cultural Studies* 25(2):244-66.
- Hofmeyr, Nyairo & Ogude 2003. "Who can *bwogo* me?" Popular Culture in Kenya. *Social identities* 9(3):373-82.
- Horst, Heather A. and Daniel Miller. 2005. From Kinship to Link-Up: Cell Phones and Social Networking in Jamaica. *Current Anthropology* 46(5): 755-78.
- _____. 2006. *The Cell Phone: An Anthropology of Communication*. Oxford: Berg.
- Hunter, M. 2002. The Materiality of Everyday Sex: Thinking Beyond "Prostitution." *African Studies* 61:99-120.

_____. 2009. Providing Love: Sex and Exchange in Twentieth-Century South Africa. In *Love in Africa*, edited by Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas, p. 135-56. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ito and Daisuke. 2002.

J-PAL Briefcase. 2011. Menstruation as Barrier to Education? Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
<http://www.povertyactionlab.org/publication/menstruation-barrier-education>, accessed 2 November 2012.

Jankowiak, William R and Edward F. Fischer. 1992. A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Romantic Love. *Ethnology* 31(2):149-55.

Johnson, David. 2008. *The Changing Landscape of Education in Africa: Quality, Equality, and Democracy*. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer. 2009. xxx

Katz, Cindy. 2004. *Growing up Global: Economic Restructuring and Children's Everyday Lives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kasesniemi and Rauntianen. 2002. Mobile culture of children and teenagers in Finland. In J. Katz & M. Aakhus (editors) *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public performance*. Pgs. 170-92 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaufman, Carol and Stavros Stavrou. 2002. "Bus Fare Please": The Economics of Sex and Gifts among Adolescents in Urban South Africa. Working Paper 166. New York: Population Council, Policy Research Division.

Kazaura, Method R. and Melkiory C. Masatu. 2009. Sexual Practices Among Unmarried Adolescents in Tanzania. *BMC Public Health* 9:373.

Kimuna, S. and Y Djamba. 2005. Wealth and Extramarital Sex among Men in Zambia. *International Family Planning Perspectives* 31(2):83-89.

Kurtz, Laura S. 1972. *An African Education: The Social Revolution in Tanzania*. Brooklyn: Pageant-Poseidon, Ltd.

Larkin, Brian. 1997.

Larsen, Ull and Marida Hollos. 2003. Women's Empowerment and fertility Decline among the Pare of the Kilimanjaro Region, Northern Tanzania. *Social Science and Medicine* 57:1099-1115.

Leclerc-Madlala, Suzanne. 2008. Transactional Sex and the Pursuit of Modernity. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* 29(2):213-33.

_____. 2008. Age-Disparate and Intergenerational Sex in Southern Africa: The Dynamics of Hyper-vulnerability. *AIDS* 22(Supplement 4):S17-25.

_____. 2009. Cultural Scripts for Multiple and Concurrent Partnerships in Southern Africa: why HIV Prevention Needs Anthropology. *Sexual Health* 6(2):103-10.

Lema, Elieshi, Marjorie Mbilinyi, and Rakesh Rajani, editors. 2004. *Nyerere on Education: Selected Essays and Speeches, 1954-1998*. Dar es Salaam: HakiElimu.

Liechty, Mark. (1995). "Media, Markets, and Modernization: Youth Identities and Experience of Modernity in Kathmandu , Nepal." In *Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. V. Amit-Talai and H. Wulff eds. Pp: 185-202. New York: Routledge.

Liljestrom, Rita and Zubeida Tumbo-Masabo, editors. 1994. *Chelewa, Chelewa: The Dilemma of Teenage Girls*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.

Ling, Rich. 2004. *The Mobile Connection: The Cell Phone's Impact on Society*. San Francisco: Morgan Kaufman.

Ling, Rich and Heather Horst. 2011. Mobile Communication in the Global South. *New Media & Society* 13(3):363-74.

Lloyd, Cynthia B. and Paul Hewett. 2009. Educational Inequalities in the Midst of Persistent Poverty: Diversity across Africa in Educational Outcomes. *Journal of International Development* 21:1137-51.

Longe, O B, SC Chiemekwe, OFW Onifade, FM Balogun, FA Longe, VU Ottie. 2007. Exposure of Children and Teenagers to Internet Pornography in Southwestern Nigeria: Concerns, Trends, and Implications. *Journal of Information Technology Impact* 7(3):195-212.

Longfield, K. 2004. Rich Fools, Spare Tyres, and Boyfriends: Partner Categories, Relationship Dynamics and Ivorian Women's Risk for STIs and HIV. *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* 6:483-500.

Longfield, Kim, Anne Glick, Margaret Waithaka, and John Berman. 2004. Relationships between Older Men and Younger Women: Implications for STIs and HIV in Kenya. *Studies in Family Planning* 35:125-34.

Luke, Nancy and K. M. Kurtz. 2002. *Cross-Generational and Transactional Sexual Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa: Prevalence of Behavior and Implications for Negotiating Safer Sexual Practices*. Washington, D.C. Population Services International and International Center for Research on Women.

Luke, Nancy. 2003. Age and Economic Asymmetries in Sexual Relationships of Adolescent Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Studies in Family Planning* 34:67-86.

- Lule, Jack. 2012. *Globalization and Media: Global Village of Babel*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Luna, C. and M.J. Rotheram-Borus. 1992. Street Youth and the AIDS Pandemic. *AIDS Education and Prevention* 4(1):1-13.
- Madunagu, Bene E. 2007. Empowering Youth through Sexuality Education: The Challenges and Opportunities. In *Human Sexuality in Africa: Beyond Reproduction*, edited by Maticka-Tyndale et. Al, p. 83-94. Fanele: South Africa.
- Malhotra et al 2003
- Maganja, R.k., S. Maman, A Groves, and JK Mbwambo. 2007. Skinning the Goat and Pulling the Load: Transactional Sex among Youth in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *AIDS Care* 19(8):974-81.
- Maswanya, ES, K. Moji, I HOriguchi, K Nagata, K Aoyagi, S. Honda, and T. Takemota. 1999. Knowledge, Risk Perception of AIDS and Reported Sexual Behaviour Among Students in Secondary Schools and Colleges in Tanzania. *Heath Education Research* 14(2):185-96.
- Maswanya, ES, K Moji, K Aoyagi, T Takemoto. 2011. Sexual Behavior and Condom Use in Female Students in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Differences By Steady and Casual Partners. *East African Journal of Public Health* 8(2):69-76.
- McChesny, Robert and Dan Schiller. The Political Economy of International Communications. http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors3/mcchesney-schillertext.html, accessed December 3, 2012.
- McRobbie, Angela. 1990. "Girls and subcultures." In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (pp. 209-220). Routledge.
- Meekers, Dominique and Anne-Emmanuèle Calvès. 1997. "Main" Girlfriends, Girlfriends, Marriage, and Money: The Social Context of HIV Risk Behaviour in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Health Transition Review*, Supplement to Volume 7:361-75.
- Mercer, Claire. 2005. Telecentres and Transformations: Modernizing Tanzania through the Internet. *African Affairs* 105:243-64.
- Mensch, B., Judith Bruce, and M. Greene. 1998. [The Uncharted Passage: Girls' Adolescence in the Developing World](http://www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/passage/passage.pdf). <http://www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/passage/passage.pdf>. New York: Population Council, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Mkunde, Daniel, Brian Cooksey, Lisbeth Levey. 2003. *Higher Education in Tanzania: A Case Study*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Morrison, David R. 1976. *Education and Politics in Africa; The Tanzanian Case*. London: C. Hurst and Company.
- Nalkur, Priya G. 2009. Adolescent Hopefulness in Tanzania: Street Youth, Former Street Youth, and School Youth. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 24:668-90.

- Njue, Caroyne, Helene ACM Voeten, and Pieter Remes. 2011. Porn Video Shows, Local Brew, and Transactional Sex: HIV Risk among Youth in Kisumu, Kenya. 2011. *BMC Public Health* 11:635.
- Nnko, Soori, J. Ties Boerma, Mark Urassa, Gabriel Mwaluko, Basia Zaba. 2004. Secretive Females or Swaggering Males? An Assessment of the Quality of Sexual Partnership Reporting in Rural Tanzania. *Social Science and Medicine* 59:299-310.
- Nyanzi, Stella, R. Pool, and J. Kinsman. 2001. The Negotiation of Sexual Relationships Among School Pupils in South-Western Uganda. *AIDS CARE* 13(1):83-98.
- Nyanzi, Stella, Barbara Nyanzi-Wakholi and Bessie Kalina. 2009. Male Promiscuity: The Negotiation of Masculinities by Motorbike Taxi-Riders in Masaka, Uganda. *Men and Masculinities* 12(1):73-89.
- Oster & Thornton. 2010. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*.
- Panos Institute. 2003. *Beyond Victims and Villains: Addressing Sexual Violence in the Education Sector*. PANOS Report No. 47. London: Panos Institute.
- Perullo, Alex. 2005. Hooligans and Heroes: Youth Identity and Hip-Hop in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *Africa Today* 51(4):75-101.
- Pertierra, R. Ugarte Pingol Hernandez and Decanay, eds. *Txting Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. Malate, Manila. De la Sale University Press.
- Philip, Amara. 2011. [Georgetown University Study Shows Higher Education Does Little to Close Inequalities of Race and Gender](http://diverseeducation.com/article/16207/). <http://diverseeducation.com/article/16207/>, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Pittman, F. 1989. *Private Lives: Infidelity and the Betrayal of Intimacy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Plummer, Mary Louisa and Daniel Wight. 2011. *Young People's Lives and Sexual Relationships in Rural Africa; Findings from a Large Qualitative Study in Tanzania*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Poulin, M. 2007. Sex, Money, and Premarital Partnerships in Southern Malawi. *Social Science and Medicine* 65:2383-93.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. 2006. *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Praekelt Foundation. 2012. [Young Africa Live \(YAL\) Sex Survey](http://www.praekeltfoundation.org/young-africa-live.html). <http://www.praekeltfoundation.org/young-africa-live.html> , accessed 12 October 2012.
- Prazak, Miroslava. 2000. Talking about Sex: Contemporary Construction of Sexuality in Rural Kenya. *Africa Today* 47(3/4):83-97.
- Rasmussen, Susan. 2000. Between Several Worlds: Images of Youth and Age in Tuareg Popular Performances. *Anthropological Quarterly* 73(3):133-44.

- Resnick, Idrian N. 1968. *Tanzania: Revolution by Education*. Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania.
- Richards, Audrey. 1956. *Chisungu: A Girl's Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Zambia*. London: Tavistock.
- Ruddick, Sue. 2003. The Politics of Aging: Globalization and the Restructuring of Youth and Childhood. *Antipode* 35:334-62.
- Rwebangira, M. and R Liljestrom (eds). 1998. *Haraka Haraka: Look Before You Leap. Youth at the Crossroads of Custom and Modernity*. Uppsala: Nordic African Institute.
- Samuelson, Helle. 2006. Love, Lifestyles, and the Risk of AIDS: The Moral Worlds of Young People in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* 8(3):211-24.
- Schoepf, B. G. 1991. Sex, Gender, and Society in Zaire. In *Sexual Behavior and Networking: Anthropological and Sociocultural Studies on the Transmission of HIV*, edited by T. Dyson, 353-75. Liege, Belgium: International Union of the Scientific Study of Population.
- Schoepf, B. G. 1992 a. Women at Risk; Case Studies from Zaire. In the *Time of AIDS: Social Analysis, Theory, and Method*, edited by Gilbert Herdt and S. Lindenbaum, p. 259-86. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Schoepf, B. G. 1992 b. AIDS, Sex, and Condoms: African Healers and the Reinvention of Tradition in Zaire. *Medical Anthropology* 14:255-42.
- Schulz, Dorothea. 2007.
- Sedere, Upali M. Helima Mengele, and Teferi Kajela. 2008. Evaluation of the Education Quality Improvement Through Pedagogy (EQUIP) Project in Shinyanga, Tanzania. Oxfam GB Programme Evaluation, December 2008.
- Seeley, Janet, Stefan Dercon, and Tony Barnett. 2010. The Effects of HIV/AIDS on Rural Communities in East Africa: A 20-Year Perspective. *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 15(3):329-35.
- Seeley, Janet, S. Malamba, A. Nunn, D. Mulder, J. Kengeya-Kayonde, and T. Barton. 1994. Socioeconomic, Status, Gender, and Risk of HIV Infection in a Rural Community of Southwest Uganda. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 8(1):78-89.
- Selikow, T-A., B. Zulu and E. Cedras. 2002. The *Ingagara*, the *Regte*, and the *Cherry*. HIV/AIDS and Youth Culture in Contemporary Urban Townships. *Agenda* 53:22-32.
- Silberschmidt, Margrethe and Vibeke Rasch. 2001. Adolescent Girls, Illegal Abortions, and "Sugar Daddies" in Dar es Salaam: Vulnerable Victims and Active Social Agents. *Social Science and Medicine* 52:1815-26.
- Simone, Abdou Maliq. 2008. Some Reflections on Making Popular Culture in Urban Africa. *African Studies Review* 51(3):75-89.

- Skelton, Tracey and Gill Valentine. 1998. *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. Taylor & Francis.
- Slater, Don and Janet Keami. 2005. Embeddedness and Escape. Internet and Mobile Use as Poverty Reduction Strategies in Ghana. Information Society Research Group, Report 4. <http://topics.developmentgateway.org/civilsociety/rc/filedownload.do?itemId=1046450>
- Sommer, Marni. 2009. Ideologies of Sexuality, Menstruation, and Risk: Girls' Experiences of Puberty and Schooling in Northern Tanzania. *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* 11(4):383-98.
- Sommer, Marni. 2010a. The Changing Nature of Girlhood in Tanzania: Influences from Global Imagery and Globalization. *Girlhood Studies* 3(1):16-36.
- Sommer, Marni. 2010b. Where the Education System and Women's Bodies Collide: The Social and Health Impact of Girls' Experiences of Menstruation and Schooling in Tanzania. *Journal of Adolescence* 33:521-9.
- Snyder, Katherine A. 2002. Modern Cows and Exotic Trees: Identity, Personhood, and Exchange among the Iraqw of Tanzania. *Ethnology* 41(2):155-73.
- Stambach, Amy. 2000. *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro: Schooling, Community, and Gender in East Africa*. New York: Routledge.
- _____. 2003. Kutoa mimba: Debates About School Girl Abortion in Machame, Tanzania. In *The Sociocultural and Political Aspects of Abortion: Global Perspectives*, edited by Alaka Malwade Basu, p. 79-102. Western, CT: Praeger.
- Sutherland-Addy, Esi. 2003. [Gender Equity in Junior and Senior Secondary Education in SubSaharan Africa](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPSEIA/Resources/No.8_Gender.pdf). http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPSEIA/Resources/No.8_Gender.pdf. World Bank, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Swidler, A. and S. C. Watkins. 2007. Ties of Dependence: AIDS and Transactional Sex in Rural Malawi. *Studies in Family Planning* 38(3):147-62.
- Switzer, Heather. 2009. [Disruptive Discourses: Kenyan Maasai Schoolgirls Make Themselves](http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4q5856ck). <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4q5856ck>, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Talis, Sara Joan. 1987. *Oral Histories of Three Secondary School Students in Tanzania*. Ewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Tamale, Sylvia. 2005. Eroticism, Sensuality and "Women's Secrets" Among the Baganda: A Critical Analysis. *Feminist Africa* 5:9-36.
- Tawfik, L. and SC Watkins. 2007. Sex in Geneva, Sex in Lilongwe, and Sex in Balaka. *Social Science and Medicine* 64:1090-1101.

- Taylor, Leonie. 2011. [No Pads, No School: Girls' Education Going Down the Toilet](http://thinkafricapress.com/health/girls-education-threatened-lack-sanitary-facilities). <http://thinkafricapress.com/health/girls-education-threatened-lack-sanitary-facilities>. Think Africa Press, accessed December 3, 2012.
- Thomas, Lynn. 2003. *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thurlow. 2003. Generation Txt? Exposing the Sociolinguistics of Young People's Text-Messaging. Discourse Analysis Online 1.1 <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/daol/v1/n1/a3/thurlow20022003-paper.html> link not working
- Tomaselli and William Heuva. 2004.
- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Undie, Chi-Chi and Kabwe Benaya. 2006. The State of Knowledge on Sexuality in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Synthesis of Literature. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture of African Women Studies* 8(1):1-33.
- Undie, Chi-Chi, Joanna Crichton, and Eliya Zulu. 2007. Metaphors We Love By: Conceptualizations of Sex among Young People in Malawi. *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 11(3):221-35.
- UNESCO. 2005. [Education for All: Global Monitoring Report](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/). <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/> Paris: UNESCO, accessed December 3, 2012.
- UNICEF UK. 2011. [State of the World's Children](http://www.unicef.org.uk/Latest/Publications/SOWTC-2011/). <http://www.unicef.org.uk/Latest/Publications/SOWTC-2011/> London: UNICEF, accessed December 3, 2012.
- United Nations Development Programme. 2008. Innovative Approaches to Promoting Women's Economic Empowerment. [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/womens-empowerment/innovative-approaches-to-promoting-womens-economic-empowerment/INNOVATIVE APPROACHES.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/womens-empowerment/innovative-approaches-to-promoting-womens-economic-empowerment/INNOVATIVE_APPROACHES.pdf)
- USAID. 2008. [Education from a Gender Equality Perspective](http://transition.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/Education_From_a_Gender_Equality_Perspective_Final.pdf). http://transition.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/Education_From_a_Gender_Equality_Perspective_Final.pdf. United States Agency for International Development, accessed December 3, 2012.

- United Republic of Tanzania. 1999. [Tanzania Development Vision 2025](http://www.tanzania.go.tz/vision.htm).
<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/vision.htm>. Accessed 4 December 2012.
- United Republic of Tanzania. 1999. [Higher Education Policy](http://www.eac.int/education/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_details&gid=1&Itemid=6).
http://www.eac.int/education/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_details&gid=1&Itemid=6. Accessed 4 December 2012.
- United Republic of Tanzania. 2003. Basic Statistics on Education.
- Van de Walla, E. and F. Renne, eds. 2001. *Regulating Menstruation: Beliefs, Practices, Interpretations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vaughan, Meghan. 2009. The History of Romantic Love in Sub-Saharan Africa. Raleigh Lecture on History series at the British Academy, 26 February 2009. Podcast at www.britac.ac.uk/events/archive/raleigh-podcast.cfm
- Vavrus, Fran. 2006. *Desire and Decline: Schooling Amid Crisis in Tanzania*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Vos, T. 1994. Attitudes to Sex and Sexual Behavior in Rural Matabeland, Zimbabwe. *AIDS Care* 6(2):193-203.
- Wamoyi, Joyce, D. White, Mary Louisa Plummer, GH Mshana, and D. Ross. 2010. Transactional Sex Amongst Young People in Rural Northern Tanzania: An Ethnography of Young Women's Motivations and Negotiation. *Reproductive Health* 7, doi: 10.1186/1742-4755-7-2. <http://www.biomedcentral.com/content/pdf/1742-4755-7-2.pdf>
- Wamoyi, Joyce, Angela Fenwick, Mark Urassa, Basia Zaba, William Stones. 2011. "Women's Bodies are Shops": Beliefs about Transactional Sex and Implications for Understanding Gender Power and HIV Prevention in Tanzania. *Archive of Sexual Behavior* 40:5-15.
- Wee, Valerie. 2010. *Teen Media: Hollywood and the Youth Market in the Digital Age*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.
- Weiss, Brad. 1998. Electric Vampires: Haya Rumors of the Commodified Body. In *Bodies and Persons: Comparative Perspectives from Africa and Melanesia*, edited by Michael Lambek and Andrew Strathern, pgs. 172-94. Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2002. Thug Realism: Inhabiting Fantasy in Urban Tanzania. *Cultural Anthropology* 17(1):93-124.
- _____. 2009. *Street Dreams and Hip Hop Barbershops: Global Fantasy in Urban Tanzania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wellman, Barry. Xxx. *Networks in the Global Village: Life in Contemporary Communities*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- White, Luise. 1990. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wight, Daniel, Mary L. Plummer, Gerry Mshana, Joyce Wamoyi, Zachayo S. Shigongo, and David A. Ross. 2006. Contradictory Sexual Norms and Expectations for Young People in Rural Northern Tanzania. *Social Science and Medicine* 62:987-97.
- Wojcicki, Janet Maia and J. Malala. 2001. Condom Use, Power, and HIV/AIDS Risk: Sex-Workers Bargain for Survival in Hillbrow/Joubert Park/Berea, Johannesburg. *Social Science and Medicine* 53:99-121.
- Wojcicki, Janet Maia. 2002. She Drank His Money: Survival Sex and the Problem of Violence in Taverns in Gauteng Province, South Africa. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 16:267-93.
- Wolfe and Behrman. 1987. *Journal of Health Economics* 6(3):239-54.
- World Bank. 2007. *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Young, Roland Arnold and Henry Fosbrooke. 1960. *Smoke in the Hills: Political Tension in the Morogoro District in Tanganyika*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Zelizer, Viviana. 2005. *The Purchase of Intimacy, 20th anniversary edition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Zulekefly, Sheereen N. and Rozumah Baharudin. 2009. Mobile Phone use amongst Students in a University in Malaysia: Its Correlates and Relationship to Psychological Health. *European Journal of Scientific Research* 37(2):206-18.
- African Gender Institute. 1997. "Building Knowledge for Gender Equity in African Contexts." <http://web.uct.ac.za/org/agi/pubs/newsletters/vol1/buildkw.htm>
- Association for the Development of Education in Africa. 2007. *A Toolkit for Mainstreaming Gender in Higher Education in Africa: Literature Review*. Accra, Ghana. http://www.adeanet.org/adeaPortal/publications/en_pubs_wghe.jsp
- Bangser, Maggie. 2010. "Falling through the Cracks: Adolescent Girls in Tanzania." USAID Report -Contract Number GEW-I-00-02-00020-00, Task Order No. 6, *Gender Integration In The Activities Of African Missions – A Pilot Project*. Dar es Salaam: USAID.
- Bledsoe, Carolyn and Barry Cohen, eds. 1993. *Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa*. National Academy Press: Washington DC.
- Bendera, S. 1999. In MW Mboya and S. Bendera (eds.) *Gender and Education in Tanzanian Schools*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press.

Beoku-Betts, J. A. 1998. In Bloch, M. N., J. A. Beoku-Betts, and B. R. Tabachnick, eds. 1998. *Women and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Power, Opportunities, and Constraints*. Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers.

Bhalaluesa, E. 2000. *Right to Basic Education for Girls*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press.

Bloch, M. N., J. A. Beoku-Betts, and B. R. Tabachnick, eds. 1998. *Women and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Power, Opportunities, and Constraints*. Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers.

Camfed. Initiative for Women and Girls. www.camfed.org

Chlebowska, Katherine. 1990. *Literacy for Rural Women in the Third World*. Paris: UNESCO. <http://www.unesco.org/>

Clinton Global Initiative. 2011. "Girls and Women: Scaling What Works." http://www.clintonglobalinitiative.org/ourmeetings/2011/meeting_annual_topics.asp?Section=OurMeetings&PageTitle=Meeting%20Topics

Egbo, Bo. 2000. *Gender, Literacy, and Life Chances in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE). 1999. *THE ABCs of Gender Responsive Education Policies*. Nairobi, Kenya.

Girl Effect. 2011. www.girleffect.org

Jackson, Michael. 1996. Introduction: Phenomenology, Radical Empiricism, and Anthropological Critique. In *Things as they Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*, edited by Michael Jackson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Johnson, Megan. 2011. *Women's Access to Higher Education in Tanzania: A Qualitative Study*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa.

Karega, Regina G. Mwatha. 2001. "Statistical Overview of Girls' Education at the University Level." Paper commissioned by FAWE, Nairobi.

Kasente, Deborah. 2001. *Popularising Gender: A Case Study of Makerere University*. FAWE, Nairobi.

Kristof, Nicholas and Sheryl WuDunn. 2009. *Half the Sky*. (see also www.halftheskymovement.org)

Kwesiga, J. C. 2002. *Women's Access to Higher Education in Africa: Uganda's Experience*. Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers.

Mama, Amina. 2004. "Critical Capacities: Facing the Challenges of Intellectual Development," Inaugural Lecture Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity, Institute of African Studies. <http://web.uct.ac.za/org/agi/pubs/amina.htm>

Masenja, Verdiana. 2001. "Structural Changes and Equal Opportunity for All: A Case Study of the University of Dar es Salaam." Paper commissioned by FAWE, Nairobi.

Masenja, Verdiana, Regina Karega, Deborah Kasente, M. Mbey, A. Kadi, N. Simelane and F. Nyamu. 2001. *Female Participation in African Universities: Issues of Concern and Possible Action*. Paper commissioned by FAWE, Nairobi.

McDonnell, Nancy S., Tsitsi V. Himunyanga-Phiri, and Annie Tembo. 1993. Widening Economic Opportunities for Women: Removing Barriers One Brick at a Time. In *Women at the Center: Development Issues and Practices for the 1990s*, edited by Gay Young, Vidyamali Samarasinghe, and Ken Kusterer, p. 17-29. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Peterson, V. Spike and Anne Sisson Runyan. 1993. *Global Gender Issues*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Rwebangira, Magdalena K. and Rita Liljestrom, eds. 1998. *Haraka, Haraka – Look Before you Leap: Youth at the Crossroad of Custom and Modernity*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.

Stambach, Amy. 2000. *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro: Schooling, Community, and Gender in East Africa*. New York: Routledge.

UNESCO Ouagadougou Declaration. 1993. Adopted by the Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls. Burkina Faso. <http://portal/unesco.org/education/en/>

United Nations. 1995. Beijing Platform on Education and Training of Women. www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/educa.htm

Weiss, Brad. 2009. *Street Dreams and Hip Hop Barbershops: Global Fantasy in Urban Tanzania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wilk, Richard, ed. 1989. *The Household Economy*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.

World Bank. 2011. *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*. International Bank

Diang'a, Rachael. 2007. Marriage and Sexuality in Indigenous Kenyan Film. In *Human Sexuality*, edited by , p. 149-55.

Makinwa-Adebusoye, Paulina and Richmond Tiemoko. 2007. Healthy Sexuality: Discourses in East, West, North and Southern Africa. In Human Sexuality, edited by , p. 1 -16.

Oluwole, Sophie B. 2007. Health and the Individual Right to Sexual Pleasure and Choice. In Human Sexuality, edited by , p. 165- 171. (this essay first appeared in SEXUALITY IN AFRICA 3(2))