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Girls Getting to Secondary School Safely: Combating Gender-based Violence in the Transportation Sector in Tanzania



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Executive Summary

While increasing girls' access to education is a global priority, there are numerous barriers that impede significant progress in achieving gender parity in schools. While enrollment of girl students is up in Tanzania, especially at the primary and secondary levels, AED has become concerned about the barriers girls face, including gender-based violence (GBV), on their way to school. Anecdotes of girls being verbally harassed, sexually harassed, and discriminated against in the transportation sector as they make their way to and from school have been circulating among school officials, teachers, caregivers, and, of course, girls themselves. In response to these anecdotes, AED conducted a survey with girls at the secondary level in Tanzania to get a clearer picture of the situation. AED found that girls do indeed face distinct challenges, such as mistreatment and GBV at the hands of those in the transportation sector and forced truancy from either occasional inability to pay transport fees or from discrimination in the transport sector. Findings of this study highlight one small but crucial aspect to the challenges girls face while getting an education, and this aspect deals with girls' access to school. This study shows that while girls are determined to go to school and are creative in finding alternative ways to get themselves to and from school, the challenges they face with transportation do impact their attendance. With girls' attendance impacted in this way, targets in retention and performance are hard to achieve. Donors, NGOs and governments are urged to consider the issue of transportation to and from school when developing and implementing mechanisms to improve girls' education.

Introduction

Efforts to improve girls' education internationally have significantly increased in the last two decades. In 1990, the World Declaration on Education for All (WDEFA) stated, "The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation" (WDEFA, Article 3, Section 3). Since then, there has been a groundswell of international attention and activity on the matter. For example, in 2000 a UN agency called the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) was created to work in partnership with all global actors to promote girls' education. Additionally, Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals (MGD) has specific targets set in girls' education, namely to "eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015" (MGD). In the spirit of this international momentum and attention, country specific efforts have been launched to increase girls' enrollment in schools and to identify and reduce community-specific barriers that contribute to gender disparity in education.

While this has been happening, another important matter has been gaining international attention. Gender-based violence (GBV), first defined in the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, has been prioritized as a serious problem facing women and girls worldwide. GBV profoundly affects a nation's health, stability, and even economic growth as victims become less productive and socially and economically engaged. GBV is defined as violence which "...results in or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life" (UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, Article 1). The Declaration continues to specify that this violence can occur at home but it also occurs in the community and includes "...rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in education institutions and elsewhere,..." (Article 2, Section B). This specific inclusion of harassment in educational institutions points to the reality that GBV is present in schools throughout the world and affects students and their attendance, retention and performance. In fact, in response to a UN General Assembly's request for the Secretary General to conduct an in depth study on the question of violence against children, the study found that, "Sexual and gender-based violence also occurs in educational

settings. Much is directed against girls, by male teachers and classmates” (Secretary General’s report 2006, 15).

If increasing girls’ access to education is a key goal of the international community and developing countries alike, and it is understood and accepted that GBV is present in school settings, then country-based and community-based girls’ education initiatives need to consider and address GBV and its effects on girls’ enrollment, attendance, retention, and performance in school.

Tanzania Context

Within the context of the international momentum of improving girls’ education, Tanzania has made it a priority to increase students’ enrollment and performance in school at the secondary level, especially girl students. In May 2004 the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) (formerly known as the Ministry of Education and Culture before 2008) launched the Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP). Three key goals identified by MoEVT included “(i) increase the proportion of the relevant age group completing lower and upper secondary education; (ii) improve learning outcomes of students, especially girls; and (iii) enable the public administration to manage secondary education more effectively” (SEDP, 1). To accomplish these objectives, there was a push by the Tanzanian government to increase the number of secondary schools within Tanzania. Responding to this pressure, the number of secondary schools increased from 1,202 government secondary schools in 2005 to 2,806 government secondary schools in 2007, doubling the number of schools accepting and enrolling students (Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST), table 3.5). This increase in the number of secondary schools was largely in “community schools.” In Tanzania, schools are classified as either private or government, while community schools are a sub-classification under government. If a school is classified as a government school, the central government assumes all the costs of building, maintaining and administering the school while community schools do receive government financing but not to the same extent. In light of the goal to rapidly expand the secondary school sector, the MoEVT decided to expand the number of “community schools” in order to realistically achieve the goal without an overwhelming increase in the budget.

“The bulk of future increases in enrollments will likely come from the public sector through increased support of “community schools”. Community secondary schools are the means by which communities express an effective demand for secondary education. They are built on community or donated land in non-urban settings by members of the community without government help. Once functioning, the communities may apply for government assistance, which requires that national minimum standards be met. Government supports approved community schools by paying all teacher and staff salaries and providing some teaching and learning materials. Other recurrent costs must be borne by the school from fees” (SEDP, 5).

With this increase in the number of secondary schools in Tanzania, student enrollment has significantly increased. For example, boys’ enrollment in Form 1¹ jumped from 265,804 students in 2006 to 446,716 students in 2007, an increase of 51.7% while the girls’ enrollment jumped from 224,688 students to 382,378 students, an increase of 50.3% (BEST, Table 3.1). Most of this increase in enrollment was in the newly constructed government community schools. As stated above, these schools are located in non-urban settings and these schools are “day schools” which means that they do not have hostel facilities where students can live. This is especially important to note considering that the communities in which many of the schools are being built do not have enough qualified students to

¹ Tanzania’s lower secondary level consists of four grade levels or “forms.” Students begin in Form I and continue to Form IV. To move to the upper secondary level (Form V & VI), students need to pass a national exam.

fill school enrollment. Many of the students assigned to these community schools tend to be from outside the communities, meaning they have to travel a considerable distance to get to school.

Tanzania has made significant strides in reducing gender disparity through the dramatic increase in enrollment of girl students at the secondary level. However, while increase in enrollment is vital to achieving gender parity in education, it alone is not enough. In fact, despite the relatively high enrollment rate of girls into secondary school, girls' classroom attendance, performance, and retention is very low compared to boys. Not only are the entry qualifications lower for girls to get into secondary school, but once in, many of the girls suffer from poor attendance, performance and retention rates. For example, from the cohort entering Form I in 2004, there was a retention rate of 78% of male students entering into Form IV four years later in 2007 while the girls had only a 64% retention rate (BEST, Table 3.1). The girls who are attending school do not perform as well as boys. For example, in 2006, the pass rate of girls on the Form II national exam was significantly lower than the boys, being recorded as 68.9% compared to 83.3% of the boys (BEST, Table 3.6).

Girls' lower retention and pass rates cannot be attributed to their potential ability to perform well. Numerous studies have proven that boys do not intrinsically perform better than girls. "In Tanzania, research has found that boys' and girls' performance is equal up to grade IV [in primary school]" (Bendera & Mboya 1998: 111), suggesting that outside pressures from society, family, and culture have an impact on girls' performance once they get older. Furthermore, girls enrolled in schools where societal pressures have been minimized perform better than their counterparts at other schools. For example, girls who attend single sex schools with boarding facilities perform better on national exams than their female counterparts who are enrolled in co-ed, day schools (Bendera & Mboya 1998). Some of the girls who study at boarding schools achieve high results on national exams, on par with their male counterparts.

What are these social barriers which impact girls' attendance, performance, and retention? Studies have identified a variety of factors which contribute to the low performance, attendance, and retention of girls in secondary school. These factors include the number of chores allocated at home to the girl child, allowing her little time for studies; society placing a lower priority on the importance of girls' education; families being unable or unwilling to pay school fees or other indirect costs; and pregnancy or early marriage. In fact, in 2007, 21.9% of all drop outs recorded in Tanzanian secondary schools were due to pregnancy while 12.9% was attributed to lack of school needs, including school uniforms, materials or tuition (BEST, Chart 3.4).

Another important factor preventing retention in school is GBV in school. As in many schools globally, GBV and sexual harassment are issues female students face in secondary schools in Tanzania. "Research conducted in Tanzanian schools has uncovered cases of sexual abuse and harassment of female pupils by their male teachers." (Rwezaura 1998: 3). Additional studies have pointed out that often the perpetrators are fellow male classmates as well as teachers (Mgalla et. al, 1998). "The majority of gender-based violence within schools in Africa is perpetrated by male peers" (Africa Child Policy Forum 2006: 26), but male teachers are also responsible. Not only does GBV impact girls' motivation to continue attending school or to study, it also can play a role in the decision of parents to remove their daughters from school. "When schools are associated with sexual or physical gender violence, girls' access to education is negatively affected. Parents will naturally hesitate to send their daughters to schools that are thought to be sites of physical or sexual gender violence" (UNICEF 2004: 5).

A missing element in much of the research on GBV and education is information about the type of harassment and sexual violence girls face outside of school. While AED maintains that GBV within school is very alarming and an important issue to consider when trying to develop important programming aimed at increasing girls' access to education, it is important to remember that many of the secondary girl students in Tanzania are "day" students and the GBV these girls face is not constrained to school campus. One challenge not often considered when discussing barriers to girls' education is their challenges with transportation to and from school – a challenge particularly severe for those students living in the Dar es Salaam region. In the past few years, local Tanzania media has given increased attention to students who are living and studying in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania's largest city and most populous region) and their challenges securing transportation to school. It has been widely reported that *daladala* (local buses) are reluctant to board students because students pay a significantly lower bus fare. An example of the type of attention this issue has received can be found in an editorial published in the premiere Swahili language newspaper, *Nipashe*. The problem students face daily in their effort to get to school was described as:

“Basi linaposimama, wanafunzi huambiwa subirini kwanza na mara nyingi basi huondoka bila ya kuwabeba wanafunzi hao. Kwa ujumla usafiri wa wanafunzi hasa katika maeneo ya mijini kama hapa Dar es Salaam ni balaa tupu” (Mzee 2008).

“When a bus stops, students are often told to wait and many times the bus leaves the station without boarding even one of those students. Overall, student transportation, especially in the urban areas like here in Dar es Salaam, is just awful” (Mzee 2008).

The challenges for students, especially girls, can be explained by the following two factors. First, the demand for *daladala* is high in the urban areas and *daladala* make their money based on the number of passengers they board daily. They will make more money if they board full fare passengers rather than students. “Drivers remuneration is generally not fixed but is commission-based. Some operators stipulate revenue targets to be achieved by drivers. Both methods of remunerating the *daladala* drivers encourage speeding, overtaking, poor parking and frequent stops to pick up or drop off passengers on the way to destinations” (Pearce *et. al.* 1999: 20). In an effort to address this issue, *daladala* drivers were allowed to increase the fare for students in the city center from 50 TSH to 100 TSH in 2008. The hope was this increase would make the students more economically appealing to *daladala* drivers to transport. However, in response to increased fuel costs, *daladala* drivers also increased adult fares. This caused the student fare hike to have little effect on *daladala* operators' motivation to board and carry students.

This challenge, coupled with MoEVT's recent policy of expanding “community” secondary schools in non-urban settings has exacerbated the demand for student transport, a situation more problematic for girls because they are at higher risk for being victims of the crosscutting issue of GBV. AED recognized that little research was being done on this situation and how this environment affects girl students specifically, impacting MoEVT's goal of increasing learning outcomes of girls. Does this situation have any effect on girls' attendance rates in school? If so, what is the extent of the impact? Do girls face harassment and GBV in the transportation sector?

Our understanding of these questions is crucial because it provides details on issues of access, quality, and performance. Decreased attendance can put a student at a disadvantage in school because they miss out on instruction and classroom time. This leads to decreased performance in school. To gain a better understanding of the impact transport has on girl secondary students, AED conducted a study on

how girl students get to school in the Dar es Salaam region and the challenges they face. As a result of the study not only did AED learn that girls encounter many challenges associated with transportation, but that strong themes of GBV and harassment emerged in their description of what they go through to get to school each day.

Research Methodology

In September 2008 a survey was created to gather information on how girls get to school and the challenges, if any, they experience along the way. The survey asked basic questions regarding cost, time, and other details about getting to school. The survey did not ask the girls for their names, ages, schools they attended or any other identifying characteristics as it was important for the process to be anonymous. The reason for anonymity was to ensure the most candid, open and truthful responses from girls regarding issues they might feel sensitive about (i.e. ability to afford transport or harassment they might experience) or topics they may be fearful of reprisal by school administrators (i.e. candid responses about truancy from school). Participation with this study was also completely voluntary. Girls were given a choice if they wanted to complete the survey or not. In total, 700 surveys were distributed to different schools throughout the Temeke and Kinondoni Districts of the Dar es Salaam region. 659 surveys were returned for analysis. The survey questions were written in both English and Swahili and the girls were able to choose the language for their responses. There were 17 questions asked and below is a sample of some of the questions included in the survey.

- How many *daladala*s do you take to get to school? Je, unapanda daladala ngapi kufika shuleni?
- Do you ever not attend school because you lack transportation money? If yes, how many days a month? Je, umewahi kukosa kufika shuleni kwa sababu ya kukosa nauli? Kama ndio, inaweza kutokea mara ngapi katika mwezi?

In October and November 2008, the surveys were analyzed and coded and certain themes emerged from the study. The results were tallied giving a clearer picture of the daily challenges girls overcome just to attend secondary school, many of them with determination to persevere in spite of the obstacles.

Limitations of the Research and Data

This research was conducted with 659 girls attending secondary school in the Dar es Salaam region of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam is by far the largest city in Tanzania and it has many of the distinct challenges other developing cities face, i.e. population pressures, traffic, pollution, etc. that rural areas in Tanzania do not experience. For example, many people in Dar es Salaam earn their living in service sectors rather than relying on subsistence farming. However, the region of Dar es Salaam is quite large and many of the secondary schools which participated in this study are located in non-urban areas. Because of this, these research findings might be applicable to secondary schools in more rural areas of Tanzania. However, it is important to recognize that upcountry, rural secondary schools might face different challenges than schools located in the Dar es Salaam region.

This study only asked questions about challenges girls face in getting to and from school and did not ask questions about girls' experiences at home or at school. While it is reasonable to draw lessons on how transportation challenges affect girls' school attendance and as a result, their performance, it would be wrong to infer that if the challenges highlighted in this study are addressed and overcome then the result would be an absolute increase in girls' performance. This study has no way to account for quality of teaching, students' access to learning materials like books, GBV in school, chores allocated at school or at home, or all other social factors which would affect a students' performance. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that this study does point out that girls face real

obstacles in getting to school and should be considered in future programs that address girls' education. These obstacles are one aspect critical to consider when seeking to increase girls' attendance, retention and performance.

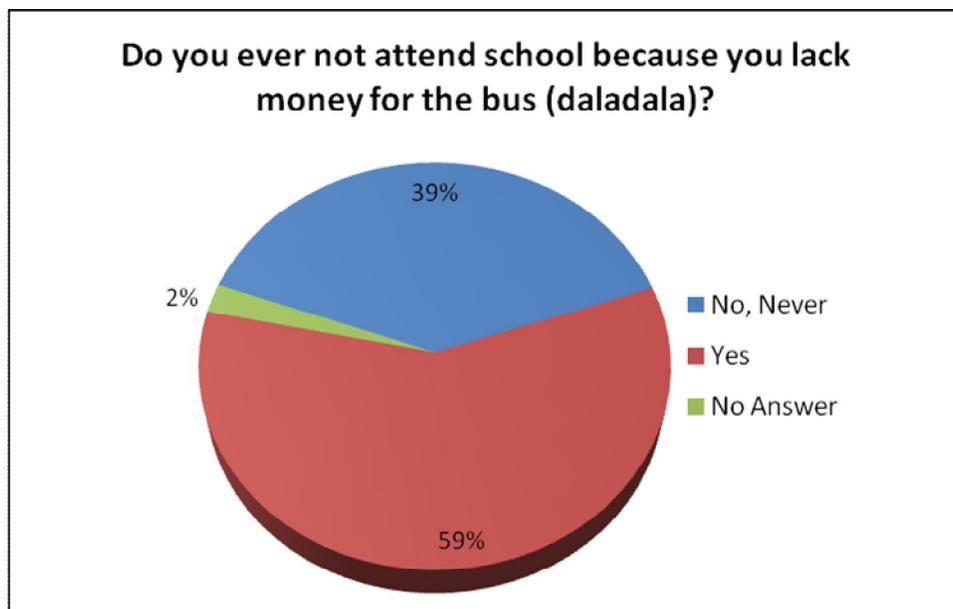
The last limitation of this study is while the anonymity of the survey helped to create comfort and foster candid responses from the girls, the survey does include tough questions about harassment, family economic status, and other sensitive topics. The girls might have been unwilling to divulge details about these topics because they might have been embarrassed or ashamed. In some cases, girls' responses to tough questions were not that the situation happened to them, but rather their friend. While many girls were quite candid about sensitive topics like sexual harassment and abuse, it is likely that others were not so forthcoming with details. Therefore, the topics which emerge from this study can be seen as a representation of systemic and pervasive problems.

Research Findings

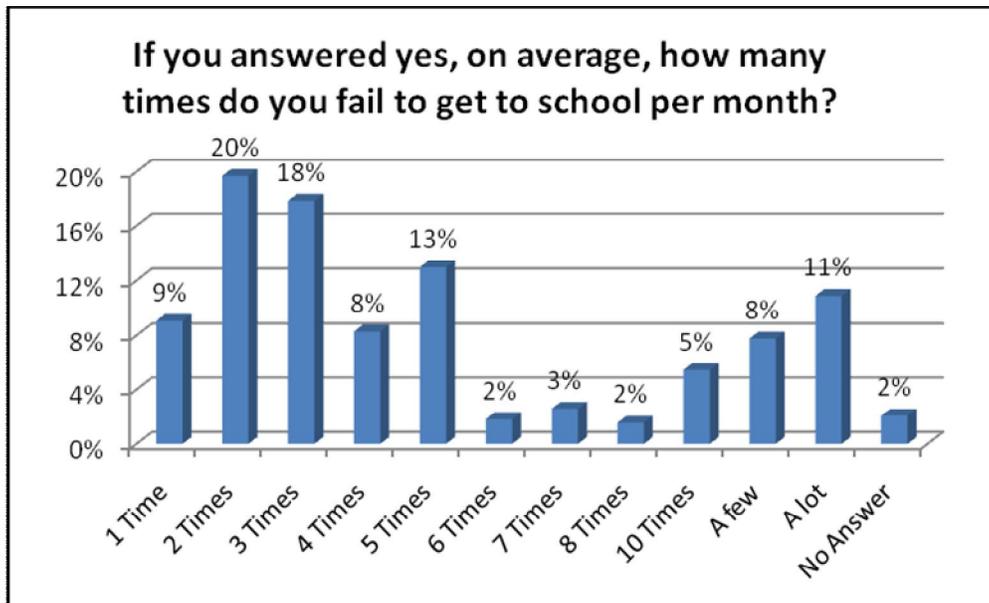
The following are the specific findings this study generated. Strong themes emerged indicating that many of the girls face real and tough challenges in traveling to and from school, which negatively impacts their access to secondary education. The key obstacles which emerged from the survey include: issues of poverty, the distance each girl lives from school, and GBV and harassment. In the face of these negative challenges, a strong theme of girls' determination to attend school and achieve an education also emerged which was quite encouraging. This determination can be seen through girls' creativity to overcome the obstacles they face.

Factors Affecting Girls' Ability to Regularly Attend School

One of the questions in the survey was to determine if ability to pay transportation expenses affected a girl's attendance at school. Have the girls ever missed school simply because they, or their parents or guardians, did not have access to bus fare? Below are the responses.

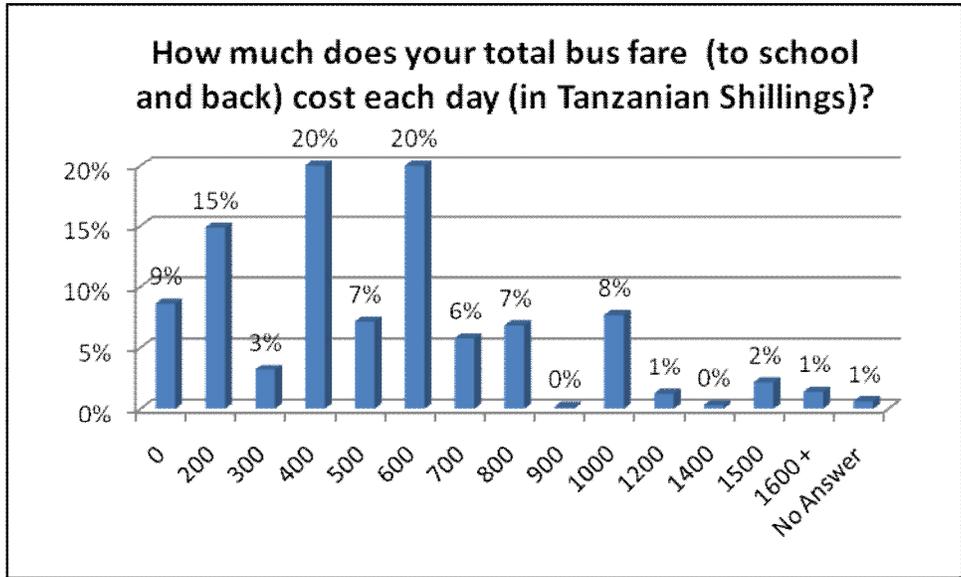


As clearly represented in the above chart, 59% of girls indicate that they have missed school just because they lacked bus fare. Additionally, of those who said that they have miss school because they lack money for the bus, a follow up question was asked to estimate how many times a month this occurred. Below are their responses.



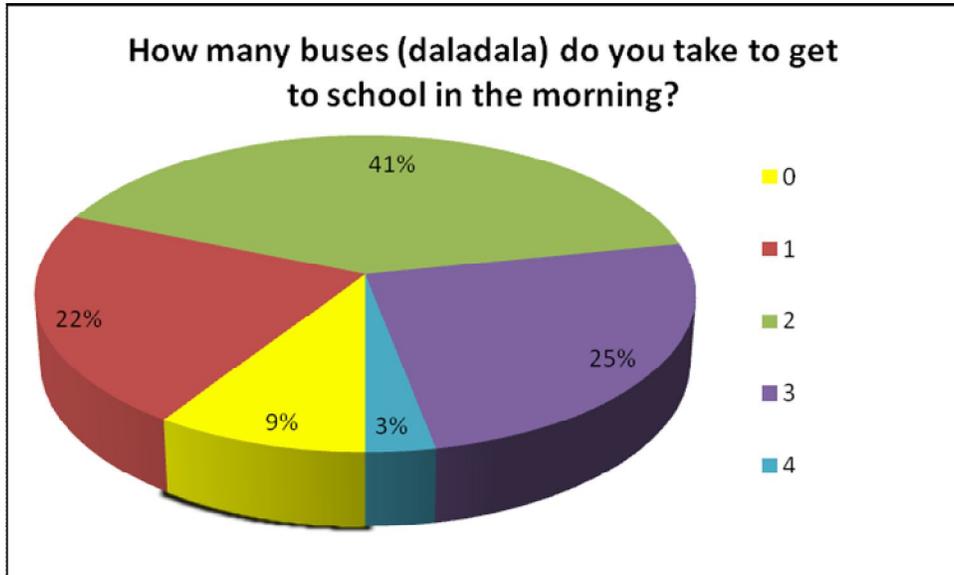
The results from this question were quite astounding. Of the 59% of girls who indicated that they miss school because they lack money for transportation, at least 20% of them admitted missing 5 days or more, which means that these girls are missing one week or more of classroom instruction per month. This is a significant loss in instruction time especially considering that many girls do not have access to books or learning materials outside of the classroom. If they miss class they have a hard time making up the missed lessons.

To get a better sense of how much the girls typically pay for transportation to school, another of the survey questions asked them how much they spend per day on bus fare. As noted previously in this report, student bus fare was raised from 50 TSH to 100 TSH for students but this was just for buses in the urban areas. The buses in the peri-urban and non-urban areas can charge students more depending on the length of the route. Also, many students take more than one *daladala*. As is evident in the next section, some girls can take up to three different buses just to get to school. With these two factors in mind, bus fare can get quite costly. In the graph below, a majority of girls spend between 400 TSH and 800 TSH, which is between \$.30 and \$.60 per day, but almost 15% of the girls spend 1000 TSH or more on transport daily equaling to almost 1USD or more. This expense can add up for families, especially considering that 89.9% of the total population in Tanzania is living under 2 dollars a day (UNDP 2007/2008). For a family living under 2 dollars a day, spending large sums of money for their daughter's transportation to secondary school is simply not feasible.

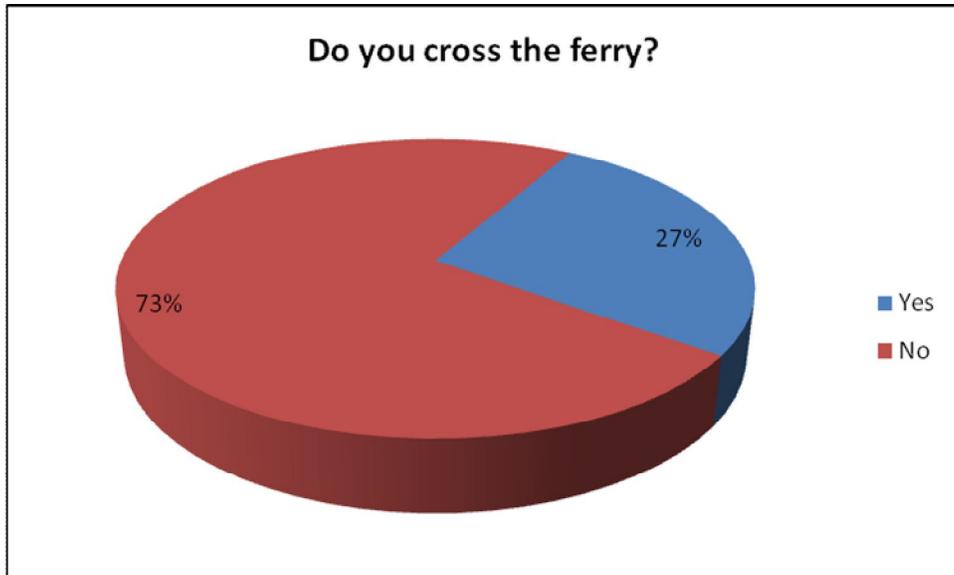


Distance as a Barrier to Regular School Attendance

Another facet of the study was to determine how far students live from the school in which they attend. Asking them questions like the number of *daladala* they take to get to school, whether or not they have to cross the Dar es Salaam Bay using the ferry or how long they estimate it takes them to get to school gives us valuable information about whether students are from the community where the secondary school is located or from outside of the community. As previously discussed in this report, Tanzania has experienced a rapid expansion of the number of community schools in recent years in accordance with MoEVT’s Secondary Education Development Programs, resulting in most of Dar es Salaam’s secondary schools being classified as community schools. In fact, 93% of Dar es Salaam’s government secondary schools are community schools (SEDP, 5), which means that most schools are located in peri-urban or non-urban areas. Ideally, students attending these schools are from the community where the school is located but it is clear from the data collected that often this is not the case. In fact, in the chart below, one can see that only 9% of the girls surveyed were able to attend school without having to take a *daladala* and over 86% of students reported needing to use two or more *daladala* just to get to school in the morning. This indicates that these girls live rather far from the school in which they are enrolled. See the below graph on the number of *daladala* the girls reported using to get to school.

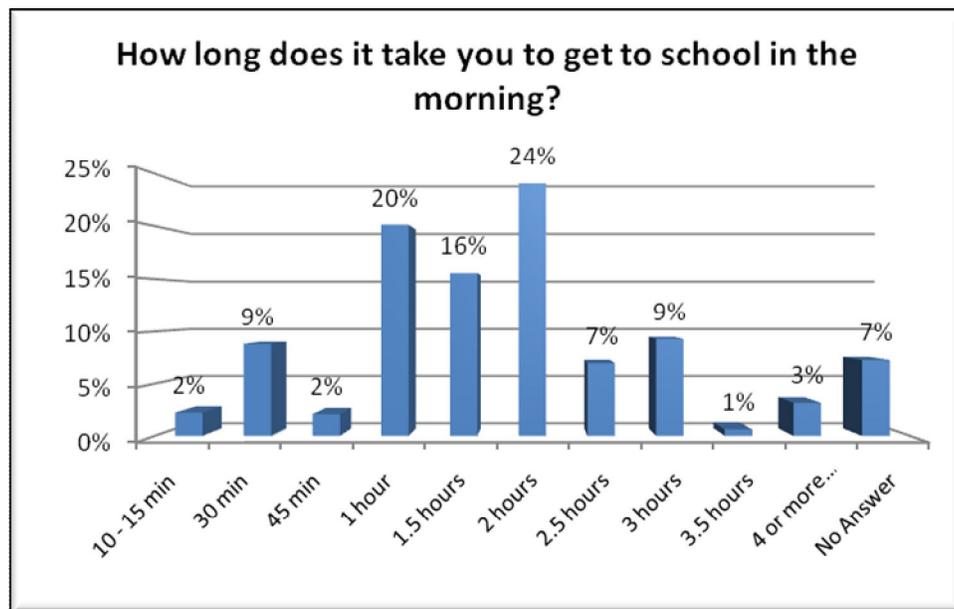


Another indication of the girls being enrolled in schools far away is whether or not the girls need to cross the bay to get to school. Dar es Salaam has a large harbor which can be crossed using ferries. While usually the ferries run smoothly, sometimes they can breakdown causing significant delays for passengers attempting to cross. From the girls surveyed, 27% reported that they needed to use the ferry to attend school indicating that they lived on the other side of the bay from the school in which they attend. This clearly shows they are not from the community where the school is located.



It was also important to get an estimate from the girls themselves on how long it takes them to get to school. This data is particularly relevant when considering attendance and performance because if it is challenging and time consuming to get to school, it is more likely that attendance will be affected. Also, the time it takes a student to get to and from school is also valuable time used up which could otherwise be spent studying, reviewing notes, doing homework, etc., impacting the girls' performance. The graph below captures the girls' responses on how long they estimate it takes them to get to school.

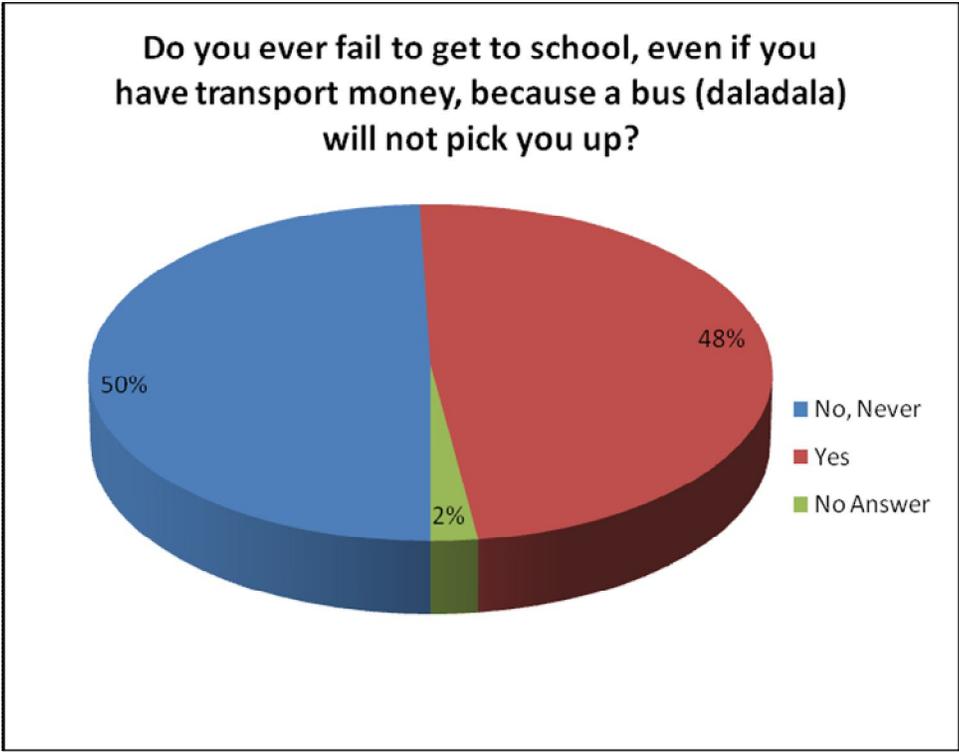
It is rather astounding that a significant number of girls report that it takes two or more hours to get to school and for them to return home, that means that 4 or more hours of the student's day is spent in transportation. Even more alarming is that 3% of girls report traveling 4 or more hours one way to or from school. While this maybe difficult to believe, and it is possible that some girls did not fully understand the question, it is not impossible that some girls would have traveled this long to school as some girls live very far from school. For example, one of the girls indicated on the survey that she needs to leave her home by 5:00AM in order to get to school by 8:00 or 9:00.



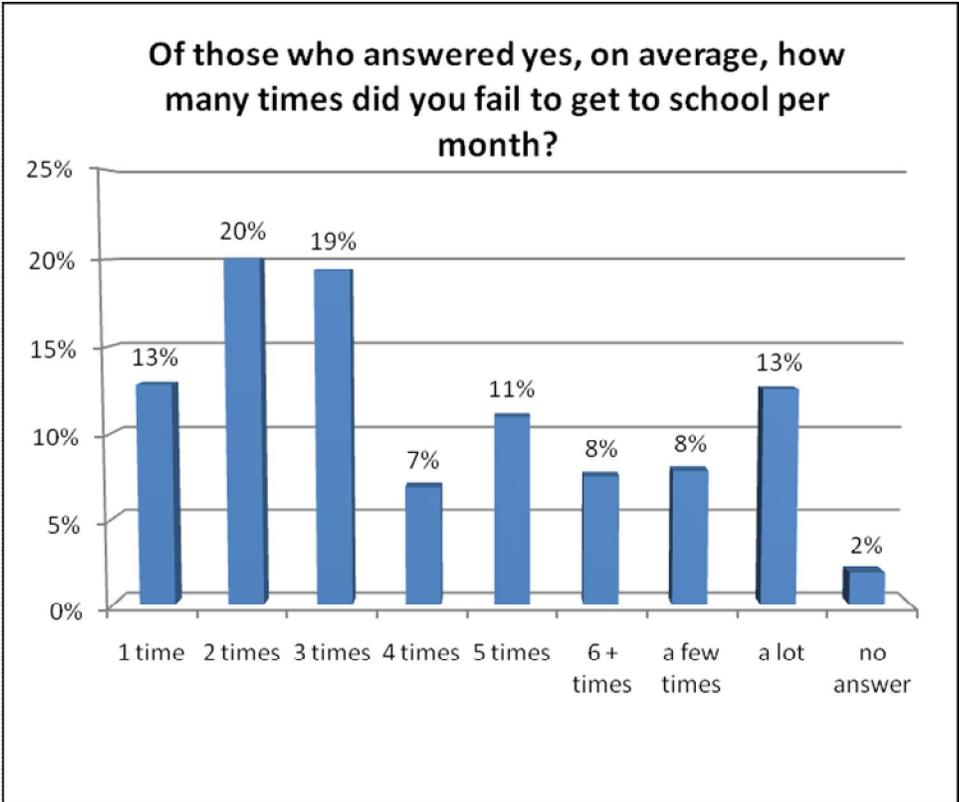
Through this survey, it can be ascertained that many girls do not live near their school and they therefore rely heavily on the transportation sector to get to school.

Harassment and Gender-Based Violence in the Transportation Sector

Within the study, questions regarding harassment were included to get a sense of the environment the girls endure while traveling to and from school. As previously mentioned in this report, local media have reported that *daladala* drivers sometimes refuse to allow students to board and there have been anecdotal stories of girls being sexually harassed and exploited in the transportation sector. To get a better sense of how common these incidents were, the girls were asked if they were ever refused access to *daladala* and whether or not they were ever mistreated by *daladala* drivers. The responses to both these questions are quite troubling and clearly indicated that there is a high level of harassment and mistreatment of female students, some of whom are also victims of GBV. As seen in the below graph, nearly ½ of the girls surveyed reported that they were unable to attend school because they were not allowed to board *daladala* by drivers.

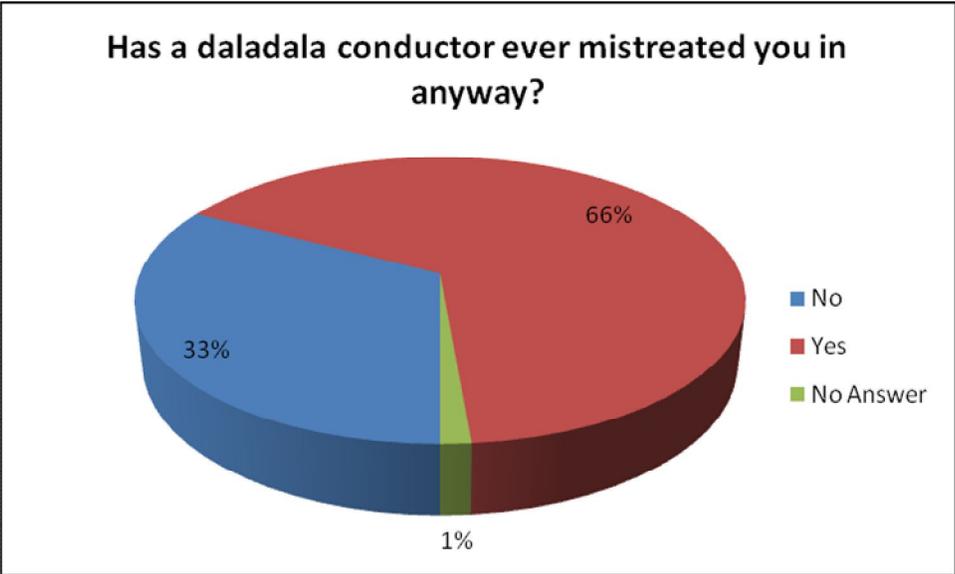


Even more alarming is the estimated incidence rate the girls suggest this happens. 18% of the girls reported that they have been refused access to transportation at least 5 times or more a month (one full week of school or more). Please see the below graph.

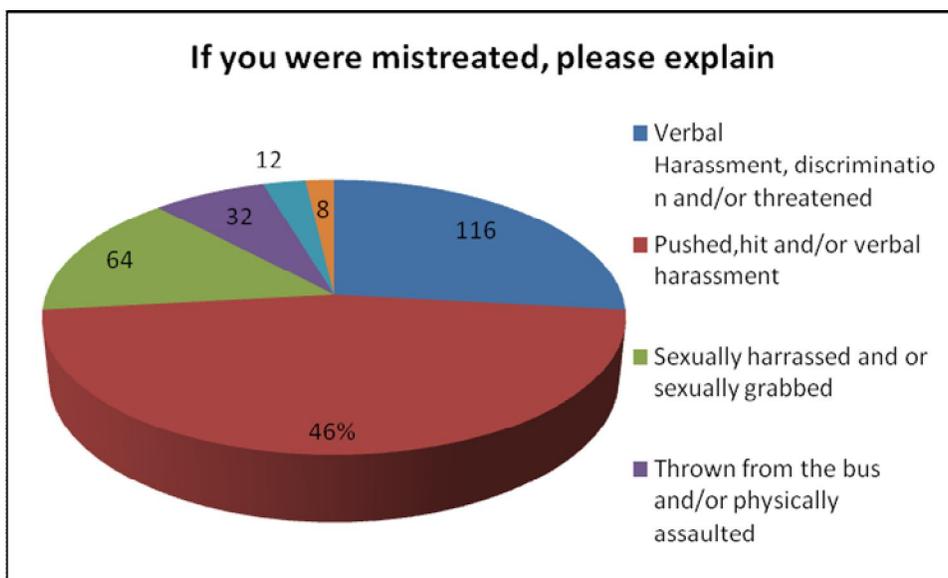


What is frustrating is that these girls are trying to attend school and even have the money to do so, but their attendance is affected because the transportation sector discriminates against them and refuses to board them. Due to this discrimination, they miss valuable instruction which impacts their performance in school.

Despite this harassment, students endure it and do manage to board *daladala*. To get a better sense of how prevalent the issue of harassment and GBV is in the transportation sector, we asked the girls if they had ever been mistreated by a *daladala* driver. Over 2/3 of them reported that yes, they had indeed experienced mistreatment while in the transportation sector. Harassment and mistreatment not only erodes girls' fundamental rights but it also affects their self esteem, health, and greatly impacts a girls' motivation to continue attending school.



To get additional details about this mistreatment, we asked the girls to explain. Below is a representation of the types of mistreatment they endure.



Forty-six per cent of the girls reported being physically abused – either hit and/or pushed. One girl described this abuse, “One day I boarded a bus and the bus driver pushed me down out of the seat. I fell out of the bus and was really hurt.” Another student described a similar situation, “When I fought with a bus driver, he pushed me and I fell down and my shirt of my school uniform got really dirty.” Still others describe being hit or other forms of physical abuse. “I have been mistreated plenty of times. I have been pushed and pulled so that I can’t get onto a *daladala* which has stopped and I have been hit by drivers and called names. It hurts my feelings and I don’t like being hit.”

Another common form of harassment is verbal harassment. This verbal harassment ranges from name calling, humiliation, sexual harassment or sexist rhetoric. Many girls gave examples of the verbal harassment to which they are subjected, “I was told by a bus driver that I am a girl and it isn’t proper for me to attend school. What I am meant to do is get married, not study. He wouldn’t allow me to board his bus and he said he wouldn’t allow me to board his bus unless I have sex with him.”

15% of the girls reported being sexually harassed or even sexually grabbed. Some examples of this violence reported by a sample of girls in the survey include, “Yes, I have been harassed by a bus driver. I quarreled with the driver to get on the bus and he grabbed my breast. I cried out from pain because he pinched my breast so hard. That is why I cried.” Yet another girl describes being sexually harassed and when she refused her harasser’s advances, she was no longer able to board the bus he works on, one of the few buses on her route.

“I had a friend who is a bus driver. We got used to each other and I called him uncle and he called me friend. I was surprised one Saturday when I came to school for personal studies and I was lucky to board his bus. He told me that he wanted to have sexual relationship with me. I tried to avoid him and refuse his advances, but it became difficult not to board his car. I tried to tell my friends and their response was to call me stupid, asking me why I refuse the man. In the end, seeing me still reluctant to his request he started seducing my friends.”

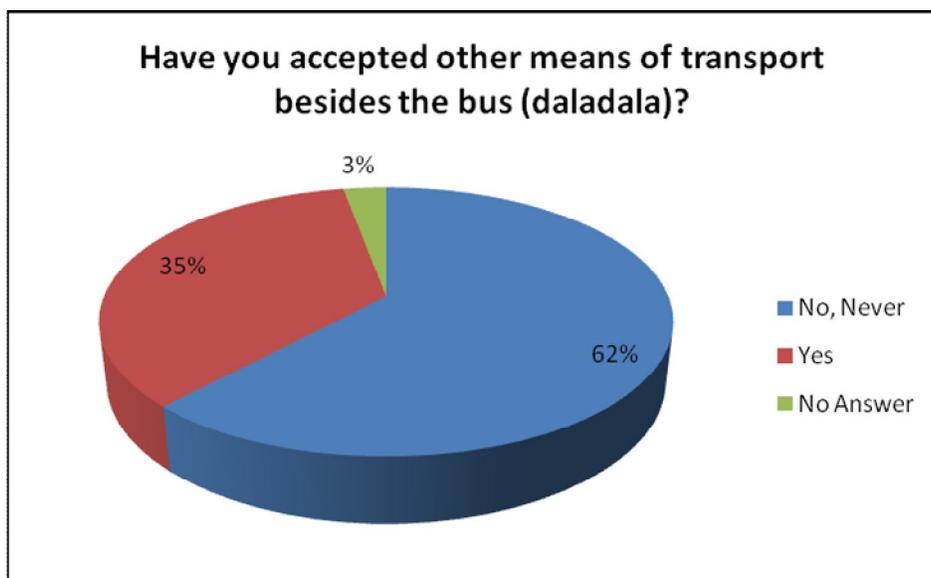
A final question the survey asked the girls with regards to violence and GBV was generated after AED had heard some reports about girls being forced by strangers to accept “lifts” to school only to be sexually assaulted along the way. The survey asked the girls if they have ever met any driver who insisted on offering them a lift or forced them to accept his lift. 22% of girls reported that drivers had attempted to force them to accept rides to school, but most of them report having been able to escape.

“Once, a driver forced me to get into his car. He wanted to have sex with me but I refused and jumped from his car. He tried to follow me, but I ran so he left and I went back to the main road to wait for the next bus to come.”

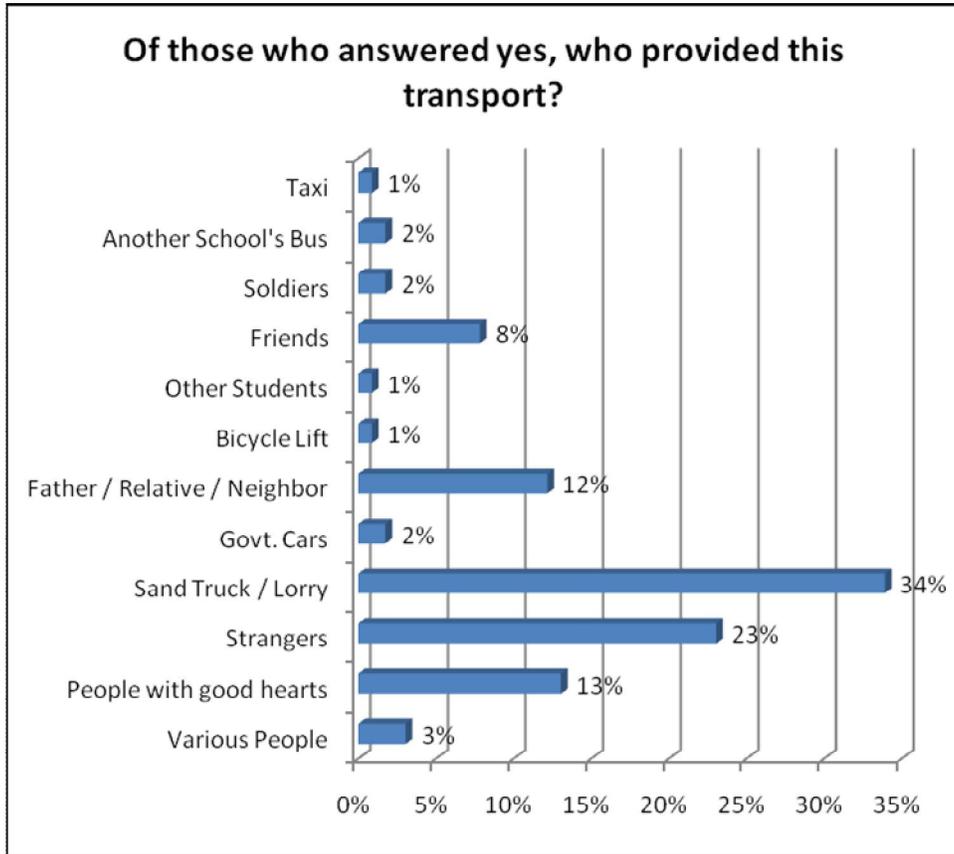
All these types of violence the girls who were surveyed describe are forms of GBV. They are types of violence directed at girls because the girls are vulnerable and disempowered with little recourse to prevent or stop the violence. In some girls’ descriptions of this abuse they even mention adults being present. For example, “One day, I left school to return home and when the bus which takes me home arrived at the stand, I ran to the bus because I wanted to board so I could get home early, but the driver pushed me down, hard before I could get on the bus. The bus was full of people and I was so embarrassed because every person saw me being pushed down.” So it is clear that not only is this abuse pervasive, there is no public outcry against it.

Girls’ Determination to Get an Education

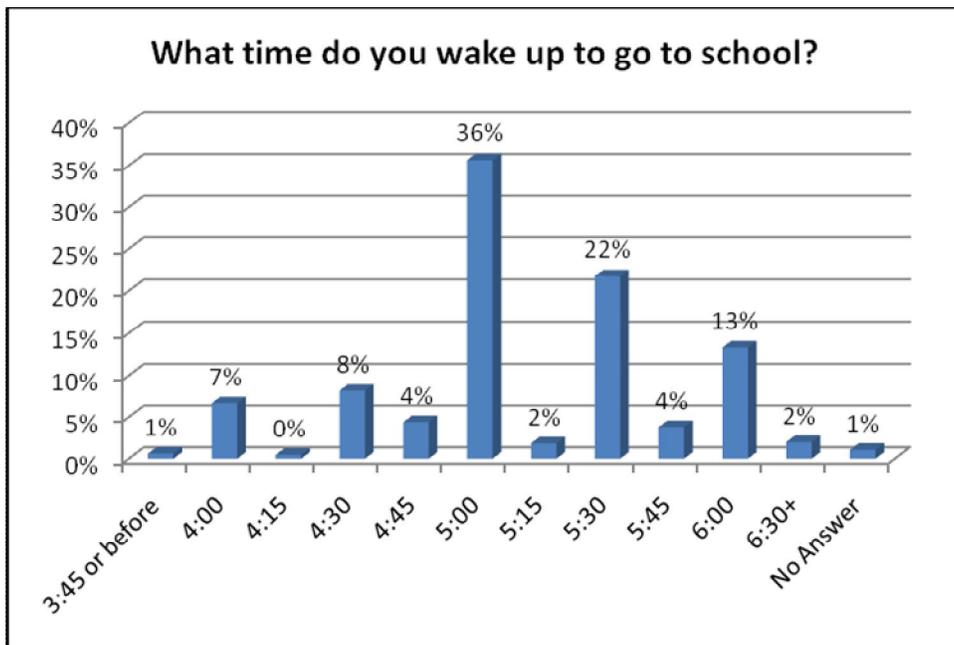
The data in the previous sections paints a bleak picture of the daunting obstacles girls face to get to school. Not only do many of them travel far to school and sometimes miss class because they lack transport money or because they are unable to board *daladala* because of discrimination, but many of them face abuse and mistreatment along the way. This situation is dire and can be attributed to why girls’ attendance in school is low, why they do not perform well in school or why some of them dropout. However, the impact of these obstacles could be worse if it wasn’t for many of the girls’ courageous determination to go to school in spite of all the barriers they face. Through this survey, AED was able to determine that girls are creative and often refuse to give up in their efforts to get to school. Creativity and determination can be seen from the girls when they were asked if they ever accepted other means of transport besides *daladala* to get to school. In the below chart, one can see that over 62% of girls have accepted rides with alternative transportation. This shows that just because a girl faces a challenge of possibly not have money for transportation on a particular day, or she is not allowed access on the *daladala* by a driver, she is still trying to strategize and figure out alternative ways to get to school.



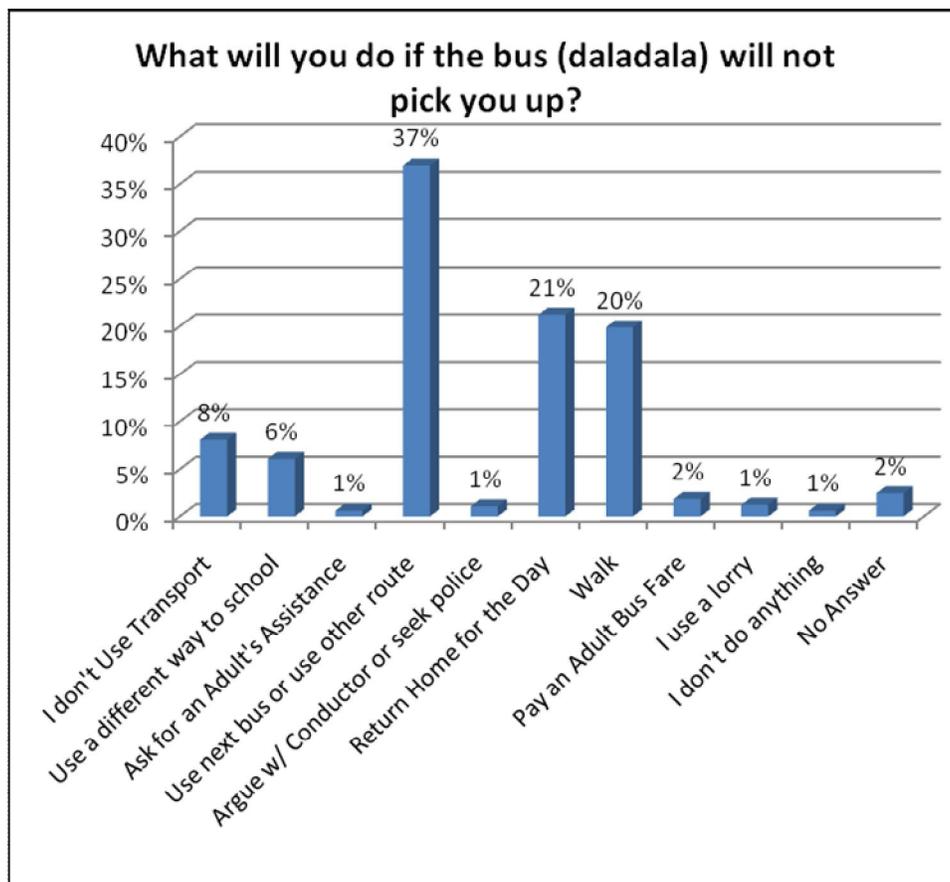
To get a better sense of what types of alternative transportation these girls are taking we asked them for details. As you can see in the below graph, there was a wide variety of answers ranging from lifts from strangers, bikes lifts, or traveling with friends. It is alarming that the most common alternative transportation was the lorry (truck). While these trucks are common in Tanzania because they are used for carrying supplies, construction materials, etc., they are quite dangerous for people to ride on, especially while riding in the back on the bed of the truck. Often students can be seen riding on top of the lorries' load, clinging to the sides for support as the lorry blunders along on poor roads. Overloading of the lorries and/or the lack of places in the bed of the lorries for students to cling to creates a dangerous situation. This type of situation resulted in tragedy in 2008. In Dar es Salaam's Kinondoni District, a student died after falling off a moving lorry. In spite of this danger, students continue to use this type of transport in an effort to get to and from school. Other alternative transportation can also be dangerous. One can never know the character of strangers who offer lifts and girls are quite vulnerable to GBV when hitchhiking. Students are basically risking their lives just to attend school.



Another graph further demonstrating the commitment girls have to attend school is the time the girls report that they wake up in the morning. From the graph below, one can see that over 50% of the girls report waking up at 5 in the morning or before.



Finally, the below chart shows that most of the girls are determined to get to school and are creative in finding solutions if their first attempt to get to school is unsuccessful. When asked what they do when a *daladala* does not board them, of the girls who use transportation, only 22% actually concede defeat by either going home or doing nothing. The remaining 70% of the girls try alternative means to get to school, ranging from walking to asking for assistance to using alternative routes. Some girls even report having the gumption to report *daladala* to police.



Lessons Learned from the Study

While this study was small in its scope, much can be learned from the themes which emerge. Girls' access to secondary education is undermined by barriers in the transportation sector including harassment, GBV and discrimination. In order for any targets in education parity to be achieved, these barriers have to be addressed in a holistic and multi-sectoral way.

Moving Forward: Recommendations

- Local governments are encouraged to consider students' location and residence in school placement to minimize the students' dependence on transportation sector. Burkina Faso has seen success with increasing students' performance and retention by locating learning institutions closer to learners (UNICEF 2004, 4).
- Donors are encouraged to support girls' hostels in secondary education. Many studies indicate that girls achieve higher performance in school when staying at a hostel because not only are the girls insulated from many social pressures, many of their additional responsibilities are reduced, namely household chores, allowing them more time to focus on their studies. With

regard to this study, girls would also not have to spend valuable time in transportation if they lived near or on campus, freeing up more time for school work.

- Donors supporting girls' education are encouraged to address the transportation issue. By addressing this challenge through a variety of solutions, goals in retention and performance can be more readily achieved. Look to inventive projects internationally for potential solutions. Providing a school bus or bicycles to girls could be appropriate. For example, Ashta no Kai (ANK) (a local NGO in India) is making great headway in girls' education through their bicycle project (Radhika, V. 2002).
- NGOs and governments are encouraged to collaborate in GBV sensitization campaigns in the community. If more members of the community were aware and sensitized about GBV and its harmful effects, many would no longer remain passive when witnessing violence but would speak out.
- Governments are encouraged to strengthen and enforce laws against discrimination and GBV.
- Governments should require *daladala* drivers to undergo GBV training to maintain their license.
- Parents are recommended to create parent teacher associations at their daughters' schools. In these associations, parents can brainstorm local solutions and look out for each others' children.

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