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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1. Study objectives

This report presents the findings of research that has examined the intellectual, political and organisational processes that have shaped government and donor policies and projects concerned with promoting the education of women and girls in Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The study seeks in particular to assess the extent to which gender interventions in education have been donor driven. The growing concern about large and persistent gender inequalities in education has led to the development of a number of initiatives on the part of multilateral and trilateral aid agencies aimed at encouraging the participation of women and girls in education. Despite this concern, efforts to reduce gender inequalities on the part of both governments and donor agencies have been uneven and policy interventions have evolved in a piecemeal fashion.

The Education for all Conference in Jomtien in 1990 resulted in over 100 government plans of action being formulated, which included strategies to address inequities in girls' educational participation. Donors also committed themselves to increase spending on basic education[1]. Despite these commitments, UNESCO statistics presented at the Amman Mid Decade Review of Jomtien revealed that the gender gap in literacy levels has widened since 1990 (Leach, 1997). The lack of significant progress is also indicated by the fact that, of the 29 strategic actions decided upon at the Nairobi meeting to mark the end of the UN Decade on Women (1996-1985) relating to education, 20 were repeated in the Platform of Action produced at the Beijing conference ten years later due to poor or non-existent implementation (see Stromquist, 1997). An examination of the national reports prepared for Beijing also reveals that few governments have implemented policies to improve the condition and status of women in education.

[1] The outcome of these commitments has been questioned by Bennell, 1998.

In order to explore the reasons for the limited progress that has been made in improving girls' education in most developing countries, this study focuses on policy formulation and implementation with respect to girls' education in three low income African countries. Four main research questions have been addressed:

- What kind of knowledge relating to gender and education was available to policy makers when policies and projects were first designed and how has this knowledge been incorporated in the policy making process?

- How have lessons learned from the gender and education initiatives been incorporated into subsequent policy and practice?

- What have been the main political, social and cultural obstacles to implementing gender policies and projects?

- Which constituencies and alliances inside and outside of each country have supported gender equality in education?

In order to answer these questions, each country case study; (i) Gives an overview of the access, persistence and attainment of girls and women at various levels of the education system; (ii) Assesses how academic and other research findings concerned with gender and education have contributed to policy change; (iii) Reviews government education and gender policies in order to assess the bureaucratic, political and social constraints preventing the attainment of gender equality in education; and (iv) Examines donor support to the education sector and girls' and womens' education and looks, in particular, at the way in which donor priorities have shaped gender interventions. Donor coordination is examined from the point of view of 'lessons learned' from prior experience in the area of gender and education. Issues concerning the 'ownership' of policies and programmes are explored in the light of relationships between host government and agencies. The role of NGOs in gender advocacy and providing alternative models is also considered.

1.2. Methodology

The methodology employed for this study is qualitative in nature and it relies heavily on a country comparative approach. The three case study countries were deliberately selected because they all have significant gender components in their education policy. Nonetheless, there are also important differences between them with respect to both

policy formulation and implementation which makes country comparisons particularly interesting. The role of three key aid agencies ODA, (DFID since May 1997), Sida and UNICEF is explored in detail because all three organisations have made significant interventions to redress gender inequalities in education in one or more of the case study countries.

Gender inequalities in education are considered across the entire education system in each case study country, including formal and non-formal provision. Primary data collection involved structured interviews with government, donor and NGO personnel. Secondary data were also obtained from government departments, aid agencies (headquarters and field offices) academic institutions and NGOs in each case study country. Although every effort has been made to adhere to the same analytical framework in each of the three countries, the availability of primary and secondary data varied considerably.

Most of the interviews of government officials were done by local researchers: Stella Bendera (Tanzania), Esme Kadzamira (Malawi) and Rosemary Gordon (Zimbabwe). Nicola Swainson coordinated the project from Sussex University and also conducted some of the field research (particularly in Tanzania and Zimbabwe).

1.3. Structure of the report

The remainder of this introductory chapter consists of a short literature review that highlights the main issues covered in the report. Chapter 2 outlines the gender and education policies of the three aid agencies: DFID, Sida and UNICEF. The three country case studies on Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are then each presented in turn. The final chapter contains the report's overall conclusions.

1.4. Literature review

Given its focus on policy formulation and implementation in education, this study draws on literature concerning gender and development (GAD), gender and organisations as well as education. As has been repeatedly emphasised, lack of knowledge about gender is often seen as an impediment to implementation. However, it is often not the need to know, but what government officials want to know that is key. All too often, knowledge about women's experiences of development is simplified in order to fit existing bureaucratic criteria (Goetz, 1995).

Any process of 'opening up' to new ideas involves politics, and gender advocates have an important role to play in this respect. Political, organisational and cognitive factors all affect the incentive structures of development 'actors' including NGOs, the state and

aid agencies.[2] Donor agencies have played a central role in commissioning research on both GAD and gender and education. However, much of this has been geared towards meeting their own development goals rather than those of the beneficiaries (Kardam, 1995). Policies involve the distribution of power and resources, and the political and bureaucratic operations of both international agencies as well as national and local governments affect the outcomes of gender policies and programmes. If a gender project is not perceived as important, its implementation will suffer because bureaucrats will not give it priority. As Kabeer has pointed out, '..the failure to promote gender equity in development policies cannot be attributed to a 'lingering irrationality' among planners but a rational defence of class interests. This applies to both donor agencies and national bureaucracies as well as communities' (Kabeer, 1994:37).

[2] For further elaboration of this point see Nuket Kardam, 1995.

The rise of the 'women in development' (WID) movement in the decade after the Nairobi Conference on Women in 1985 has helped to put gender at or near the top of the development agenda of many international agencies and governments. Accordingly, governments have signed up to international conventions[3] and committed themselves to supporting various rights of women and children. In the African context, the Pan African Conference on Girls' Education in 1993 urged African governments to address issues relating to girls' education (the Ouagadougou Declaration). In order to render these resolutions effective, coalitions and alliances are needed both internationally and inside the countries concerned. A good example of this is the Forum of African Women Educationalists which was formed in 1992, with a continent wide membership of key politicians and educational personnel. Its main goals are to mainstream gender in national education programmes and convince society of the importance of educating girls. However, the discourses of WID/GAD are often ambiguous with wide variations in interpretation between different stakeholders. This often leads to misunderstandings and a lack of consensus in the understanding of gender inequalities.[4]

[3] Such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women.

[4] The term 'empowerment' for example has entered into development discourse. This has variable definitions and emphases; third world women usually define it in terms of the capacity of women to increase their self reliant strategies.

Gender and Education: Gender analyses of education were originally undertaken in the countries of the industrial north. By the 1980s, relatively little systematic research on this topic had been done in the developing countries.[5] Most of the early literature on gender and education was concerned with girls' access to schooling and economic

outcomes in the labour market (Elliot and Kelly, 1980).

[5] See literature reviews in Comparative Education, 1980 and Comparative Education, 1987.

Conventional human capital rationales for investing in women have been particularly influential. Research has shown that both the social and private rates of return to girls' primary education are generally high. From the late 1980s, the World Bank sponsored a number of country studies which showed very significant social and economic benefits from investing in the education of females (Floro and Wolf, 1990, Bustillo, 1989, Herz et al, 1991, King and Hill 1993). The level of maternal schooling was found to be especially important in promoting the education prospects of girls (Bustillo, 1989). Other positive outcomes that have been consistently highlighted are increased productivity, reduced fertility, reduced child and maternal mortality, and improving the environment (Herz et al, 1991 and Summers, 1992). According to this paradigm, under-investing in girls' education is seen as being a 'waste' of human and economic potential.

Most research on gender and education to date has concentrated on the access, persistence and attainment, the financing of education - the role of teachers and the curriculum have not be adequately addressed. Numerous gender specific education projects have been tried by governments, donors and NGOs in a variety of combinations in many developing countries. These have included bringing schools closer to communities, improving textbooks, increasing the number of women teachers, scholarship programmes for secondary school girls etc. Research evidence has shown that policy 'packages' are likely to be more effective than single interventions (Swainson, 1996). However, as King and Hill (1993) have pointed out, most gender activities in education have been single interventions.

Analyses of gender and education produced by the World Bank and other donors have relied heavily on a simple supply and demand framework. The dominance of economic theory in the World Bank and other donor agencies has resulted in arguments in favour of better educational provision for girls being mainly couched in terms of 'efficiency'. Although World Bank sponsored research has resulted in the development of some useful strategies, it has tended to be too simplistic and economistic. Crucial issues such as the high incidence of schoolgirl pregnancies and HIV/AIDs in many SSA countries can only be explained through the complex web of relations between household, community and school (Swainson, 1996). It is clear that the factors militating against positive education outcomes for girls are not purely economic. In the absence of such an understanding, there is a danger that gender problems and solutions become de-politicised and prescriptions consist of 'wish lists' with no indication of how to set priorities.

Chapter 2 - Donor gender policies

2.1. The Department for International Development, UK.

2.1.1 Gender and development

DFID has never had an institutionalised WID presence (Goetz, 1996). From the 1970s, attempts were made to mainstream gender in the organisation rather than form a separate gender unit. It is likely that this decision was partly based on expediency given that the Social Development Division (SDD) had few funds and only three officers in post at the time. However, after the 1985 United Nations Conference on Women in Nairobi, DFID did produce a WID strategy (in 1988) which stressed the importance of integrating gender in all aid activities (DFID, 1996). Whereas DFID at that time had tended to follow a welfarist approach, from the late 1980s, gender concerns have been more closely integrated into the work of the organisation a process actively promoted by the SDD.

Sectoral advisers take the lead in implementation so it was essential for social development advisers to be present on the ground. Until the early 1990s, gender was introduced into the aid programme by means of 'flying visits' from centrally based SDAs. Since then, however, SDA's have been posted to the field offices in most major programme countries - including East and Central Africa. At the present time, the SDD has a small team of five staff at headquarters and 22 SDAs in the field offices of the regional development divisions. This new system of working has greatly enhanced the

effectiveness of the SDD in introducing gender into sectoral programmes. Research funded by ESCOR and other donors on gender equality has also enhanced the theoretical underpinnings of the SDD.

Between 1988 and 1996 great strides were made by the SDD in persuading the organisation to appreciate gender as a key analytical tool for understanding the development process. In 1992, 'enhancing the status of women' became one of DFID's seven priority objectives and the SDD became a separate government division with a remit to monitor poverty, participation and social welfare with a special task to promote WID throughout the organisation Given its broad policy concern with improving the welfare of women, DFID has generally avoided the funding of WID-specific projects. Since then the focus has shifted to achieving gender equality across the aid programme. In April 1996, ODA underwent significant restructuring as a result of a Fundamental Expenditure Review. A key consequence of the Review is that the SDD is now represented on the Project Evaluation Committee, a powerful high level decision making body that deals with sector programming.

With the election of the Labour government in May 1997, ODA was upgraded to a full government department and renamed the Department for International Development (DFID). As part of a renewed commitment to overseas aid, DFID produced a new White Paper on Development entitled 'Eliminating World Poverty: a challenge for the 21st Century' in November 1997. The overall of Britain's international development effort is to focus on the elimination of poverty and economic growth to benefit the poor. Gender equality is a central issue in the White Paper: 'The empowerment of women is a prerequisite for achieving effective and people centred development...effective poverty reduction requires policies which recognise women's multiple roles and DFID encourages and supports macro-economic policies and development strategies that respond to the needs and efforts of poor women' (DFID, 1997:31).

However, substantial variations still exist in the extent to which WID/GAD has been addressed between the main sectors. The 1995 progress report on DFID's Policy Objectives 1991-1994, notes that 'translating intentions into practice is not complete even though there have been notable successes in realigning the aid programme to better address women's needs'.[1] Although DFID has monitored its WID strategy since 1989, the report considered that gender issues were not being addressed as a 'matter of routine' throughout the full range of aid activities. The report also draws attention to the low correlation between WID and education. A DAC[2] gender equality marker was introduced in 1997 which replaced the former DAC-WID classifications and DFID's own Project Identification Marker System (PIM) was revised in order to more effectively monitor the gender impacts of aid policies. Gender objectives are now being introduced into the logframe at an early stage.

[1] During 1993/4, 68% of expenditure marked for direct assistance to poor people was also marked for WID as compared with 40% in 1992/3.

[2] OECD, Development Assistance Committee.

DFID has extensively used gender training to promote mainstreaming in the organisation Gender training for ODA staff between 1988 and 1996 was compulsory but since then it has only been voluntary. Gender training is also provided for overseas partners and is usually conducted by consultants employed by DFID. An evaluation was undertaken in 1997 of DFID's gender training programme which was found to have been successful in raising the level of gender awareness across the organisation although the gender planning course has had less impact (Stewart, 1997).

2.1.2 Education policy

Support for education is a central component of DFID's overall strategy to assist the poorest. 'Education is closely linked with people's health, their environment, their living conditions, their children's well-being and their ability to acquire knowledge and realise their potential'.[3] DFID is committed to meeting various international development targets including Universal Primary Education by 2015 and eliminating gender inequalities in primary and secondary education by 2005. 'The focus of our support will be on fundamental elements of an effective education system: access, quality, retention and equity (DFID White Paper, 1997:25).

[3] 'British Aid to Education', ODA, Central Office of Information, London 1/95.

Two documents, 'Into the '90s: an educational policy for British Aid' (1990) and 'Aid to education in '93 and beyond' (1994) outline DFID's current education policy although a new Education Policy is being prepared. There has been a decisive shift in emphasis from traditional areas of support (most notably, higher and vocational and technical education) in favour of primary education. ODA's expenditure on basic education as a percentage of total donor commitments to the education sector rose significantly in the 1990s from 1.7% in 1990 to 44.2% in 1995 (Bennell, 1998). Virtually all new commitments made by DFID over the past few years have been in the area of basic education (mainly primary).

In the 1994 Education Policy Paper, while improving access of all children to primary education is a major concern, gender issues tend to be subsumed within the category of 'rural poor'. Unlike some other bilateral donors, DFID does not seek to de-link adult basic education from primary education. The above document stresses the need to pay particular attention to 'basic education including adult (especially women's) literacy'.

However, there is no specific focus on gender in education policy because it is supposed to be mainstreamed within the education programme However, a document produced by DFID for the 13th Commonwealth Conference of Education Ministers held in July 1997 in Botswana signals a shift in approach from aid delivery to cooperation with partners and a move towards closer cooperation between related sectors like health and agriculture. Unlike earlier policy papers, this document has a section which looks specifically at the positive social outcomes associated with the education of women and girls. DFID is currently revising its overall education policy.

DFID is increasingly providing sector/budgetary support for education (i.e. in Uganda and Tanzania) and social development inputs concentrate on the link between gender and poverty. The sector plans for Tanzania and Uganda set specific targets for achieving improved levels of participation of women and girls in the education sector.

The Senior Education Advisers posted to DFID's regional development divisions are responsible for ensuring that gender is integrated into the education aid programme The regional offices have a considerable degree of autonomy and the extent to which gender is taken up often depends on the way in which the education and social development advisers work together.

The development of a substantial knowledge base around education is seen to be of use to both DFID and other donors as well as the ministries of education partner countries. Since the early 1990s, DFID has developed an active research and publications programme to inform the work of the Education Division and a number of reports have been produced on gender and education since 1994. The Economic and Social Committee for Overseas Research (ESCOR) also sponsors social and economic research on developing countries and its outputs assist DFID's development goals by 'informing policy and practice in developing...countries'. ESCOR consults sectoral advisers about developing major research programmes. DFID has recently improved the dissemination of the findings from the research that it has sponsored.

2.2. Sida

2.2.1 Background to Sida's WID/GAD policy

Sida's gender policies have also been strongly influenced by events in the international arena such as the Nairobi and Beijing conferences on women and the goals of the Education for All conference at Jomtien in 1990. As early as 1979, Sida began to

extend aid to women's organisations in their programme countries and in 1985, Sida drafted a set of guidelines for planning so that it could more effectively meet the needs of women and men, taking account of women's greater workloads.

The current overall framework for Sida's gender policies is based on a plan of action and guidelines for development assistance for women elaborated in 1985. This essentially welfarist strategy was aimed at providing women and children with social and health-oriented measures.[4] The guidelines provide a framework for integrating gender into steering documents at the sector level. This 'combined approach' emphasises the incorporation of goals and concerns about women's development throughout Sida's aid programme and also provides for women-focused projects and initiatives. The guidelines also call for the use of gender-disaggregated data in project planning and monitoring and for minimum levels of representation by women in project preparation teams (Schalkwyk, 1995). In the ten years since Sida first adopted the gender guidelines, there has been a shift in emphasis from women as a social category to gender equity and integration of a gender perspective.

[4] Sida's Guidelines for Development Assistance to Women, 28/5/85.

Up until the mid 1980s, a central gender office oversaw the introduction of gender aware methods into aid programmes. Thereafter gender officers were deployed at the Development Country Office (DCO) level. Up until 1995, these Officers had their own budgets to support in-country trading and other gender specific projects.

Sida's Gender Office is strategically located in the Department for Policy and Legal Issues. After an interim review in 1994, the Gender Office had its responsibilities redefined from programme to policy support and the number of staff at the headquarters has been reduced to three. Furthermore, overall responsibility for gender within the regional departments has been delegated to the DCOs in the field. The head of each DCO has the responsibility for integrating a gender perspective in each programme.

The gender officers who have been posted to the DCOs since the late 1980s have acted as catalysts to promote gender projects and programmes, although evaluations have identified a number of problems. Despite the many positive impacts of their interventions, the effectiveness of gender officers has been impaired by their low status (often locally hired) and lack of knowledge of Sida structures and relative isolation (Woroniuk and Valdelin, 1995). In order to remedy these weaknesses, Sida is in the process of appointing social sector advisers to replace gender officers (initially in Tanzania and South Africa) whose main responsibility is to ensure that gender is integrated across the sectors. These officials have a broader brief and strong poverty dimension to their work. The process of mainstreaming of gender assumes a high level of gender awareness amongst Sida's own staff and of their national partners in

programme countries.

From the late 1980's, Sida began to develop its gender training programme using the 'Moser' model. All Sida personnel and consultants are required to attend a training course lasting three days to develop gender competence. However, despite extensive investment in gender training, a 1995 evaluation concluded that some Sida staff remain uncertain about the goals and intent of policy and key concepts on which it is based. In some cases this has resulted in a difficulty in translating gender policy into practice in a meaningful way (Schalkwyk, 1995).

In 1995, gender equality was formally adopted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a central goal for Sweden's international developments cooperation. Sida has also produced a new policy on gender equality, poverty reduction, education and the environment which is now in operation. In July 1995, Sida underwent a profound organisational change when five organisations (including Sida) were merged to form a new agency, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

Gender focal points have been introduced in each division of the new organisation in order to ensure that gender is taken up in education and other areas. The staff members responsible for 'gender focal points' will spend 30% of their time promoting gender. However, competing demands on their time make it difficult for them to operate effectively and they are somewhat dependent on the goodwill of departmental heads. It is too early to assess Sida's mainstreaming strategy, which is aimed at developing support networks in particular areas.

2.2.2 Education

In terms of resources, education is the largest sector in the Democracy, Education and Social Development (DESO) division. Sida was the first donor organisation to allocate a sizeable proportion of its education budget to primary and non-formal education (Bennell, 1998). The general objectives of Sida's education policy are to support the broad process of policy reform, raise the quality of education, and improve the provision of basic education services for previously neglected groups and people.

Sida's 1996 education policy document gives particular attention to the education of girls and women. However, in terms of overall educational goals and strategies, there are no substantial changes in the 1996 document. The main areas of Sida's support to basic education are the production and distribution of educational materials (particularly textbooks), curriculum development, teacher education and non-formal education, school construction, and education planning and management. With regard to content, particular attention is paid to special needs education, environmental and health education, especially HIV/AIDs. Sida is increasingly interested in supporting

curriculum development in core areas such as maths, science and language as well as improving teaching and learning processes in the classroom. Furthermore, it supports policy development (including research) as well as processes aimed at building consensus with the country of cooperation. Like other bilateral donors Sida increasingly supporting sector wide approaches and educational reform. This approach offers the prospect of greater donor consideration in all areas, including gender. Educational aid programmes are developed on the basis of an analysis of the education system, the socio-economic context and on a dialogue with the implementing agencies (the main partner usually being the MOE). Sida's gender unit stresses the need for policy dialogue to be included as part of gender training.

Sida's education policy document, however, does not indicate how monitoring and follow-up will be institutionalised, nor how gender equality can be operationalised depending on different circumstances. Indeed, there has been a lack of clarity with regard to how gender is monitored and followed up in the education sector (Lexow, 1996 and Schalkwyk, 1995). However, Sida has recently produced a 'handbook for the integration of a gender perspective in the education sector' which is being used as a tool to assist in the mainstreaming of gender in the education sector.

Largely as a result of its persistence in raising gender issues with partners and at international fore, gender equality is now a central part of all initiatives from the stage of formulation through to the final specification of the logframes. Research and evaluation has played an central role in policy formulation in Sida. The organisation has commissioned numerous studies and activities with the aim of monitoring the way in which gender equality issues are translated into policy and practice.

2.3. UNICEF

2.3.1 Gender and education

Gender and development is of critical importance to UNICEF's overall mandate of providing strategic development support for the well-being and healthy growth of children. It is clear that women and mothers as principal care providers and guardians of children are the key actors in all efforts aimed at improving the welfare of children (Aklilu, 1995). The primary mandate of UNICEF concerns children and its initial focus was on welfare. At the 1985 Nairobi Womens' conference, UNICEF presented a paper on gender inequality. As a result of its experience of working in South Asia, UNICEF came to recognise the differential treatment of girl children.[5] In 1991, UNICEF

published 'The girl child: an investment in the future' which stressed the need to advocate for girl children in the light of their economic and cultural discrimination at all levels.[6] In 1992, the women's equality and empowerment framework (WEEF) was adopted as a conceptual basis for gender analysis training. Although UNICEF's empowerment approach is not seen as 'radical', it does recognise the right of females to make decisions about their own lives (Stromquist, 1994). The WEEF has been used in conjunction with the 'Triple A' (assessment, analysis and action) framework to enable a sharper understanding of gender dynamics and its impact on priority sectors. A reservation about WEEF is that, although working in a GAD framework, little reference is made to male gender needs (Aklilu, 1995).

[5] The concept 'the girl child' has been challenged by some who argue that girl children are not a homogeneous group, subject to the same experiences.

[6] Interview with a UNICEF (Tanzania) representative.

In 1994, the executive board of UNICEF endorsed a policy concerning 'Gender equality and empowerment of girls' which highlighted three main operational areas for UNICEF's development work in support of women and girls: mainstreaming gender concerns, promoting gender specific programme activities, and giving special attention to the girl child. This reflects a shift from a WID to a GAD approach. In its 1994 policy review, training and sensitisation of UNICEF staff in gender formed a central part of the gender mainstreaming strategy. Previously, training of staff and counterparts had taken place on an ad hoc basis. There have been intensive efforts since 1994 to provide training for all staff in the geographical regions with training courses usually lasting for between one to four days. Many staff members have now been trained and there is considerable evidence of the positive impacts of this training on UNICEF programme frameworks, particularly at the country level. UNICEF training also covers capacity building for NGOs and women's professional associations. Monitoring and evaluation are important means of measuring the relevance and effectiveness of the gender training experience. The training package contains evaluation formats, although it is felt that a more systematic approach to monitoring and evaluation is required and specific gender sensitive indicators need to be identified and established.

As part of the UN system, UNICEF is an agency with complex partnership arrangements and goals which cross sectors. Accounting for inputs can, therefore, be problematic An evaluation of UNICEF in 1992 suggested that this situation would be helped by a stronger role being played by the Head Office and the regional offices. More recently, UNICEF has tried to strengthen the position of regional offices in order to temper the high degree of country autonomy.[7]

[7] Interview, personnel at UNICEF/ESARO, 1996, Nairobi, Kenya.

2.3.2 Education

UNICEF devotes its entire education sector support to basic education - both formal and non-formal, and it is one of the few agencies that has greatly increased its education spending since the early 1990s[8]. UNICEF is committed to quadrupling its education spending by the year 2000 (Stromquist, 1994). Furthermore, UNICEF has played an important advocacy role with regard to basic education, having jointly sponsored the Education for All (EFA) education summit with the United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Population Fund and the World Bank. It is one of the main proponents of EFA and is firmly committed to Universal Primary Education (UPE). The strategies proposed by UNICEF to accomplish the EFA goals include such measures as improving primary school infrastructure, using complementary non-formal education (NFE) approaches, and promoting the enrolment and persistence of girls. UNICEF is unusual in combining an interest in primary education with non-formal education, an approach which is particularly conducive for tackling the particular needs of girls. These programmes are designed and managed at the country level.

[8] UNICEF's spending on education rose by 24% between 1990 and 1991.

UNICEF prioritises capacity building and research. Both UNICEF and Sida have funded several country level analyses of education and many of the UNICEF situation reports done on girls and women cover both education and health aspects. In 1994, UNICEF and Sida funded an important study by Nelly Stromquist '*Gender and Basic Education in International Development Cooperation*', although it is not clear how it has been used from a policy perspective.

The considerable degree of autonomy[9] of UNICEF country offices makes it in most cases highly responsive to local needs. UNICEF in the 1990's has developed a clear and successful advocacy role for the girl child at the same time as making a high level of commitment to basic education. It works on the ground with a wider range of partners (i.e. local authorities and NGOs) than the two bilaterals.

[9] This degree of autonomy, however, has posed problems of accountability to UNICEF's head office.

2.4. Conclusion

Gender advocates within donor agencies have benefited greatly from the momentum of the international women's conferences (in 1985 and 1995) as well as the Cairo

Population conference. Furthermore, the DAC gender group has supported the development of a gender perspective within both the bilaterals and organisations under scrutiny.

Mainstreaming is now the main method of infusing gender objectives, throughout donor organisations This has been developed through the use of gender training at agency headquarters and field office level. However, institutional mechanisms for monitoring progress that have existed in the past in all three organisations have been problematic and new ones are being developed. Both Sida and UNICEF are able to work cross sectorally between education and health, an advantaged only just being developed by DFID. This is particularly useful in addressing the pressing needs of girls in SSA in relation to AIDs/HIV. Unlike the two bilaterals, gender has become a specific aspect of UNICEF's interventions in education through 'the girl child' focus at the same time as being 'mainstreamed' within the organisation

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Chapter 3 - Malawi

3.1. Educational provision: An overview

3.1.1 Primary education

Enrolments: In the 1980s, less than half of primary school-aged children in Malawi were in school and girls comprised only 44% of enrolments by 1986. A central part of the programme of the new democratic government was the introduction in October 1994 of free primary education (FPE). Nevertheless, Malawi is still beset with grave problems, the most pressing of which are: poor spatial access to schools, low internal efficiency and lack of equity. There are also significant disparities in participation and attainment among various socio-economic groups and regions and also between boys and girls, men and women. Although most children now attend school, access is still a major problem for some marginalised groups, particularly among the poorest households.

As a consequence of the FPE policy, primary enrolments jumped by nearly 50% - from 1.9 million in 1993/94 to nearly 3 million pupils in 1994/5 (see Table 1). Although regional, district, rural urban and gender disparities in enrolment rates were more

serious before the universalisation of primary education, regional differences are still pronounced. In particular, enrolment rates are significantly higher in the Northern Region. Gender disparities in primary enrolments have also narrowed considerably during the 1990s. As indicated in Table 1, half the school-going population are now girls. In 1992/93, girls comprised 51% of new admissions in standard 1 although their participation dwindled to only 35% of Standard 8 enrolment. The net enrolment ratio (NER) in 1994/95 was about 96% for both boys and girls. [1]

[1] Given over-age enrolment and high drop out it is unlikely that NERs are as high as 96%. This figure might be inflated by inaccurate population data.

Table 1: Primary school enrolments by gender, 1980/81-1994/95

Year	Total	Female	% Female
1980/1	809,862	333,495	41.2
1981/2	882,903	368,769	41.8
1982/3	868,849	367,523	42.3
1983/4	847,157	359,103	42.4
1984/5	899,459	383,776	42.7
1955/6	942,539	408,727	43.3
1986/7	1,022,765	449,221	43.9
1987/8	1,066,642	473,393	44.3
1988/9	1,202,836	536,477	44.6
1989/90	1,325,453	593,539	44.8
1.990/1	1,400,682	628,706	44.9
1991/2	1,662,583	760,718	45.8
1992/3	1,795,451	847,974	47.2
1993/4	1,895,423	912,126	48.1
1994/5	2,860,819	1,345,311	47.0

GERs, however, have remained higher for boys (141% versus 127% for girls in 1994/5), indicating a higher propensity for over-aged boys to persist in the system than over-aged girls.

Table 1a: Proportion of girls by standard, 1980-1995

Year/Std	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1980/81	46.3	43.5	43.1	41.3	39.2	37.4	34.4	26.0
1984/86	47.1	45.1	45.4	44.4	42.2	42.3	39.3	30.4
1990/91	47.8	45.9	46.3	41.9	45.3	43.9	42.1	35.6
1992/93	51.1	48.2	48.2	46.2	45.6	44.3	42.2	34.9
1994/95	49.4	47.6	47.6	46.1	45.3	44.3	43.3	38.6

Source: MOE statistical bulletins.

Internal efficiency: The internal efficiency of primary education is low mainly because of high drop-out and repetition rates. It is estimated that it takes, on average, thirteen years for a child to complete an eight year cycle of primary school. Nearly half the children who enter primary school drop-out before Standard 5, and are not, therefore functionally literate or numerate. Although the drop out rate of girls in 1994/95 was double that of boys in Standard 7, the gap between boys and girls has narrowed over time (see Table 2). In 1994/95, nearly a third of all primary school children were repeaters which is largely a result of the decline in school quality following FPE. Repetition rates have actually increased since 1991/2. Late entry to school is common for both boys and girls. One study in rural Malawi reported the average age in Standard 1 to be ten years for both boys and girls with late entry being particularly detrimental to girls' persistence at school due to the fact that they are more likely to drop out when they reach puberty (Hyde and Kadzamira, 1994). Table 2 shows an enormous increase in drop out rates since 1991 for children of both sexes, although the gap between girls and boys rose in 1994/5 after the introduction of Free Primary Education.

Table 2: Primary school drop-out rates by gender, 1980-1995[2]

Year	% Girls	%Boys	Diff
1980/81	18.1	12.3	5.8
1981/82	23.8	18.7	5.2
1985/86	11.2	7.7	3.5
1987/88	11.5	6.3	5.2
1990/91	n.a	n.a	n.a
1993/94	17.4	15.7	1.7
1994/95	29.1	25.2	3.9

[2] Drop-out is calculated by dividing total number dropping out in the

relevant year by the total enrolment of that year.

Source: MOE Basic Education Statistics.

Achievement and Performance: Girls have had consistently lower pass rates than boys in the Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC) although, in overall terms, the gender gap at the primary level is gradually closing. The gender gap in pass rates is much wider in rural areas (62% for boys and 3 8% for girls in 1995) than in urban areas (57% for boys and for 43% girls) (Khembo, 1995). The overall quality of secondary schooling in Malawi is extremely low as evidenced by high pupil:teacher and high pupil:classroom ratios, and the very poor availability of teaching and learning materials.

3.1.2 Secondary education

Enrolments: The secondary education system admits only a small proportion of the relevant cohort: for the past decade, transition rates from primary to government-assisted secondary schools have remained consistently below 12% of those who passed PSLC. Interestingly, transition rates are higher for girls because girls are selected for secondary school at a lower cut-off point than boys. Gender enrolment disparities are more pronounced at the secondary level due to higher drop-out rates among girls at primary schools and poorer performance at PSLC. Although enrolments in conventional secondary schools increased threefold between 1980/81 and 1994/95, the rising demand for secondary education is clearly not being met. Throughout the 1980s, girls accounted for only one-third of enrolments. By the mid 1990s, their share was still only 39% (see Table 3).

Table 3: Secondary schools: total enrolment by gender, 1980/81-1994/95[3]

Year	Girls	Boys	Total	% Girls
1980/81	5,248	12,758	18,006	29.2
1981/82	5,654	13,675	19,329	29.3
1982/83	5,720	14,112	19,832	28.8
1983/84	6,451	15,794	22,245	30.0
1984/85	7,426	16,917	24,343	30.5
1985/86	8,132	17,045	25,177	32.3
1986/87	8,713	17,242	25,955	33.6
1987/88	9,044	17,601	26,645	33.9
1988/89	10,004	18,561	28,565	35.0

1989/90	11,906	22,492	34,398	34.6
1990/91	10,995	20,500	31,495	34.9
1991/92	11,876	21,950	33,826	35.1
1992/93	12,768	23,782	36,550	34.9
1993/94	18,179	28,265	46,444	39.1
1994/95	18,929	29,431	48,360	39.1

[3] These figures include those enrolled in the DECs.

Source: MOE Basic Education Statistics.

At mixed secondary schools, a third of places are reserved for girls. Many boarding schools have also adopted the same admission criteria. In 1992/1993, the GER for secondary education was about 4.6%, (which had remained almost unchanged since 1984/85), with the rate being higher for boys than for girls, 6.0% and 3.2% respectively (see Table 4). Virtually no children from the lowest socio-economic groups attend secondary school (World Bank, 1995). Girls attending secondary school tend to come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than boys.

Internal efficiency: Because the system is so selective, student drop-outs at secondary schools have been minimal. Throughout the 1980s, nearly half of all girls failed the Junior Certificate Examination (JCE), although the overall gender gap in pass rates at JCE fell from 26 percentage points in 1980 to 11 points in 1990. From 1990, girls' overall pass rates have continued to improve. JCE results between 1992 and 1996 show that the gender gap is largest in mathematics, physical science and geography and the narrowest in languages. However, the gender gap in maths and science during this period fell significantly between 1992 and 1996 from 22.7% to 10.5% in mathematics and from 18.7% to 9% in physical science.[4]

[4] MANEB statistics.

Table 4: Gross and net enrolment ratios for secondary education

Year	Gross enrolment ratio			Nat enrolment ratio		
	Girls	Boys	Both	Girls	Boys	Both
1979/80	1.2	4.5	3.2	1.1	1.3	1.2
1984/85	2.4	5.6	4.0	1.1	1.5	1.3
1985/86	2.6	5.5	4.0	1.3	1.5	1.4

1986/87	2.7	5.4	4.0	1.4	1.5	1.4
1987/88	2.7	5.3	4.0	1.4	1.5	1.5
1988/89	2.6	5.4	4.1	1.4	1.6	1.5
1992/93	3.2	6.0	4.6	2.5	2.4	2.4

Source: MOE Basic Education Statistics.

Those who do drop out of conventional secondary schools tend to find their way into Distance Education Centres.[5] 54,481 students (one-third of whom were female) were enrolled in Forms 1-4 and night classes in the DECs in 1995. However, the quality of education offered at these centres (which are located predominantly in rural areas) is much lower than that at conventional secondary schools. This factor plus the fact that DEC students tend to be poor performers at PSLCE, means that few students pass the MSCE examinations.

[5] Access to the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE) centres is open to anyone with a pass in the PSLC exam unlike conventional secondary schools

In 1995, the overall pass rate for girls was 5% and 14% for boys. In marked contrast, at conventional secondary schools 29% of girls and 50% of boys obtained pass grades at MSCE with boys performing better in all subjects except Chichewa (Kadzamira, 1987). The gender gap was largest in maths and physical science and smallest in languages although, during the 1980s, the overall performance of girls in maths did improve.

Table 5: Total enrolments by gender at the University of Malawi and teacher training colleges

Year	University			Teacher Training Colleges		
	Male	Female	%	Male	Female	% Female
1980/81	1,295	409	24.0	1,100	651	37.2
1981/82	1,454	346	19.2	1,098	659	37.5
1982/83	1,463	347	17.4	1,155	653	36.1
1983/84	1,754	370	18.3	1,162	728	38.2
1984/85	1,605	359	18.2	1,211	709	36.9
1985/86	1,615	359	22.5	1,184	770	39.4
1986/87	1,688	489	21.2	1,180	622	34.5

1987/88	1,800	484	21.3	1,647	857	34.2
1988/89	1,837	498	21.4	1,681	898	34.8
1989/90	2,109	574	22.9	1,928	981	31.6
1990/91	2,244	669	23.6	2,114	1,125	34.7
1991/92	2,481	766	21.1	2,183	1,162	34.7
1992/93	2,766	755	23.3	2,147	1,397	39.4
1993/94	2,824	860	24.7	2,135	1,489	41.1
1994/95	2,703	888	25.6	1,859	1,126	37.7

Source: MOE statistical bulletins.

3.1.3 Tertiary education

Enrolments: An even smaller cohort of eligible school children gain admission to tertiary education. Only 7500 places were available in tertiary institutions in 1993/4, which represents a mere 0.3% of the total enrolments in the formal education system as a whole (World Bank, 1995). There has, however, been a slow increase in university enrolments since the early 1990s.

The university now has an affirmative action policy aimed at increasing female enrolment to one-third of total enrolment. Female students are admitted with slightly lower marks than boys. There are, however, still marked gender differences in subject choice with the majority of female students being concentrated in nursing and teaching and only a few in non-traditional areas. For example, in 1990/91, only 2% of engineering students were female (Table 6). Up until 1986/87, girls were not encouraged to pursue engineering courses at the University of Malawi and to date, only 7 out of the 373 engineering students to have graduated from the university were female! Similarly, by the end of 1993/94, out of the 41 doctors who had graduated from the University of Malawi, only 11 (26%) were women (Semu and Kadzamira, 1995). The channelling of students into gender-typed courses tends to lead to gender-defined occupations.

Table 6: Number and percentage of women by area of study at the University of Malawi in 1990/91.

Area of Study	No	% of total enrolment
Agriculture	86	12.3
Humanities	45	6.4

Science	46	6.6
Social Science	64	9.2
Education	83	11.9
Law	18	2.6
Public Administration	16	2.3
Theology	0	0
Business	57	8.2
Engineering	13	1.9
Management	0	0
Commerce	9	1.3
Public Health	4	0.6
Laboratory Technician	11	1.6
Nursing	242	41.8
Medicine	1	0.1
M.A.	3	0.4
Total	698	100.0

Source: MOE statistical bulletins.

At teacher training colleges, females accounted for around 38% of total enrolments and this proportion has not changed much since 1980 (see Table 5). There are even fewer female teachers at the secondary level.

Sex-stereotyping is also found in the vocational training courses offered. Semu and Kadzamira (1995) found that the training received by female extension workers at the agricultural training institutions tends to concentrate on 'female' typed subjects such as home economics and child care. Agriculture comprised only 25% of the curriculum for these female extension workers, thus limiting the kind of assistance they could give to women farmers. Anecdotal evidence shows that at the health sciences college very few women are enrolled in radiology, clinical courses, and pharmacy. The majority of women are enrolled instead in nursing. Women are under-represented in all training institutions offering courses in computing, accountancy and technical education.

At the five technical colleges, girls are concentrated in secretarial courses and there have been very few instances of girls enrolling in technical courses such as bricklaying, carpentry, electrician and motor vehicle mechanic. The same situation is found at the Polytechnic where almost all women students at the college are taking secretarial

courses.

3.1.4 Literacy

One of the salient outcomes of low levels of educational participation in the past has been the extremely high illiteracy rates in Malawi. There are a number of different sources of information on literacy rates in Malawi. Though literacy rates have improved from 12% in 1966 to 39% in the 1987 census, absolute numbers of illiterates doubled in the same period and the gender gap widened (GOM and UN, 1993). The 1986 National Literacy Programme introduced by the Ministry of Women, Children, Community Development and Social Welfare (MOWCDSW) to combat high levels of illiteracy, has been beset with problems, in particular, inappropriate delivery models and lack of materials. In the 1990s, non-formal education remains a forgotten priority with donor attention switching to primary education.

Table 7: Adult literacy rates by region and gender 1977-1989

Year	1977		1987		
Region	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
Northern	32.5	61.5	50.4	78.1	63.4
Central	16.8	37.9	34.3	64.5	48.9
Southern	14.3	38.4	29.1	62.9	44.9
Malawi	17.4	40.8	33.5	65.3	48.5

Source: Malawi Population Census 1977 and 1987 Reports

3.1.5 Public expenditure on education

Compared to other countries in Southern Africa, public spending on education in Malawi is relatively low. The share of education in the national budget averaged around 10% from the early 1980s to early 1990s, but since then this share has gradually increased, amounting to almost 23% in 1995 (see Table 8). This improvement can be largely attributed to the Girls' Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education (GABLE) project funded by USAID since 1992. One of the key conditionalities of the project was that the government would increase the share of the national budget to education to 27% by 1997.

Table 8: Education spending as a proportion of national budget (%)

Year	80/81	82/83	85/86	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95
Recurrent	11.4	12.2	9.9	11.1	11.0	11.0	17.0	21.0	27.0
Dev/ment	4.4	15.9	12.9	13.4	11.1	14.5	17.3	17.7	12.7
TOTAL	8.2	13.4	10.7	11.7	9.5	12.1	17.4	20.0	22.9

Source: MOE, statistical bulletins.

Up to the late 1980s, government policy tended to favour secondary and tertiary education. Though primary education had the largest share of the education budget, per pupil expenditures were very low compared to secondary and tertiary education. Since then, however, public expenditure on primary education has increased in troth absolute and relative terms. Whereas in 1980/81, 40% of total education recurrent expenditure was allocated to primary education, by 1994/95 this share had increased to 52% (see Table 9). Expenditure per pupil is still low, and the increase in primary expenditure has not been adequate to reverse the effects of many years of under-funding for infrastructure and supplies (World Bank, 1995).

Table 9: Percentage share of education subsectors on recurrent budget, 1980-1995

Year	80/81	82/83	85/86	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95
Primary	40.2	39.1	42.2	48.1	44.7	46.1	54.1	51.1	52.4
Secondary	14.9	14.7	13.9	11.7	11.2	11.1	9.3	10.5	9.0
MCDE	1.8	2.1	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.0	1.3	2.2	1.2
Teacher Training	4.8	4.4	3.9	5.2	3.8	4.7	3.2	3.7	3.9
Technical & Vocat.	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.6	2.0	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.2
University	23.2	23.6	19.2	16.9	16.5	17.6	15.7	17.6	18.3
Other*	13.6	14.5	18.2	14.4	19.2	17.1	15.3	13.9	14.0

Source: Various Education Statistics Reports

* 'Other' includes Administration, MANEB, Museums, Archives and Antiquities

In 1994/95, expenditure per student at primary school level was MK81,[6] MK828 for a secondary student, MK5,042 for a technical student and MK22,622 for a university student. Thus, in 1994/95, the expenditure per pupil for secondary school student was four times higher than that for primary school children. For tertiary level education, this

ratio was 71 per primary student and a university student was 103 times more costly than a primary level student (World Bank, 1995). Because of the small number of students that are admitted and the high pupil/teacher ratios, unit costs for tertiary are high. A high proportion of secondary schools are boarding and per student costs at these schools are significantly higher than at day schools. Recent MOE estimates indicate that unit costs at boarding schools are nearly double those at day schools.[7]

[6] MK = Malawi Kwacha £1 = MK25 in March 1997.

[7] MOE estimated per pupil costs for day secondary schools to be MK5,158 against MK9,463 for boarding schools in the 1994/95 school year. The high cost of boarding schools was due to the cost of feeding the students and though the students pay boarding fees these constituted 11% or less of the total boarding costs.

In conclusion, while girls' participation at the primary level has greatly improved since the introduction of FPE, inequalities in access by gender and region remain. Due to higher drop-out rates for girls than boys, the proportion of girls progressively diminishes through the primary grades. Access of girls to conventional secondary schools remains a serious problem due to the inadequate supply of schools. Despite some improvement since the early 1990s, outcomes for girls at both primary and secondary continue to be well below those of boys, particularly in science and mathematics. Access to tertiary levels is highly selective and although the proportion of females at university has risen slowly, they are still very poorly represented, particularly in more technical areas. Low female literacy rates remain a serious problem for Malawi, with twice as many men than women being literate in 1987 (the date of the last census).

3.2. Knowledge generated

3.2.1 Research gender and education

Prior to the 1980s, researchers paid scanty attention to gender equity issues in the education system. Thereafter, a significant number of studies were undertaken which

identified serious gender gaps with respect to access and attainment and examined the constraints affecting girls' education. These studies can be loosely grouped into two types - independent and commissioned research.

Whereas most research work conducted during the 1980s was by academics, independently following their own research interests, since the early 1990s, the bulk of research has been commissioned and funded by donor agencies. Nonetheless, there has also been a growing interest among university students in studying gender issues which can be partly attributed to the greater attention paid to girls' education by government and donors over the past decade.

3.2.2 Utilisation of research knowledge

At the time of the first wave of research on girls' education in the 1980s, the Banda government showed very little interest in girls' education or gender equity issues. Not surprisingly, therefore, while this research revealed acute gender inequalities in the education system in terms of access, persistence and achievement, it was not utilised either by government or donors in their education policies and programmes. Up to the early 1990s, the link between academic research and policy formulation in Malawi remained weak. Most of the research reports that were produced gathered dust on shelves in libraries and offices.

Mechanisms for dissemination of research results to policy makers were almost non-existent. A coordinating committee on educational research did exist in the early 1980s, chaired by the Ministry of Education with representation from the Faculty of Education, The Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE), Malawi National Examinations Board (MANEB), Malawi Institute of Education (MIE) and Centre for Social Research (CSR). However, its mandate was limited to coordination of all research in education so as to avoid duplication of research efforts. Thus, no effective mechanisms existed within the MOE in particular which could take up issues raised in reports and studies. But it was primarily the MOE's lack of interest in gender equity issues, and girls' education in particular, that accounts for the non-utilisation of knowledge.

The second wave of studies on girls' education from the early 1990s, differed from the early studies in that most of them were sanctioned by MOE and commissioned or funded by donor agencies which have become increasingly committed to girls' education.

In 1990, USAID sponsored a National Commission for Women in Development (NCWID) workshop on the 'access of girls and women to education and training opportunities' which was attended by a cross section of women including those from Chitukuo Cha Amayi M'Malawi (CCAM-the Malawi Women's Organisation) and the

University of Malawi. Several researchers made presentations of their work in the area of girls' education. Recommendations from this workshop helped to shape subsequent studies, which were undertaken under the auspices of the GABLE project. A number of USAID sponsored studies were undertaken in the early 1990s which looked at factors affecting the attainment of girls in primary schools. These included Jean Davison and Martin Kanyuka's (1990) ethnographic study on factors affecting girls' education in Southern Malawi and the study by Sue Grant-Lewis (1990) on constraints to girls' persistence in primary school. With respect to secondary education, USAID also funded research on girl drop-outs (Sagawa and Thawe, 1991).

These studies were directly utilised in the design of the GABLE project. Other independent pieces of academic research also influenced the design of GABLE. Studies on gender streaming at secondary school level (most notably Hyde, 1993b) led to the introduction of gender streaming on a trial basis in selected schools. Under the GABLE project further policy-related studies were commissioned, including Pat Hiddleston's (1996) study on the gender streaming of mathematics classes in upper primary school. Other commissioned research was not directly related to girls' education but was aimed at finding solutions to improve the learning conditions for both girls and boys, (for example, the study on double shifting of primary classes by Kadzamira and Kunje, 1996 and age streaming (MIE, 1997)). A double shift policy was introduced in 1996, using the results of the double shift study. Policy initiatives on gender and age streaming are still awaiting the completion of final reports.

3.2.3 Research on socio-economic constraints

3.3.1 Socio-Economic Constraints. Economic constraints are the most frequently mentioned explanations given by parents, children and teachers for non-enrolment and dropout (Davison and Kanyuka, 1990, Kainja, 1990, Grant-Lewis and others, 1990, Kapakasa 1992, Hyde and Kadzamira, 1994, Burchfield and Kadzamira, 1996, Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). Before the introduction of free primary education, parents lack of money to meet school fees was the most frequent reason given for school drop-out and non-enrolment, particularly amongst girls. Despite the abolition of school fees, economic constraints still feature as a key constraint on girls' participation in more recent surveys (Burchfield and Kadzamira, 1996, Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). Most rural households are too poor to provide for their children's education and the indirect costs of sending them to school. The cost of school uniforms, for example, has been found by several studies to deter parents from sending girls to school because girls' uniforms are more costly than boys, and parents are more willing to invest in their son's education than their daughters (Davison and Kanyuka, 1990, Kapakasa, 1992). This finding led to the review of the uniform policy in 1994 and uniforms are no longer a requirement for attendance.

Recent studies, however, show how complex this issue is in the context of the pervasive poverty that exists in rural Malawi. Lack of clothes to wear to school has often been cited by parents and children as a reason for absence from (Burchfield and Kadzamira, 1996, Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997, Sey, 1997). Girls are more likely to withdraw from school because of lack of adequate clothing than boys because of the attention that they might attract if parts of their bodies are exposed. Several studies have also identified hunger as the reason girls are not in school (Fuller, 1989, Hyde and Kadzamira, 1994, Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). Food availability in most rural households is seasonal and erratic such that households lace critical shortages during the hunger months of December, January and February. Some studies have shown that the opportunity costs of sending girls to school are higher than those of boys because of the labour forgone. In addition, the demand for girls' labour at home has been identified as one of the major constraints to girls' education with girls spending more time than boys on domestic chores thus limiting time available for studying (Davison and Kanyuka, 1990; Kaunda 1995; Sey, 1997).

A recent study indicates that girls from the poorest households are least likely to be enrolled in school (World Bank, 1995). Orphanhood is also reported in recent literature as having a differential impact on boys and girls. It is usually the girl who has to leave school prematurely to look after the family if the mother or both parents have died (Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). This is becoming common as the AIDS epidemic takes its toll on communities, leaving many children as orphans. Poor communities have been unable to offer support to the large number of orphans.

3.2.4 Research on socio-cultural constraints

Socio-cultural constraints have been identified by researchers as one of the major constraints to girls' education. Cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes influence parents decisions whether to enrol their daughters in school and when to pull them out of school. Early marriages and pregnancies have been cited by many surveys as one of the main deterrents to girls' participation (Kainja, 1990; Sagawa and Thawe, 1990; Grant-Lewis (1990); Kapakasa, 1992; Hyde and Kadzamira, 1994; Burchfield and Kadzamira, 1996; Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). One of the key findings of research carried out as part of GABLE social mobilisation activities (using various methodologies including survey and participatory research) was that parents place more emphasis on marriage and child bearing than on education (Burchfield and Kadzamira, 1996). Several studies have reported a lower age of marriage for girls than boys with most girls getting married when they are about 15 years old. Pregnancy is also a common reason given for school dropout amongst girls. Sagawa and Thawe (1990), for example, reported that pregnancy was the major reason for dropping out of school at secondary school level. The fear of pregnancy was found to be sufficient to prevent some parents from sending their daughters to school.

Marriage patterns have also been singled out in a number of studies as influencing the schooling of children especially girls. Early betrothal and the practice of allowing the prospective husband to stay with the girl before the final marriage decision is made, often leads to early pregnancies and/or marriages. A number of studies have found initiation ceremonies to be a significant constraint to girls' education (Kapakasa, 1992; Kaunda, 1995, Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). Initiation ceremonies signal the entry into adulthood. This newly acquired status might be incompatible with schooling, particularly when one considers that the majority of the children undergo initiation whilst still in lower primary school. More important is the knowledge that is acquired during initiation ceremonies which is often blamed by parents, teachers and children for encouraging girls to leave school prematurely.

Socio-cultural beliefs have been found to influence schooling of girls. Davison and Kanyuka (1990), for example, reported that parents believe that it is more worthwhile to educate boys rather than girls. Parents also consider boys to be generally more intelligent than girls as they perform better in school.

3.2.5 Research on school-related factors

The fact that schools tend to reinforce or even exaggerate the gender stereotypes found in wider society is well documented. Several studies have cited school environment, teacher attitudes and pedagogy and gender-biased learning materials as affecting the performance of girls in school in Malawi (Kamwendo, 1984; Davison and Kanyuka, 1990; Hyde, 1993a; 1993b and 1994; Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997). School based experiments on gender streaming have shown that girls' performance in mathematics at primary and secondary levels improves significantly when they are taught separately (Hyde, 1993b, Hiddleston, 1997). This result indicates that single sex settings provide a better learning environment for girls. Hyde (1994) reports that girls are often ridiculed and harassed for performing well in class by boys which tends to depress their achievement as they are afraid of excelling in case they provoke a negative reaction from boys.

Teachers, both male and female, often have lower expectations of girls' academic achievement. Kamwendo (1984), for example, found that teachers expected girls to perform worse than boys in physical science. Hyde (1994) reported that male and female teachers felt that boys were more interested in school work than girls. Teacher attitudes and perceptions do not differ from those found in wider society. For example, boys are also perceived to be intelligent, hardworking, motivated and cooperative, whilst girls are perceived to be easy to control, passive, submissive and calm by their teachers (Kainja and Mkandawire 1990). It has also been reported that teachers pay more attention to boys in class and girls participate less in classroom activities (Davison and Kanyuka 1990, Sey 1997).

Long distance to school has been cited by most surveys as the reason children, particularly girls, are not in school (Burchfield and Kadzamira, 1996). Security and safety of girls, both in and out of school, is an important issue (Hyde, 1994; Phiri et. al. 1994; Sey 1997). Girls are often harassed and teased by boys in class, on the school compound and on the way to school. At upper levels of schooling this takes the form of sexual harassment, and rape has been reportedly perpetrated by fellow students (Phiri and others 1994). One of the reasons given by girls for not liking school is the bullying and harassment that they face (Msiska and Kadzamira, 1995).

Several studies have documented the low level of achievement of girls in primary and secondary school in relation to boys. The poorer performance of girls has been observed across all subject areas except Chichewa (Kadzamira 1987, 1988 and Bradbury 1991). The gender gap in performance is widest in mathematics and science subjects (Kamwendo 1984; Kadzamira, 1987 and 1988). Some of the reasons that have been advanced for girls poorer performance in science are: girls negative attitudes towards science subjects, low expectations of girls' ability in the area by both female and male teachers, little participation in science activities in class, and use of textbooks which are biased against girls (Kamwendo, 1984).

3.3. Government interventions

3.3.1 Education Development Plans

The Government of Malawi has produced three Education Development Plans (EDP) since independence. The first EDP covered the period 1973-1980, the second EDP 1985-1995, and the third and current plan covers the period 1995-2005.

A close scrutiny of the first two EDPs reveals that the stated goals lacked a gender

perspective and that gender dimensions of the policies were not explicitly articulated. There was no overt attempt in either plan to address the serious gender inequities that existed in the educational system nor integrate gender into the education plans. The Government's main objective as specified in the first EDP focused on an equitable distribution of education resources, efficient utilization of resources, relevance of the curricula and fulfilment of specific needs of the labour market. The first plan gave a higher priority to secondary and tertiary education in order to meet middle level human resources needs of the country.

The emphasis put on post-primary education in the first plan had highly detrimental consequences for the development of primary education with a disproportionate share (around 45%) of the education budget going to secondary and higher education. As a result, primary education was underfunded, resulting in a deteriorating quality of education.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the construction and equipping of primary schools was left in the hands of local communities. Though the response of the communities has been tremendous (most rural primary schools and teachers' houses were constructed by communities on a self-help basis), the overall result has been an uneven distribution of schools across the country and an imbalance between rural and urban areas. In urban areas where the construction and furnishing of schools was in the hands of the government, schools are generally much better constructed and resourced than in the rural areas (Moyo, 1992). The remotest and poorest of the rural communities had particularly limited access to schools which adversely affected all children, but especially girls given their inferior social status.

While the second EDP had similar objectives (namely, equalization of educational opportunity, promotion of efficiency in the system, improvement of physical and human resources, and the judicious use of limited resources), there was a distinct shift in emphasis from secondary and tertiary education to primary education. Though both plans were concerned with equity issues in the allocation of resources, the main emphasis was on reducing regional and district geographical disparities rather than gender inequities. Significantly, neither plan presented gender-disaggregated data. Interviews with MOE headquarters staff reveal that most officials regarded both the first and second EDPs as gender neutral. There was a feeling then that the policies enacted did not in any way discriminate against any gender with the overall objective being to increase the access of all children to quality education.

The current education plan (which is also known as the Policy and Investment Framework for Education (PIF)) has similar objectives but, unlike the first two plans, gender specific policies are included which aim at reducing the gender gap with respect to both access and persistence. Most of the gender specific policies and strategies stated in the plan are a result of the GABLE programme. Though PIF does attempt to tackle

some of the key gender concerns in education, it still falls far short of a coherent and consolidated gender policy. Gender planning has not been fully incorporated into MOEs overall planning process and problematic areas identified by research have not been adequately addressed in the new plan. There is need therefore to consolidate gender policies within the education sector to come up with an overall gender policy and a gender strategy which should be made clear and known to all. This would bring educational policies in line with the new constitution which enshrines a bill of rights, including women's rights', with the goal of gender equality and non-discrimination being fundamental principles of all national policy and legislation.

Though the first two education plans lacked a gender perspective, strategies and programmes aimed at improving womens' and girls' education were still put in place. However, the lack of an overall gender policy at the national level and specifically within the education sector has meant that the policies adopted to reduce gender inequalities in the education system have often been piecemeal and not effective. Multifaceted approaches in which various elements of a package support one another appear to offer the greatest promise of closing the gender gap in education (World Bank, 1996). For example, quota systems on their own cannot completely eliminate gender inequalities in access without addressing the underlying causes of poor performance and high dropout.

3.3.2 Government policy to promote girls' and womens' education

Some policies adopted by MOE have had a negative impact on girls and womens' access and schooling. Policies which were supposed to be gender neutral had differential impacts on the education of boys and girls, usually because the policy makers did not take into consideration the special needs and interests of the latter. This section reviews past and current government education policies and how they have affected girls and women over time; in particular, policies adopted in the past which have been changed such as school fees, school uniform, discipline policy relating to pregnancy. Current programmes and policies such as the free primary education programme, current provisions for secondary and GABLE scholarship for secondary school girls are also scrutinised. Poor children, and girls in particular have limited prospects of proceeding beyond primary school in rural Malawi.

Most of the key policy changes regarding gender and education made during the 1990's have been part and parcel of the GABLE project which was started in 1991. Prior to the introduction of the GABLE project, women's groups (particularly the organisation of Malawian women (CCAM) and the National Commission for Women in Development (NCWID)), spearheaded the debate on girls' and womens' education in the country at their various meetings, seminars and conferences and made several recommendations to

the MOE. Whilst NCWID was a government organisation assigned to look into the issue of women and development, CCAM was largely an arm of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) that worked in close collaboration with NCWID in order to integrate women into development.

Policies and strategies enacted under the Banda regime to improve the education of girls and women were:

- The quota system introduced in 1972 for the selection of girls into secondary school which reserved a third of the places in mixed sex government assisted secondary schools.

- The Human Resources and Institutional Development Programme (HRID) funded by USAID which aimed at improving the human resource base through advanced training. At the University of Malawi, the programme established a coordinator of women's programmes, implemented a scholarship programme and a masters programme in WID. Scholarships and career counselling for girls who opted for non-traditional areas was provided in areas such as engineering, management, transport economics, agricultural economics and the sciences from 1987-1995. In total, 347 women benefited.

- Preferential selection of females into the university from the late 1980s with females entering university with lower cut-off point than males and reserving 30% of the university places for women.

- A UNDP bursary scheme for high-achieving pupils from standard 1 to 8. Bursaries were awarded in the ratio of 3 girls to 1 boy in each participating primary school. Each bursary paid for school fees and other learning materials. About 26,000 pupils benefited from the scheme which ran from 1990 to 1994.

- The GABLE school fee waiver programme for non-repeating girls from standards 2 to 8 was aimed at increasing girls' access and persistence in school. The programme ran from 1992/93 to 1993/94 school year. Approximately half a million girls benefited from the programme each year.

- Review of the pregnancy policy in December 1993 to allow pregnant girls enrolled at school one chance to re-enrol in school after delivery. If a boy in the school is responsible for the pregnancy he is also supposed to be withdrawn together with the girl and re-apply for admission after one

year.

- Removal of subject restrictions (in 1993) that barred girls from opting for certain subject areas, particularly sciences at the primary level and that limited girls' participation to female stereotyped areas of the curriculum at the expense of non-traditional areas.

- The establishment of the Gender Appropriate Curriculum unit (GAC) in 1992 at the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE). The unit is charged with the responsibility of incorporating gender sensitivity into the primary curricula, teacher training curricula and in-service teacher curricula. Under the project, primary school textbooks have been revised to make them gender sensitive, to remove all gender biases that existed, and to portray women in more positive roles. Training has been provided for teachers to make their teaching gender sensitive.

- The launching of the GABLE Social Mobilisation Campaign activities (GABLE SMC) in 1994 to change attitudes and mobilise parental and community support to educate girls. The SMC activities mainly utilises direct person to person communication in addition to the mass media such as radio programmes. Some of the strategies used at village level to promote girls education are interactive, for example, Theatre for Development (TFD), focus group discussions and workshops with parents, girls, boys, teachers, school committees, local leaders, initiation counsellors facilitated by Community Development Assistants (CDAs) and Primary Education Advisers (PEAs).

There are only subtle differences in policies adopted by the Banda regime and the current government. Most of the gender policies currently being implemented are a direct result of the dialogue that was initiated by the GABLE project. GABLE has put girls' education and primary education on the national agenda and this is reflected in the inclusion of gender specific policies in the Policy Investment Framework PIF developed by the new government (Kadzamira and Sisson, 1997). The emphasis of the new government is on 'education for all' hence the introduction of the FPE programme. However, the removal of school fees for all pupils eliminates the focus on girls' education that the GABLE school fee waiver for girls brought and, unless new policies that focus on girls are developed, the impetus created earlier might be lost (Wolf, 1995).

Under the new government elected in May 1994, the following policies and programmes were introduced to improve the education of women.

- The introduction of FPE in October 1994 which eliminated school fees for all children in primary school. The programme benefits both girls and boys.
Gender disparities in enrolment have been greatly reduced as a result of the programme and equal proportions of primary school age boys and girls are now enrolled in school for the first time.

- The school uniform policy was reviewed in 1994 and school uniform is no longer a requirement for attendance.

- With the introduction of FPE, a separate fee waiver programme for primary school girls was no longer needed. In its place, the GABLE scholarship programme for non-repeating secondary school girls was introduced in 1994/95, which pays fees (both boarding and tuition) for girls in conventional schools and in DECs.

- The introduction of a 50:50 quota for secondary school places which was applied to the selection of Form 1 students in the four pilot double shift day secondary schools in 1994/95. This plan will be extended to other mixed sex day schools and all the new secondary schools in the planning stage.

- Plans for gender balanced community schools are on course. The idea is to bring schools closer to communities in order to reduce distances to primary school. This is likely to be particularly beneficial for girls since long distance to school has been identified by several surveys as the reason why girls are not in school. Female enrolment will also be encouraged by recruiting more female teachers who will act as role models and by encouraging more community participation in school governance and possibly local recruitment of teachers to facilitate the sense of community ownership of the schools.

Knowledge and Gender Policy: There was minimal information concerning gender and girls' education during the 1970s when the quota policy was first introduced. However, it was obvious that girls were seriously disadvantaged when competing for secondary school places on an equal basis with boys because the MOE faced serious problems in filling places for girls at government maintained schools when the same cut-off point scores were used. Since most schools were boarding with established places for each sex, this might have led the Ministry to look for strategies that would ensure that all the boarding places for girls were filled. It is doubtful that the policy decision was informed by any research evidence from examination results and the prior experience the Ministry had in allocating students to vacancies that existed in schools.

As was discussed earlier, a number of research studies in the 1980s focused on gender disparities in educational attainment and achievement. Despite the compelling evidence about gender disparities, there was no serious attempt within MOE to address the issues raised by this research. This was largely the consequence of a lack of gender awareness and sensitivity amongst Ministry personnel and rigid bureaucratic structures hampered the uptake of gender issues.

In marked contrast, the much larger body of research that was undertaken in the 1990s has had a significant impact on government policy and practice. In particular, the research and related policy recommendations taken up by CCAM and NCWID who put pressure on government to address existing gender inequalities in education.

Research evidence also had an impact on both pregnancy and school uniform policies. As was shown earlier, research findings identified pregnancy as one of the major reasons for drop-out amongst girls, and school uniform costs for girls were seen as impacting negatively on girls' chances of being enrolled or staying in school. At the regional level, FAWE and other forums advocated the review of pregnancy policies that permanently expelled girls who became pregnant from school. Research findings concerning lack of school fees and parental preference for boys education in the context of economic hardships led to the introduction of the school fee waiver programme for non-repeating girls under GABLE.

3.3.3 Policy design and implementation: strengths and weaknesses

This section examines the gender issues arising from key education policies, particularly the unintended impacts of certain policies and lack of action which have adversely affected girls' education.

i) Girls' Access to Secondary Schooling: the Quota System

The quota system for selection of girls into secondary schools has certainly helped to increase girls' enrolment in secondary school: the proportion of girls in government assisted secondary schools rose from 27.9% in 1973/74 school year to 39% in 1994/95. However, progress toward gender equity in enrolments at this level has been painstakingly slow. For example, it was only in the mid 1980s that the proportion of girls reached one-third of all enrolments.

Although the quota policy is supposedly progressive, it fails to address the underlying causes of girls' poor performance in schools. Quota systems that fall short of full equity have the potential of limiting access of disadvantaged groups in the long run. For

example, in situations where most schools are boarding, as is the case in Malawi, only one-third of the boarding places are reserved for girls, thus leaving no room for any expansion in their numbers. New secondary schools have also restricted girls' enrolment within the prescribed limits. The current quota system has ensured that girls remain a minority in co-educational secondary schools.

A current proposal is that the quota should be increased to 50%, but this might be counterproductive if girls performance continues to lag behind that of boys. Selecting girls on a lower cut-off point than boys tends to reinforce the attitude that girls are academically weaker than boys. The increase in the quota for girls should, therefore, be accompanied by other strategies to improve girls overall academic performance and remove the existing gender disparities in performance in public examinations.

ii) Co-educational Secondary Schooling

The MOE does not have a clear policy on single sex and co-educational schools, particularly with regard to the education of girls. In 1994/95 out of 76 government assisted secondary schools, only 8 (13%) were girls only. Of the remainder, 58% were coeducational and 29% boys only. Despite compelling research evidence from Malawi and elsewhere that girls perform better in single sex schools, all the new secondary schools constructed since the late 1980s are co-educational. The current democratically elected government is also committed to co-educational secondary education and plans to build 250 day co-educational secondary schools (funded by the World Bank) in which 50% of places will be reserved for girls.

Despite the fact that it is well documented that girls do not have the same opportunities as boys in mixed sex schools (Hyde, 1994), the government seems to be ignoring the evidence that single sex schools are better for girls.[8] Co-education is not hand, tend to get most of the teacher's attention in a mixed sex setting and dominate most of the classroom activities.

[8] Government objections to providing more single sex schools for girls are mainly on the grounds of cost.

iii) Low Academic Performance

Recently, there have been some initiatives that should help to improve the performance of girls. These include making the curriculum gender sensitive by removing those aspects that portray girls and women negatively or reinforce gender stereotypes. With regard to science and mathematics, a few secondary schools have tried to improve girls' performance by streaming classes by gender and ability. The results have been impressive - at one school, for example, the performance of girls and boys improved

dramatically after streaming by gender was introduced for mathematics lessons. JCE pass rates for girls rose from 9% in 1980 before gender streaming was introduced to 62% in 1985. Boys have also benefited from single sex classes. Their pass rates increased from 74% to 80% during the same period. The gender gap in mathematics performance also narrowed considerably from 65 points in 1980 to zero in 1991; pass rates for both boys and girls were 98%.

However, these kinds of interventions, though promising, have yet to be replicated by other schools. Apart from the pilot project on gender streaming for mathematics carried out under GABLE, there has not been a deliberate effort to encourage wider experimentation and replication of gender streaming. The GABLE GAC unit is trying to develop gender sensitive strategies for primary school teachers but there is little evidence that this has been introduced in the curricula of teachers at all levels, including pre-service training. None of the research findings produced by researchers at Chancellor College have been integrated into the various foundation courses taught as part of the Bachelors degree in Education, nor are gender courses offered as an overall part of training of secondary school teachers.

iv) Sex Segregation in Curriculum Choices

Policies regarding curricula choices tended to discriminate against girls and to some extent, boys in certain subject areas. Prior to 1993, girls in primary schools that offered home economics and needlework subjects (particularly from standard 6 onwards) were denied the opportunity to study science. With the change in MOE policy in 1993, girls in these schools can now choose between science and homecraft for the PSLC examinations. The main reason given by the MOE was that, since girls performed poorly in the science PSLC examinations and boys' performance always surpassed that of girls, girls could study homecraft instead as their performance in the subject was much better than in science. This would then have the effect of raising their overall PSLC scores thereby giving them an equal chance to compete with boys for secondary school entry which is based on merit.

In practice, most schools timetabled science and home economics subjects together thus denying girls the opportunity of studying science. In addition, the policy had the adverse impact of curbing any interest girls had in the subject and it tended to reinforce the belief that girls are naturally poor in the sciences. Another problem with the policy was that in most secondary schools the sciences formed part of the core (compulsory) curriculum and, therefore, girls who did not take science at primary school were placed at a disadvantage vis-à-vis boys. In addition, certain subjects within the primary school curricula were restricted to one sex only. For example, needlecraft and home economics were open to girls only, and only boys were allowed to do arts and craft. Pupils' choices in these subject areas were further channelled by school timetabling practices, making it impossible for students to study both needlework and arts and craft.

Similarly, in secondary schools, girls were denied the opportunity to study technical subjects such as woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing whilst boys were not allowed to study home economics and needlework. Though the policy has now changed, few schools offer open choices as timetabling arrangements often restrict subject choices. Most schools timetable home economics and needlework simultaneously with technical subjects which results in girls only doing domestic science and boys only doing technical subjects. Facilities for technical subjects are usually not offered at girls-only schools. On the other hand, the vocational subjects taught at girls-only schools tend to reinforce 'feminine' roles (e.g. typing). Interestingly, from the 1980s, cookery and nutrition was offered to boys in order to enable them pursue careers in hotel management and catering. Hyde (1993a) reports that in some secondary schools subjects like French or history were paired with home economics which made it impossible for girls to opt for these subjects as they were more likely to be channelled into home economics.

These outcomes reflect sex stereotyped attitudes of curriculum planners and schools which have reinforced girls' traditional roles as mothers and wives at the same time as offering boys a wide range of subjects. Sex segregated subject choices are also marked at the university level where the majority of female students are concentrated in the arts, education, humanities and social sciences with very few women taking science, law, medicine and engineering courses.

v) Access to Vocational and Other Types of Training

Vocational training is offered in a number of post-secondary institutions run by the MOE and other ministries. A number of courses are offered by these institutions ranging from technical education, secretarial and office practice, forestry, fisheries and agriculture, computing, accountancy and nursing and other health allied professions. Because most of these institutions do not fall directly under the MOE, it is difficult to obtain enrolment statistics. There is some evidence, however, of discrimination by sex in terms of the type of courses offered at these institutions. The subject and career choices of men and women mirror those found at school level and also tend to reinforce the gender stereotypes commonly held by society about what men and women are capable of doing.

The main reason that so few women pursue technical courses or training that will lead them to higher paying jobs is that the majority of the women are unable to meet entry requirements. The entry requirement for most of these courses is a credit pass in mathematics and science subjects, problematic areas for girls.

vi) Gender, Social Class and the Two-Tier Secondary Education System

The two tier secondary education system has tended to reinforce the class distinctions in school attendance and educational attainment. As was discussed earlier, the regular secondary schools have much better resources (teachers, learning materials and physical infrastructure) than the DECs. Major disparities in school attendance according to socio-economic group have been documented in Malawi. A recent World Bank study, for example, found that the poorest girls are least likely to be in school. Furthermore, very few children from the lowest socio-economic groups were enrolled in secondary schools (World Bank, 1995). In her study of mixed sex secondary schools, Hyde (1994) concluded that girls' parents were most likely to have had some post - secondary education than boys' parents. Other studies shown that achievement is also related to social class background (Fuller, 1989 and Lockheed; Fuller and Nyirongo, 1989).

This means that girls from poor family backgrounds are unlikely to find their way into the regular secondary schools which are heavily subsidised by central government. Their only option is to attend DECs which are more expensive and less effective. DECs also provide a less secure environment for the girls because most students have to rent out accommodation in private dwellings where girls are more prone to various kinds of abuse and harassment.

3.3.4 Contradictions in government policy

i) School Fees

Before the introduction of free primary education, any student who failed to pay their school fees by the end of the first term was expelled from school. This policy of no fees no school contributed significantly to the non-enrolment of a high proportion of school age children and also to the high drop out of those children from school. Surveys have clearly shown that most parents cited a lack of school fees as the reason for withdrawing their children from school or for not enrolling them (e.g. Davison and Kanyuka, 1990, Kainja 1990, Hyde and Kadzamira, 1994). This policy had a particularly detrimental effect on girls' access to schooling due to parental preferences for educating boys.

ii) School Uniform

The previous education policy required all school children to wear a uniform. Though the policy did not state that those not wearing a uniform be sent away from school, anecdotal evidence showed that in many schools children without a uniform were excluded. This policy and practice had particularly adverse effects on girls' persistence in school as their uniforms were more expensive.[9]

[9] Furthermore, uniforms cost up to ten times as much as school fees.

iii) Pregnancy Policy

Before the change in regulations to permit pregnant school girls to be readmitted, girls who became pregnant whilst still at school faced permanent expulsion from the school system. Indeed, the policy justified parents' fears regarding investing in their daughter's education.

iv) Free Primary Education

FPE has undoubtedly had a positive impact on the access of girls and boys to primary education. For the first time ever, full parity in net enrolment ratios for boys and girls has been reached, which is a major achievement. From 1992/93, girls have recorded higher NERs largely as a result GABLE's school fee waiver scheme. Nonetheless, gross enrolment ratios have remained higher for boys (141% as opposed to 127% for girls), indicating the presence of more over-age boys than girls in the system.

Despite these impressive gains, not all girls and women have benefited from FPE. The overall proportion of girls in primary school dropped slightly from 48% in 1993/94 before the introduction of FPE to 47% in 1994/95 after FPE was introduced although it rose to 49% in 1996. By 1996, more boys (51%) than girls enrolled in standard 1 reversing the trend that had been observed in the preceding two years, when for the first time ever more girls than boys were enrolled in standard 1.[10] The critical issue for girls remains their decreasing representation in the upper grades of primary.

[10] In 1992/93 and 1993/94 for example girls comprised 51% of the new entrants in standard 1. The increase has been largely attributed to the GABLE school fee waiver programme for non repeating primary school girls in standards 2 to 8.

These enrolment statistics clearly indicate that more boys than girls have enrolled in school as a result of the FPE initiative. No age restrictions are enforced under the FPE policy and schools are required to admit anyone to any standard as long as they are over the official minimum age of entry. The underlying assumption is that all those who have missed the opportunity of schooling in the past or have dropped out of the system for one reason or the other, will automatically be taken care of. This obviates the need for special adult education or any other kind of remedial programmes.

The fact that net enrolment ratios are the same for boys and girls but gross enrolment ratios are appreciably higher for boys suggests that overage boys have taken greater

advantage of the opportunities arising from FPE and have gone back to school. Dropout rates are higher for girls, particularly in standards 6 and 7 (over 50%), which partly explains their lower GERs. Several studies have reported that most girls drop-out from school after reaching puberty when the social pressure for them to get married is great (Hyde and Kadzamira, 1994, Kainja, 1990). The FPE policy needs to be complimented by non-formal education programmes which can cater for the special needs of girls who have dropped out.

3.3.5 Organisational and bureaucratic factors and the role of gender advocates

The MOE does not have a special unit or department dealing with gender issues. There is just one desk officer coordinating all gender issues within the Ministry. This position, which is still not established, was originally created so that the Ministry could comply with NCWID policy of having a gender focal point in key ministries. The current officer (in the Department of Secondary Education) carries out this function in addition to the duties of her substantive post. The major drawback with this arrangement is that there are no clearly delineated linkages between the women's desk officer and other departments. Furthermore, administrative structures within the MOE to take up gender in planning and practice are lacking. Nor is it clear how the role of womens' desk officer is supposed to influence policy decisions regarding gender in other departments such as primary, teacher training, secondary and planning. In practice, the role of the women's desk officer has been limited to representing the MOE at fore (both national and international) where gender or women's issues have been discussed rather than seriously contributing to the Ministry's planning processes.

The MOE's relationship with NCWID is equally poorly defined. The Education and Training Committee made several recommendations to the MOE to review some of its policies that were detrimental to girls' education, but the MOE ignored them even though some of its officers were involved in the drafting of recommendations.[11] The Ministry first responded to external pressure from USAID and then to a female Minister of Education. Obviously, the lack of any clear linkage between the Ministry's gender focal point officer and other sections and departments is a reflection of the fact that the current organisational structure of MOE does not encourage the integration of gender issues into its work. Lack of a gender policy within the MOE adds to the confusion.

[11] Including its women's desk officer.

3.3.6 The role played by gender advocates within MOE and MOWCACDSW

Lack of an overall gender policy in Malawi has meant that most of the strategies that the government adopted to reduce gender inequalities in education between the 1970s and 1990s were a result of pressure from individuals within the government as well as from external agencies. From the late 1980s, increased attention was given to issues affecting girls' education in the country. Contrary to the common belief that the push towards attention to issues affecting girls' education emanated from the donors, evidence indicates that it was local women's groups who lobbied for special attention to be given to female education. The NCWID was created in 1984 largely in response to the United Nations Decade for Women (1980-1990). NCWID is a government body whose secretariat is the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare. It has seven specialised committees one of which is the education and training committee, chaired by the Secretary to Education. Women advocates (and their male counterparts) within the Ministries of Education and Community Services used the Commission to bring factors affecting girls' education to the attention of policy makers between 1986 and 1990. These efforts culminated in the GABLE project.

The NCWID's Education and Training Committee spearheaded the debate on girls' education and drew up a plan of action. Among other things, the Committee planned to initiate research studies to look into factors affecting female education, such as the causes of poor academic performance of girls in school and premature drop-out of girls from school. The committee regarded the MOE's practice of permanently expelling pregnant school girls as being punitive. Other issues included in the plan of action were: review of the curriculum for gender sensitivity, inclusion of family life education in the curriculum at primary and secondary levels, strengthening career and vocational services to encourage girls to opt for non-traditional areas, and increasing the number of girls-only secondary schools.

In July 1990, the committee organised a five day national workshop on "Increasing the Access of Girls and Women to Education and Training Opportunities in Malawi" funded by USAID. The workshop came up with far reaching recommendations covering the education of girls and women, notably, career counselling and guidance, vocational and technical training and better employment and conditions of service for girls and women. Some of the recommendations made by the workshop were that:

- The government should increase expenditure on the education sector.
- Primary education should be free and compulsory.
- Gender biases should be removed from the curriculum and all learning materials.

- More girls-only schools should be built with at least one in each of the three regions by 1995.

- Girls dropping out of school due to pregnancy should be allowed to be re-admitted once.

- The Adult Literacy Programme should be intensified by recruiting more qualified teachers and including skills training components in the curriculum.

These recommendations contributed to the setting of priorities regarding girls' education for the GABLE programme. The Women's Ministry was directly involved in the initial design process of the GABLE project.

The success of gender advocates within the two Ministries can be largely attributed to a political leadership that supported women's issues. The development wing of the League of Malawi Women, CCAM, worked closely with the NCWID and thus ensured that womens' issues received political support at the highest level. The NCWID also provided an important forum for gender advocates within the relevant government ministries to meet and consider issues affecting women at a time when there were few women in government decision making roles.

However, due to structural weaknesses, NCWID has had difficulty in re-defining its role in the democratic era. It has never had permanent staff and it has to operate through desk officers in each Ministry. Turnover of these personnel has been high which has made planning difficult, have been relatively junior and have not, therefore, had the authority or the technical skill needed to implement programmes (Walker, 1996). In addition, the commission has not had its own budget and this has tended to limit its role and functions. More generally, the advent of political pluralism and the emergence of several NGOs dealing with women's issues has put pressure on NCWID to re-define its role and streamline its activities. In short, the role of NCWID has diminished since 1994 and plans are underway to make it a parastatal body.

Kate Kainja who was appointed in 1993 as the first woman Minister of Education, played a central role in steering through the pregnancy and the school uniform reforms. Having conducted research in the area of gender inequalities in education she was ideally placed as a gender advocate to introduce what were culturally sensitive and controversial measures such as those dealing with schoolgirl pregnancy.

3.3.7 Implementation issues

Implementation of gender-specific education policies has been problematic. This is

particularly so where policies touch on sensitive issues and where the beneficiaries have been girls only, which has tended to produce a backlash from parents, as in the case of scholarship and fee waiver programmes for girls.

The following discussion examines some important implementation problems arising from the pregnancy policy and the GABLE scholarship programme for secondary school girls.

Pregnancy Policy: Several problems have arisen in the implementation of the new pregnancy policy both at the school level and at MOE headquarters. Implementation of the policy at primary level lies in the hands of the DEO, whilst all post-primary cases are dealt with by MOE headquarters. Monitoring of the policy has not been made easy by the fact that pregnancy cases are reported as disciplinary cases and there has been no attempt at any level in the education system to keep track of how many of these disciplinary cases are due to pregnancy. As such, the MOE has been in no position to know how many girls have withdrawn each year because of pregnancy.

It is apparent that inadequate attention has been paid to detailed implementation procedures involved in the policy and little information was supplied to parents, teachers and the students themselves. As a result of lack of consultation with important stakeholders within MOE (e.g. heads, teachers, DEOs, REOs, parents, PTAs and school committees) and an absence of serious debate about the policy, unnecessary implementation problems have arisen.

1. **Lack of detailed implementation guidelines**

- No guidelines on dissemination of the policy have been given to the REOs, DEOs, head teachers and principals of colleges. Some teachers have even felt that distributing the policy to the community and parents is likely to encourage immoral behaviour on the part of the students thus increasing the incidence of pregnancy (Wolf 1995).

- From the very outset it was not made clear whether girls and boys should be readmitted to their former school or reassigned to new schools. Currently, the majority of the girls (about 80%) are re-admitted to a different school because a number of girls were harassed when they tried to rejoin their original schools. However, re-admitting girls to a different school poses problems in case of primary education because the majority of schools (especially in the rural areas) are not close together.

- Monitoring girls who drop-out due to pregnancy is particularly difficult as most girls leave school before they are discovered to be pregnant.

2. **Negative attitudes towards returning mothers**

- Opposition to the new policy by head teachers and teachers at some schools has been reported. Some head teachers have refused to admit returning teenage mothers on the pretext that they have no vacancies available at their schools.[12] According to an MOE official, some head teachers do no think it right that girls should be given a second chance when secondary school places for girls are so limited.

[12] Interviews with MOE personnel.

- There are also indications that the girls face social stigma once they go back to school. Preliminary findings from a survey on teenage motherhood conducted by the Centre for Social Research show that although the majority of girls interviewed knew about the new pregnancy policy, very few returned to school. Out of the 153 teenage mothers interviewed in three districts, only eight had returned. One of the reasons cited was that they were not actively encouraged by the head teachers to re-apply and return to school after delivery.[13] It was also widely reported that girls were teased by their fellow pupils which discouraged them from re-enrolling in school.

[13] Interview with Ms. C. Hickey, Centre for Social Research, Zomba.

3. **Opposition to the timing of re-admission**

- According to MOE officials, pregnant girls are supposed to withdraw from school and then reapply for admission once the baby is three months old. In practice, most parents and girls are anxious to have their children back in school as soon as possible after giving birth. The current policy means that the girls can lose up to two academic years. As result, some parents have forced their daughters to re-apply for admission soon after the baby is born.

4. **Lack of publicity**

- The pregnancy policy was initially announced on radio, but there has been very little publicity since then. Consequently, important stakeholders including school pupils and parents have remained poorly

informed. There has been also been uneasiness on part of some education personnel that the policy might encourage promiscuity amongst school children. The importance of disseminating information and encouraging parents to send girls to school is demonstrated by the impact of GABLE SMC activities in the pilot district of Machinga in Southern Malawi where many teenage mothers have been encouraged to return to school (Brouder and Munthali, 1996).

5. **No support mechanisms devised to supplement the new policy initiative**

- The new policy was not accompanied by supporting strategies at the school level. For example, no counselling of any kind (either in birth control or coping strategies) is given to the returning mothers and fathers. Furthermore, the MOE keeps the identity of returning mothers confidential from the school they are being re-admitted to which makes it impossible for schools to provide counselling services to returning mothers. It is important that the girls are not intimidated by other pupils or staff. None of the schools in Malawi make provision for crèches. Nor have other options for returning mothers (such as non-formal education) been considered.

- There is no monitoring of the implementation of the policy at the Ministry level. However, well informed MOE officials believe that the majority of girls who leave school because of pregnancy still do not return. This is especially true of girls coming from poor families who may find it difficult to take care of the child and whose mothers would rather their daughters breastfeed for a longer period because they do not have adequate funds to feed the child. In some cases, parents encourage their daughters to marry.

3.3.8 The girl's secondary school scholarship programme

The on-going GABLE scholarship programme for secondary school girls was introduced in the 1994/95 school year in order to improve persistence and achievement of girls in primary schools. A school fee waiver programme for non-repeating primary school girls was introduced in 1992/93, but was unnecessary after school fees were abolished in October 1994. The money allocated for this activity by USAID was then transferred to support girls in secondary schools.

The Programme Assistance Approval Document (PAAD) stipulates that the selection of girls for the scholarship programme should be on the basis of need and merit. Initially, however, MOE officials proposed that the fund should only benefit girls in regular

secondary schools, irrespective of need, because it was feared that the lack of proper accounting controls at the DECs could well lead to the misappropriation of the scholarship funds at the centres. However, limiting the scholarship fund to girls in regular secondary schools clearly raises a number of issues.

As discussed earlier, girls attending secondary schools tend to come from higher social economic backgrounds than boys. During focus group discussions, many parents in the SMC pilot district indicated that they would be prepared to send their girls to a DEC and even construct a new centre in their area. Very few girls from poor families and rural communities attend regular secondary schools which are highly competitive and based on merit, whereas access to DECs is open to all and they are located in rural areas. Many DECs have benefited from community contributions for the construction of classrooms and hostels. Restricting the scholarship programme to girls in regular secondary schools, therefore, raised important equity and class issues, and it was finally decided to extend the programme to the DECs.

District Education Officers (DEOs) and heads of primary and secondary schools are responsible for identifying needy girls and helping them complete the application form. Implementation in the first year was fraught with problems. The main criterion for selection was need, but this was difficult to assess because of vague guidelines and limited information. The resulting confusion meant that very few girls applied for the scholarship in 1995/96. Beginning in the 1997/98 school year, all girls in regular schools and DECs became eligible for assistance and schools are required to register all girls for the scholarship. The programme pays tuition and boarding fees of up to K440 per year. If fees are higher than this, each girl receives up to K140 in the first term and K150 in the second and third terms with the total balance paid each term. In addition examination fees for both JCE and MSCE are also covered by the programme.

Other implementation problems that have arisen in the first two years of its operation are as follows:

1. **Lack of publicity**

    • The programme suffered from a lack of publicity in the first year. Its introduction was announced just once in the media. Correspondence to the SMC office revealed that many eligible girls failed to benefit from the programme during the first year.

    • During the second year of implementation, much greater efforts were made to publicise the scholarship fund. Politicians, particularly from the ruling party also assisted

in disseminating the information although confusion has been caused by contradictory messages about various details of the programme.

2. **Bias against the poorest girls and girls in DECs**

• The new guidelines for 1997 mean that girls in regular government-assisted secondary schools have a larger proportion of their tuition and boarding fees paid for by the scholarship fund. In contrast, for the majority of girls from DECs, the K440 per year allocated is far from adequate.[14] Students in DECs have to pay the full costs of boarding fees which vary from centre to centre, but can range from anything between K200 to K1,000 per term. The scholarship programme is, therefore, regressive because those enrolled in DECs are from poorer families.

[14] Fees for the DECs are much higher than regular secondary schools because that latter are subsidised by government.

3. **Backlash from male pupils**

• From the complaints that are aired on the radio in a GABLE SMC programme, it is clear that most boys in schools think that the government is favouring girls. The majority of boys in regular schools come from peasant families and also find it difficult to raise secondary school fees.

These examples demonstrate the need for greater attention to be paid to all stages of policy formulation and to the practicalities of implementing gender-related policies. Confusion about target groups has resulted in policies not having the intended impact and this applies to both government and donors. These examples also illustrate the need for commitment at all levels of the educational hierarchy if such measures are to be successful.

3.4 Donor interventions

3.4.1 Donor support to education

Malawi's education system relies heavily on donor support, particularly for infrastructure development and provision of resources. A large proportion of the Malawi development account is financed externally, although the education sector has not attracted as much donor aid as the productive sectors of the economy. The share of education in the national development account was only 17.7% in 1993/94 and this fell to 12.7% in 1994/95 (MOE, 1995). Until recently, education was not a high priority for government.

Since the late 1980s, there has been a shift by most donors to the programme approach which emphasises system or institutional development in the education sector (involving budgetary support) as part of a process of policy reform. As discussed in earlier chapters, donors, and most notably USAID, have played a major role in sponsoring research which has highlighted gender inequalities in education provision. The other donors who have assisted the education sector include UNESCO, DFID, NORAD, CIDA, JICA, EC, UNFPA, UNICEF, and more recently, DANIDA. Most educational aid has focused on the provision of physical infrastructure (classrooms and teacher houses) and material resources, particularly textbooks. Only a small proportion of aid has been channelled towards the improvement of the overall education system through policy and curriculum review, development of teaching and learning materials, and institutional development.

The World Bank is the largest donor to the education sector in Malawi. It has provided funding to education since 1967. From the early 1980s, the focus of World Bank funding shifted from secondary and tertiary to primary education, although the provision of physical infrastructure and other material inputs still predominates. Similarly, until very recently, DFID and USAID also concentrated on secondary and tertiary education sectors. UNICEF's assistance to education has always focused on primary education in line with its mandate. The African Development Bank (ADB) has made loans for building and equipping primary and secondary schools in urban areas.

During the 1980s, very little donor support was extended to girls' education programmes and projects. But, by the 1990s four agencies (DFID, USAID, UNICEF and the World Bank) all had important programmes address in different ways gender imbalances in the education system. The initiatives developed by these agencies to tackle gender inequalities range from programmes that specifically target girls e.g. USAID's GABLE programme to projects that have mainstreamed gender such as

UNICEF's 'Keeping Kids in School' project.

3.4.2 USAID - Gable programme 1991-1998

GABLE is USAID's main initiative in promoting girl's primary education in Malawi. The purpose of GABLE is to increase the enrolment, persistence and achievement of girls in primary school whilst at the same time improving the overall quality and efficiency of the primary education system thereby benefiting both girls and boys. The components of GABLE that have specifically targeted girls include: the waiving of school fees for non-repeating girls in primary school, revising the curriculum to make it more gender sensitive, training of teachers in the delivery of the new gender sensitive curriculum, and a social mobilisation campaign to encourage parents to send girls to school, and a scholarship programme for girls in secondary schools. Other components of GABLE are aimed at improving the overall efficiency of primary education by increasing the budgetary allocations to the education sector, especially primary education.

The motivation behind USAID's interest in girls' education in Malawi can be traced to its own gender priorities as well as the demands of Malawian women's groups. GABLE was seen by USAID as contributing in a major way to its key strategic objective in Malawi, namely the reduction of population growth. USAID personnel in Malawi were clearly influenced by research findings that linked female education to increased agricultural productivity and reduced fertility and infant and child mortality and morbidity rates. Although gender equity in education was not part of government education policy, the partnership that the USAID mission forged with women's organisations, particularly NCWID, assisted in the project design of GABLE. Six factors that contributed to the success of USAID Malawi in addressing gender issues can be identified:

- Strong receptivity of Malawian women toward USAID/Malawi, enhanced by the gender-balanced work force of the mission over the past decade.

- Strong and consistent commitment by mission management to address gender throughout the portfolio as a regular part of the programme project cycle.

- A highly qualified and resourceful WID officer who focuses attention on strategic interventions that have a significant and sustainable impact.

- Consistent use of monitoring to identify effects of policies and programmes on both males and females.

- Integration of gender considerations into on-going tasks as a regular part of the programme project cycle.

- As opposed to the location of the WID officer in the Programme and Project Development office (a technical office) which offers a comprehensive cross-cutting view of mission activities and facilitates identification of key interventions (Romashko et al, 1994).

The experience of USAID in Malawi highlights the importance of organisational factors in the incorporation of gender issues in the agency's overall country programme. USAID has adopted a new approach to educational development in Africa. Education Sector Support (ESS) is based on a set of agreements, established and agreed upon by USAID and the government. Through the non-project assistance (NPA) component of the ESS, funds are disbursed in tranches against agreed conditions reflecting the implementation of key policy, institutional and budgetary reforms (DeStefano et al, 1995).

GABLE is a combination of project and non-project assistance. The conditions that were established to promote gender equity include the following:

- Implementation of a nation-wide system of school fee waivers for non-repeating school girls in primary schools.

- Preparation of a plan for gender-balanced community primary schools and implementation of targets set.

- After reviewing results of the pilot gender streaming study, develop a plan for nation-wide implementation of gender streaming in upper primary standards.

- Implementation of a nation-wide scholarship programme for secondary school girls.

With regard to more sensitive policy areas (such as schoolgirl pregnancy), USAID did not set explicit conditionalities. The problem of drop-out through pregnancy was addressed by means of its SMC component which encourages girls to enter school at an early age so they can finish school before pregnancy emerges as a problem (Wolf, 1995)

As part of the GABLE programme, the government is required to increase the share of

education in total recurrent public expenditure from 17% in 1993/94 to 27% by 1997 and also increase the share of the primary education sector in total public education expenditure from 50% in 1993/94 to 62% in 1996/97. It is not entirely clear whether the government has met this target due to a variation in government estimates of expenditure for primary education.

It is too early to gauge the impact of gender streaming. The MOE has met most of the GABLE conditions. But the problem with the NPA approach, however, is that it does not pay enough attention to the implementation of new policies and this can lead to MOE headquarters neglecting important stakeholders, such as regional and district offices.

3.4.3 UNICEF

Up to the late 1980s, UNICEF's activities in Malawi concentrated on improving child health and nutrition. Since the early 1990s, it has increasingly targeted the education sector with respect to gender although it still does not have a comprehensive education programme. UNICEF has followed both a mainstreaming approach in some of its projects and programmes and rather than relying on specific gender programmes to prevent a backlash that usually occurs if girls are targeted.[15] Although the following programmes do have a strong gender orientation.

> [15] In this respect, UNICEF might well have learned the lesson from GABLE's first waiving of school fees for primary school girls prior to October 1994, which was unpopular amongst parents who felt it discriminated against boys.

UNICEF has identified distance to school as the main obstacle to girls' education in Malawi. Consequently, the main thrust of their education programme is to bring schools closer to pupils' homes. Its two main education projects are Keeping Children in School (funded by NORAD) and Closing the Gender Gap (funded by CIDA). The major objective of the first of these projects is to consolidate the gains made under the free primary education initiative by curbing drop-out rates as well as improving water and sanitation conditions in schools, with particular attention being given to toilet facilities for girls.

'Closing the Gender Gap' (funded by CIDA) which started in 1995/1996 seeks to address the following problems facing many children (particularly girls): the limited access to school of 6-10 year olds, inadequate and untrained teachers and lack of teaching and learning materials. The major strategies employed to address these issues include: the provision of learning materials, recruitment of female teachers (often paraprofessionals), training of school committees and supporting action research and

advocacy. Both of these programmes operate in remote areas where distances to school are great.

Promoting and strengthening community participation in the management of schools has been a central feature of UNICEF's approach. One UNICEF initiative has involved the construction of classroom shells, with communities providing labour for the brickwork. PRA methods have been extensively used to help communities identify problems affecting the education of their children. To encourage community participation in school governance and school committee, PTAs and local leaders are given training which has a gender component. UNICEF has also implemented advocacy and social mobilisation programmes to encourage girls to persist in school. Stories are produced for schools and communities as part of its Adolescent Girl Child Initiative in order to provide female role models. The main thrust of UNICEF's education programme is to try and keep children in school by improving the quality of education and improving access for marginalised groups.

UNICEF does not impose conditionalities on governments and all plans and operations are developed in collaboration with government counterparts. There is little monitoring of gender in the education sector and the focus of UNICEF gender-related projects in Malawi is limited. There is an inherent assumption in these programmes that by increasing access, gender inequality will simply disappear. Although UNICEF's approach in Malawi is to mainstream gender, in the East and Southern Africa region UNICEF has just started implementing a girls' education project known as the 'African Girls' Education Initiative' (AGEI).[16] Attempts to introduce a multimedia project that attempts to raise the social status of the girl child (the Sara Initiative) have met with some opposition in Malawi as it is not considered to be culturally relevant[17].

[16] Funded by NORAD.

[17] The use of some images adopted from 'Meena' in Bangladesh such Sara's pet monkey is seen as being inappropriate in the Malawian context.

3.4.4 ODA/DFID

DFID's activities in Malawi are managed by the British Development Division in Central Africa (BDDCA) which, in 1995, relocated from Lilongwe to Harare. Currently DFID is supporting three primary education projects: the primary community schools project (PCOSP), the primary schools support systems project and the supplementary readers project. The PCOSP, which is one of DFID's largest education projects in Africa has developed a strong gender component. BDDCA has supported its interventions in Malawi with research and information and the education and social development advisers have worked closely to develop gender inputs for education

projects.

In 1995, BDDCA commissioned a UK based consultant to produce a literature review on the constraints to girls' education in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe in 1995. This was followed up with a workshop in 1996 which was designed to 'give advice on how to develop more productive strategies for working with ministries and more effectively addressing the needs of girls and women.'[18] A series of guidelines was subsequently developed to help address gender inequalities in education sector projects in BDDCA. It is intended that these will be used in the formulation and implementation of education projects.

[18] S. Packer, BDDCA Workshop, Harare, 7/96.

Primary Community Schools Project (PCOSP)

The main objective of PCOSP is to develop and disseminate cost-effective and replicable approaches for the delivery of effective primary education. The project aims to provide quality education for both boys and girls with emphasis on access, retention and achievement and pays particular attention to the factors which inhibit girls' participation in school. The schools will have the following special characteristics:

- Serve disadvantaged communities particularly where distance to the nearest primary school is great.
- Operate up to standard 4 only, thus targeting very young children between 6 and 10 years old.
- Are an integral part of the national primary education system and follow the national curriculum.
- Serve as places for wider community activities.
- Involve the community in the design, development, management and maintenance of the school and in the provision of resources.
- Adopt child-centred and interactive approaches to classroom instruction.
- Involve the community in the selection of teachers from their community.

The project aims at providing quality education for both boys and girls with an emphasis on access, retention and achievement and pays particular attention to the factors that inhibit girls participation in school.

Although not included in the original project design, gender has now been incorporated into all aspects of PCOSP. A gender strategy was developed following a training workshop on strategic gender planning, which addressees all issues of planning, implementation, outcome and impact. Seven gender principles have been developed which will be considered in relation to each of the seven main project strategies and activities from the selection of sites for the schools to classroom practice. Some of the gender strategies to be employed are:

- Gender balance in the appointment of teachers, headteachers and central project teams.
- Gender sensitive teaching and learning materials and teaching methods.
- Equal participation of men and women in school establishment particularly school committees.
- Equitable employment opportunities and remuneration in school construction activities for men and women.

The PCOSP has a strong element of community participation. The project has proposed innovative strategies to involve communities in a meaningful way in both the establishment and management of schools. Communities are also involved in the selection of teachers and head teachers for schools. The project uses PRA techniques to mobilise communities. The PSCOP has adopted a comprehensive gender strategy that not only deals with issues relating to pupils, teachers and learning, but also covers all aspects and stages of project implementation including management and the construction of schools.

Currently, 50% of the teachers recruited for the project schools are women, five of the headteachers recruited for the first 12 schools are women, and 40% of the first group of emerging community contractors trained as part of the construction component are women. The project has trained both men and women for construction work and they are paid equal rates for the same work. School committees are being established with an emphasis on gender balance in membership, office holding and participation. Gender sensitisation has been employed for the project team. After initial resistance on the part of some men, 'almost all' became convinced of the need to take gender issues seriously.[19]

[19] Unfortunately, the local team leader was not convinced about the need to incorporate gender and he left the project.

Widespread illiteracy is a potentially very serious constraint to effective participation in school management, particularly among rural women. Many parents, and particularly women, lack the confidence to either enforce school attendance or provide advice on school work (Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997 and Hyde et al, 1996). A baseline study for the project identified general lack of education as a constraint to the effective participation of the communities in school governance (Kadzamira and Ndalama, 1997).

3.4.5 Donor coordination

The major donors to education have established a donor coordinating committee whose aim is to share experiences in order to avoid the duplication of activities. The committee meets quarterly and is chaired by the Principal Secretary of the MOE. There are six subcommittees looking into various aspects of education although not one of these addresses gender which is assumed to be a cross-cutting theme. Gender and education does not enjoy the same level of donor collaboration as other areas such as community participation and teacher training. For example, when USAID/GABLE was launching its SMC nation-wide, UNICEF was about to implement its social advocacy programme which is very similar to GABLE's approach. If they had collaborated in this area, duplication could have been avoided. Nevertheless, it is evident that there has been much sharing of experiences between the major donors in Malawi over the past five years with regard to education. USAID, World Bank, DFID, SCF and UNICEF have all been working towards community involvement in the management of schools. The success so far of GABLE has helped to put gender, and girls' education in particular, on the national agenda so that most of the other donors have now incorporated gender into their activities.

Donor prioritisation of basic education, although justifiable, could have important negative consequences in the longer run. In particular, as long as women are grossly under-represented in higher education, they will continue to be excluded from important decision making roles. Furthermore, the neglect of non-formal education could adversely affect donor and government plans to promote more community participation in schools.

Table 10: Current donor activities in the education sector

AID AGENCY	NAME OF PROJECT	SUBSECTOR	ACTIVITIES

WORLD BANK	Primary Education Project (PEP)	Primary	• Primary classroom construction. • Pedagogical support and in-service teacher training
	Third Sector Education Credit	Primary	• Provision of teaching and learning materials • School nutrition and health
		Secondary	• Construction of day secondary schools • Secondary school curriculum review
USAID	GABLE II	Primary	• Increase budgetary allocation to education and within education to primary education sector • Primary classroom construction • Improve the analytical and planning capacity of MOE and improve the planning sector's ability to integrate planning and budgeting processes • Strengthen GAC unit by dividing into two components one dealing with teacher training and another one for curriculum development • Improve the achievement of girls on PSLC through gender streaming
		Secondary	• Establish a girls' scholarship fund for secondary schools

KFW		Primary	Construction of primary schools • Establishment of sub-zonal resource centres • Construction of PEAs offices
ODA	Primary Community Schools Project PSCOSP	Primary	• Construction and establishment of junior primary schools
	School Support Systems Project MSSP		•Input into national training initiatives through development of training modules • Construction of sub-zonal resource centres and PEAs houses • Training of headteachers, PEAS in management and advisory roles. • Support to MIE
GTZ	Basic Education Project	Primary	• Teacher support • Integrate formal and non-formal education into one basic delivery system • Strengthen planning and management capacity of district offices • Training of primary school teachers • Rehabilitation of primary classrooms
	Primary Science Project	Primary	• Curriculum development of science and health education and material development • Institution building at MIE

UNICEF	Keeping Kids in Schools	Primary	• Construction and establishment of junior community primary schools for standards 1 and 2
	Closing the Gender Gap		• Training of paraprofessional teachers • Provision of instructional materials
DANIDA	Rehabilitation of primary education	Primary	• Construction of primary classroom and teacher training • Teacher resource centres • Development and production of learning materials
	Improvement and expansion of secondary education	Secondary	• Provision of teaching and learning materials to DECs • Initiation of comprehensive subsectors study • Revitalise DECs • Teacher training
	Technical and Vocational, Educational Training		• Study on the labour market • Development of a sub-sector policy and action plan

3.5 Non governmental organisations

3.5.1 The nature of NGO activity

An important legacy of Malawi's authoritarian past is the relatively small number of NGOs in the country. In the education sector, 34 locally registered NGOs were active in 1995. Half of them provide basic education services which involves the provision of infrastructure and materials as well as the actual running of schools. The remainder are heavily involved with non-formal education and HIV/AIDs education and counselling. Many education NGOs are church based and have staunchly advocated single sex schooling for religious and moral reasons. Most, if not all, single sex primary and secondary schools that exist in Malawi were established by these church organisations.

In 1994, there were fewer than ten NGOs directly concerned with womens' issues and most of these have focused on human rights and political and economic empowerment. Only three - Forum for African Women Educationalists, Malawi (FAWEMA), CCAM and Tiyende Women in Development (TWID) are concerned with education. CCAM offers bursaries to both needy school children and TWID has a literacy and survival skills project for girl drop outs. Since its inception, 120 women aged between 18-25 have benefited from training for self employment. FAWEMA's activities concentrate on advocacy and support for girls' and womens' education. The Society for the Advancement of Women (SAW), one of the most prominent women's NGOs to emerge in the democratic era, focuses more on human rights issues than education. However, it is involved in mainstreaming women's rights in the primary and secondary curriculum. It also conducts training in human rights which covers issues such as domestic violence. Thus, apart from the churches, little attention has been paid to education by groups in civil society. The activities of NGOs have been dominated by economic empowerment and advocacy.

The majority of women's NGOs were established between the late 1980s and the early 1990's, a period of activity which was heavily influenced by events on the international scene. It is the general view of the NGO community (particularly those concerned with women) that so much is already being done by government and donor programmes such as GABLE to improve girls' education that they should rather focus on human rights issues. However, this ignores the overwhelming need for adult education provision.

The government remains the largest provider of non-formal education for girls and women through its functional literacy programme and homecraft classes in the Women's Ministry. These efforts are supplemented by NGOs whose programmes tend to be smaller in scope and coverage. The relatively low level of NGO activity in the area of both education and women's rights is a reflection of the historically low levels of female literacy in Malawi and political repression associated with Banda's rule.

3.5.2 Relationship between women's NGOs and government

Prior to 1994, the most influential organisation that dealt with women's issues was CCAM which was established in 1985 as the development wing of the only political party, the MCP. The relationship between CCAM and NCWID was close as there was little distinction between party and government. CCAM had a broad based membership in line with the ruling party. Its secretariat was in the Office of the President and Cabinet and was headed by a female permanent secretary. The location of CCAM within a high status Ministry rather than the Ministry of Women helped the secretariat to gain status and recognition and enabled CCAM to acquire the necessary financial and physical resources (both local and foreign) to sustain its activities.

CCAM members from all districts met annually to discuss issues affecting girls and women. A series of recommendations emerged from these meetings (which, inter alia, covered basic education for girls, literacy for women, access to credit and legal awareness). These were channelled through the NCWID which worked very closely with the CCAM secretariat.

Although in theory CCAM was supposed to have grassroots representation, in practice ordinary women were never integrally involved in its activities. This was despite the fact that women were required to contribute funds and labour for various CCAM activities (particularly in urban areas) which made the organisation unpopular. There was a clear underlying tension in CCAM aims between getting women to contribute to development by mobilising the poor in communities and advocating for an improvement in the position of women. The first was the preoccupation of grassroots women and the latter of academics and women in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, CCAM did succeed in drawing attention to girls' education issues and for this reason was widely consulted in the initial stages of the GABLE planning process during 1990. With the introduction of multiparty government, CCAM had to re-define its position and in January 1994 became an NGO independent of government. However, the range and extent of its activities have been greatly reduced due to the loss of state support.

In 1996, a group of gender activists formed an informal network called Gender Initiative Network (GIN) committed to the advancement of women and gender equality. GIN is political but non-partisan and its mandate is the monitoring of government fulfilment of the Beijing commitments and other commitments regarding women's rights. It held a forum to brief Malawian women on the issues and concerns of the Beijing conference which attracted NGOs, government ministries and donor agencies. The Ministry of Women took the opportunity to launch the Malawi Platform for Action which included clauses on the education of the girl child. The long awaited Platform of Action for Malawi on the status of women was officially launched at the forum by the Women's Ministry and NCWID. However, the apparently close working relationship between the government and GIN has been marred by recent allegations in the press that GIN is a front for CCAM.

3.5.3 NGOs and aid agencies

Most of the church based NGOs are assisted by the central government in their provision of basic education services. But, only a few NGOs receive support from aid agencies, the most notable example being the US-based Save the Children Federation. SCF has been working closely with several donor agencies, most notably USAID and UNICEF in experimenting with new models of community participation in school management. USAID, through GABLE, has provided the initial funding for SCF to open four village based schools in remote and deprived communities where distance to the nearest school is great. Another measure taken to encourage the enrolment and persistence of girl children in particular, is the recruitment of women teachers from local communities. Communities have also been encouraged to appoint school committees with a target of at least half female.[20] An evaluation of the project in 1996 found an equal proportion of girls and boys enrolled at four sample schools. USAID has taken the most successful elements of the SCF project and is negotiating with the government to scale them up nationally. One of the conditions in the GABLE 2 programme is the completion of a time-phased action plan for the establishment of gender balanced community primary schools by the MOE.

> [20] As a result, in 1996 40% of school committee members were female compared to an average of 25% in government schools.

UNICEF has also collaborated with SCF since 1995 in establishing community schools for Standards I-IV in Mangochi. The four schools have since been handed over to SCF who are providing supporting the training of teachers and school committee members as well as providing supervisory and advisory services.

3.5.4 NGOs and government policy

Currently, there are few opportunities for women's groups in civil society to influence the design and implementation of education policy. Women's groups such as FAWEMA[21] have yet to make an impact on MOE largely due to political issues related to leadership. Although FAWEMA was established in 1993, its operations have been largely ineffective and the MOE has yet to recognise its existence. When the new education policy plan was being drawn up between 1994 and 1996, important community stakeholders were actively consulted. However, FAWEMA was not represented at the various seminars and workshops that were organised to draw up an education policy plan. FAWEMA's agenda is impressive but the lack of funds and leadership problems continue to plague the organisation. The organisation is not known to most Malawians and it has not managed to effectively advocate for girls' education.

[21] There is little interaction between FAWEMA and the FAWE Secretariat in Nairobi.

3.6. Conclusion

A considerable amount of knowledge about gender and education is now available which has improved our understanding of the nature and complexity of the causes and problems affecting girls' education in Malawi. This knowledge emanates from both academic research and the accumulated experience of both government and donors in implementing a wide variety of programmes and projects. And yet, despite the existence of such a rich knowledge base, the response of both government and donors in seeking to address some of the most serious gender inequalities in the education sector has not been adequate given the scale of the problem.

Much of the research conducted before the 1990s did not influence government and donor policies. This in itself is not surprising as the government had little interest in the education of women and girls during this period. The MOE was mainly preoccupied with regional and district inequalities in access and attainment which were more politically sensitive than gender inequalities.

Wide gender gaps still exist throughout the education system in Malawi. While the gender gap at primary level in access, enrolment and achievement has almost closed, at secondary and tertiary levels serious gender gaps still remain. The MOE did introduce a progressive quota policy for the selection of girls into secondary schools from as early as 1972, but the MOE's overall commitment to improving the status of girls in the education system remained limited. It was only after the successful introduction of GABLE programme that government commitment to girls' education increased significantly. The major and most far reaching efforts to reduce gender inequalities in the education system have, therefore, been initiated from outside the MOE.[22]

[22] It has been reported that the MOE was not keen on the girls' education aspects of GABLE but showed great enthusiasm for wider system reforms (Wolf, 1995).

In contrast, the Women's Ministry has consistently shown much greater interest in the education of girls and women. However, this Ministry lacked the bureaucratic and political authority to push through the policy reforms that have been proposed by various women's groups.

Eight important lessons can be drawn from the Malawi case study.

1. At present the institutional mechanisms for the integration of gender into education are weak and initiatives are taken on an ad hoc basis.

2. There are no clear procedures to take up important issues arising from research in the area of gender and education.

3. In the absence of local commitment for girls' education particularly within MOE, external pressure from donors (in this case USAID) has been crucial in pushing through policy reforms to improve girls' education.

4. The importance of women's lobbying groups in this reform process cannot be underestimated. CCAM and NCWID have played a critical role in raising levels of awareness about the disadvantaged position of women and girls in the education system and lobbying government to take action. When USAID was putting together the GABLE project, it found a ready partner to work with and to mobilise support from government.

5. The lack of attention paid to the implementation of gender policies and programmes has resulted in serious problems on the ground. Policies and programmes have been designed without due regard to their gender dynamics and no serious attempts have been made to identify potential obstacles to the smooth implementation of such policies. Examples in Malawi are the pregnancy and scholarship programmes for secondary school girls.

6. Donor agencies, like governments, have paid too little attention to the implementation of gender policies and programmes. Most attention has been directed towards the central ministry in designing and implementing donor funded gender initiatives. However, the people directly responsible for implementing policies at the grassroots level have often been neglected. The monitoring and evaluation of donor supported activities has generally been weak.

7. The weak organisational structures within the MOE to take up gender objectives have hampered progress towards the 'genderising' of the planning process. Lack of gender planning has led to a fragmented approach to addressing gender concerns in the education system. In short, the MOE still lacks a coherent gender policy and the capacity to implement it.

8. Gender sensitisation of government officials responsible for implementing policies for the community at large is crucial. Most of the implementation issues that have arisen from gender policies are due to a lack of gender awareness on the part of government officials and poor communication of their policies (e.g. concerning pregnancy).

Recommendations:

The following recommendations include those made by the Malawi working group at a research dissemination workshop held in Harare between 12-13th January, 1998.

Structures

1. With regard to the lack of institutionalisation of gender within the MOE, the establishment of a gender unit with a clear mandate is proposed within the planning unit. The unit would be responsible for ensuring the integration of gender across all departments of the Ministry and it would also conduct on-going gender sensitisation of headquarters staff.

2. Gender sensitisation followed by courses in gender planning would be offered to policy makers, educational administrators, teacher trainers etc. This process would help to shift attitudes of education planners from promoting access to improving the retention, performance and achievement of girls.

3. The links between research and policy making within the MOE need to be strengthened. Currently, only research commissioned by government and donors is incorporated into policy. The coordinating committee for educational research linking the university and the MOE should be revived so as to incorporate a wider membership. The committee should be chaired by the MOE.

4. Research findings should be disseminated widely and utilised more effectively both inside and outside of government.

Gender and Education Policies

5. A comprehensive gender policy should be incorporated in the review of the Policy Investment Framework (PIF).

6. Donors, governments and NGOs should make sure that clear guidelines are produced as part of the policy design process with regard to the implementation and monitoring of gender interventions.

7. The mandate of the National Commission on Women and Development should be reviewed to take a gender and development perspective.

Areas of emphasis

8. Given the high rates of adult illiteracy (particularly of females), adult education and functional literacy programmes should be actively developed by donors and government in collaboration with NGOs where appropriate. This would also help to deal with the problem of over-age school enrolment.

9. NGOs should pay more attention to adult education and early childhood education, both of which are sorely neglected at present.

10. A study should be commissioned to examine the impact of the current pregnancy policy on girls' education.

11. In order to reduce the present imbalance in the provision of secondary schooling for girls, 10% of the 250 new secondary schools the government is planning to build should be for girls only.

12. Donors should also support gender initiatives in tertiary sectors such as universities and vocational training institutions. As sex stereotyping of subjects is particularly pronounced at the tertiary level, scholarship programmes for girls taking courses in non-traditional area such as engineering is appropriate. Donors could also support government efforts to reform and revitalise the tertiary sector.

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Chapter 4 - Tanzania

Introduction:

4.1. Educational provision: An overview

The Tanzanian education system currently faces a crisis in terms of resources and management, in particular, teachers are demoralised, primary infrastructure is poor, and the curriculum lacks relevance. Parents are questioning the value of sending their children to school. Thus, gender must be considered in the context of a falling overall demand for primary education.

The principle of equality underpins the constitutions of Tanzania and Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Education, and specifically, basic education is regarded as a human right to be guaranteed by the state (Meena, 1995). From 1967 up until the mid 1980s, education policies were declared in the form of resolutions and decrees as part of the programme for 'socialism and self reliance'. The first education policy statement 'Education for Self-Reliance' (which formed part of the famous Arusha Declaration) stressed the need to break with the colonial past and emphasised educational 'relevance'. Despite the fact that the Nyerere government wanted to replace an overly academic system which serviced the elite in the colonial period, the primary curriculum never effectively incorporated skills useful for rural life (Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997). Although not questioning the inherent gender bias of the education system, equity of access by region and gender was actively promoted.

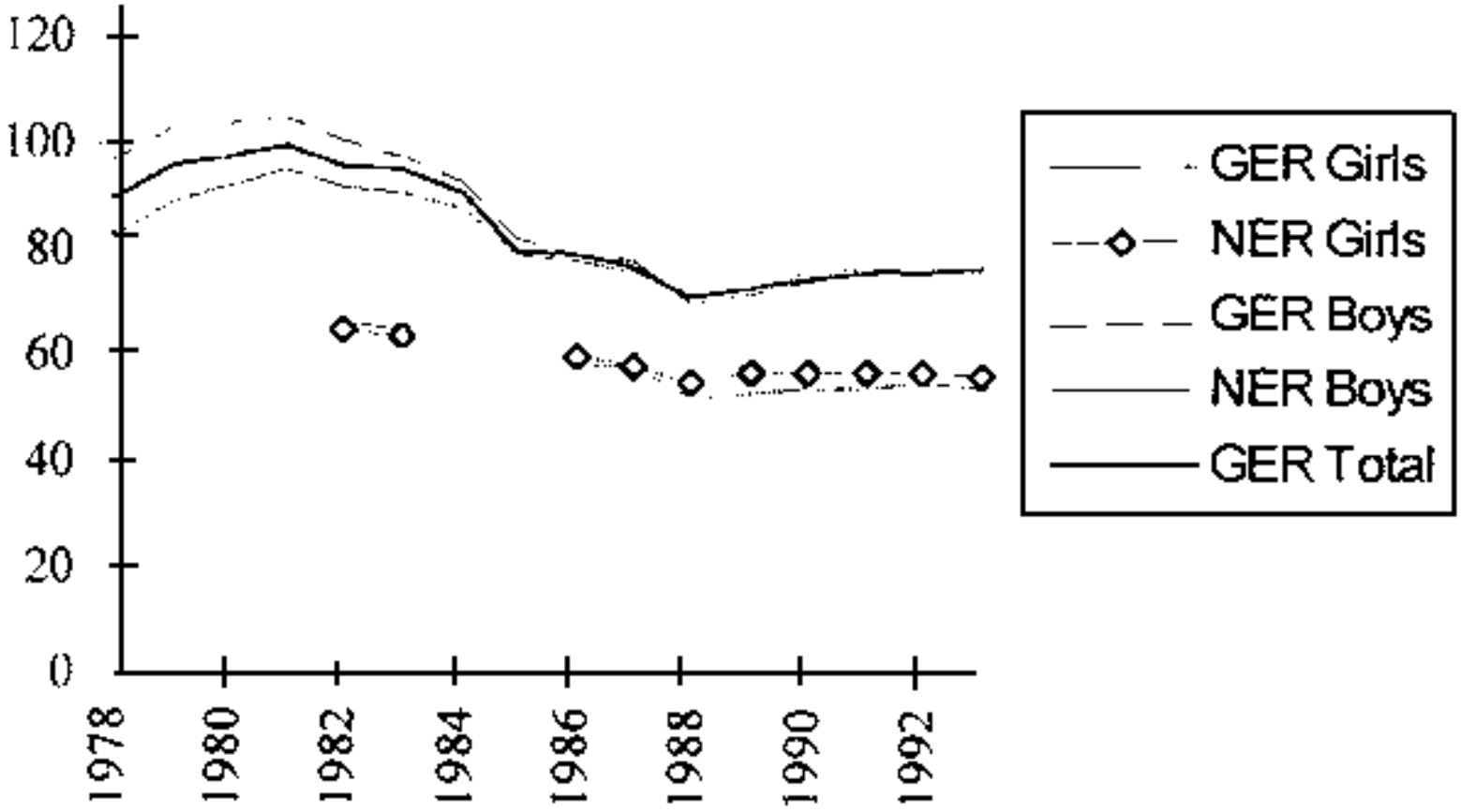
4.1.1 Primary and secondary education

With the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy following the Musoma Resolution of 1974, primary enrolments increased very rapidly. Achievements in terms of raised levels of literacy and increases in primary school enrolments were particularly impressive during the late 1970s. The gender gap for primary enrolments narrowed substantially (see Figure 1) and gender parity between the sexes was reached by 1985.[1] However, GERs fell during the 1980s, largely as a consequence of economic crisis. The decline in both GERs and NERs which occurred during the 1980s was mainly due to a growing disillusionment with formal schooling among both pupils and parents as the quality of primary schooling deteriorated rapidly. At the same time, the average age of first enrolments also rose and, by 1993, was 9.0 years for girls and 9.7 for boys. A number of reasons explain this trend including parental considerations that children are too immature, increasing needs for child labour, and distance to school. Girls are somewhat less likely than boys to complete primary school.[2] It appears that the downward trend in GERs and NERs at primary had levelled off by 1993.

[1] Although there was considerable regional variation in the proportion of girls and boys enrolled.

[2] World Bank Social Sector Review, 1995.

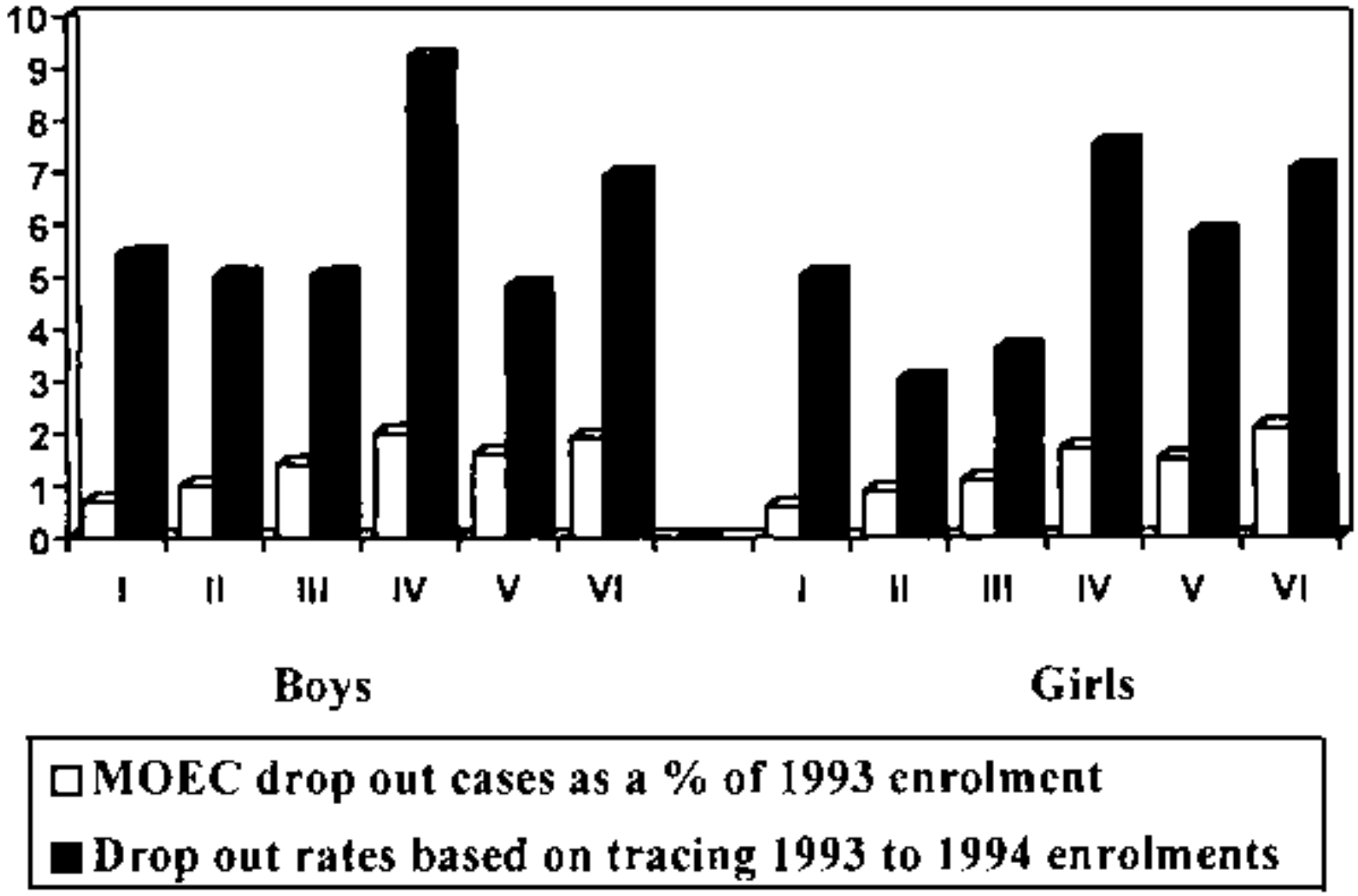
Figure 1: Gross and net enrolment by gender at primary level, 1978-1994



Source: Komba *et al*. 1995: Appendix 2.1

Drop-out rates for both boys and girls rose in the 1980s although they improved somewhat in the mid laces. Based on a cohort of 1,000 students, and using 1993-94 promotion and repetition rates, it has been estimated that 37% of boys and 34% of girls will fail to complete primary school (Peasgood et al, 1997). The higher drop of rates of boys in some areas can be explained by the need to contribute to family income in times of economic stringency. Girl's drop out from school can be attributed to a number of economic, social and cultural factors including initiation, early marriage and pregnancy. With automatic progression up to Standard IV, repetition rates for primary are relatively low in Tanzania, only 3.1% of those enrolled were repeating in 1994 (ibid).

Figure 2: Drop-out of boys and girls, 1993/94



Source: Peasgood, 1997. Calculated from MOEC data.

The terminal primary education policy that was adopted in the late 1960s restricted the expansion of post-primary education while guaranteeing jobs in the public sector for a small elite of secondary school and university graduates. Consequently, aggregate transition rates to secondary never exceeded 15% between

1986 and 1996. Much smaller numbers of boys than girls make the transition to secondary school. In 1990, female students comprised only 45% of enrolments at lower secondary schools and only 29% at upper secondary schools. Despite some expansion in the post-independence period, the secondary sector remains small. The gross enrolment rate for secondary education as a whole rose slowly from 3.3% in 1985 to 4.7% by 1990.

The overall decline in admission rates to secondary school was reversed after 1984 due to the growth in private schools. Female admissions to Form 1 rose from 11,529 in 1987 to 23,018 in 1994 with the proportion of girls enrolled at private schools being 62% and 57% for these years respectively (MOE, BEST, 1995). A higher proportion of girls are enrolled in these lower quality private schools than in public secondary schools. Despite the overall increase in enrolment rates for secondary schooling, drop-out rates have risen for both girls and boys. While a smaller proportion of girls enter Form 1, the drop-out rates during the secondary phase are significantly higher for girls than boys, particularly in the public secondary schools (see Table 1).

Table 1: Form I & Form IV enrolment and drop-out rates at the secondary level

	Form I 1991	Form IV 1994	Implicit drop-out rate (%)
Public			
Total	18,892	16,474	12.7
Girls	8,138	6,776	16.7
Boys	10,754	9,698	9.8
Private			
Total	27,554	19,809	28.1
Girls	12,859	8,964	30.3
Boys	14,695	10,845	26.2

Source: MOEC 1995, BEST 1990-1994.

Only a small proportion of secondary school students go on to higher education. Tertiary enrolments amounted to only 5,300 in 1990 and gross tertiary enrolment ratios remained static between 1970 and 1990.[3] However, due to concerted efforts to improve the enrolment of girls along with an expansion at Muhumbili Medical School,[4] the proportion of women attending university increased from 15% of total enrolment in 1987 to 29% in 1996 (University of Dar es Salaam, 1996). However, the Gender Task Force (GTF) at the university also highlighted a disturbing decrease in female enrolment between 1991/2 and 1995/6 in arts, commerce, education, law, science and engineering.

[3] Donors to African Education, 1994 using UNESCO and World Bank data.

[4] In 1995/6 there was a big increase in female enrolments at the Muhumbili Medical School

mainly as a result of females taking courses in nursing rather than medicine.

Performance: The poor educational attainment of girls is one of the major indicators of gender inequality in Tanzania's schooling system. Evidence for girls under-performance at school is amply documented in Tanzanian education statistics, research studies and policy documents (TADREG, 1990 & 1992 Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991 Malekela (eds) 1991, Omari, 1995, IDS/MOEC 1996). At all levels, performance varies by sex, district and region, with children from urban areas generally scoring better than those in rural areas (Komba, 1995:38). Primary School Leaving Examination results show that few girls excel in primary school with the largest gap between girls and boys being in maths. A study in the late 1980s of 200 pupils in seven schools shows that boys performed better than girls in all subjects (TADREG, 1989). With the declining quality of primary schooling, the performance of all children has also deteriorated at the secondary level.

Not only do far fewer girls sit for 'O' and 'A' levels but their pass rates are consistently lower than those of boys, particularly for maths. For example, in a sample taken of O-level candidates in four subjects, mathematics, biology, geography and English, boys achieved pass rates 15 percentage points higher than girls between 1988 and 1994 (Peasgood, 1997). Attainment data show that girls also dramatically underperform at the Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations (CSEE) with a failure rate which is three times higher than that of boys (ODA, 1996). There has been a sharp decline in the proportion of candidates obtaining passes in divisions one, two and three at both 'O' level and 'A' level, and this applies particularly to girls. The fact that girls are selected for secondary school with lower grades through the quota system might be one of several possible explanations for the poor performance of girls.

Information concerning female performance at the university is not available, although the Gender Task Force is of the opinion that 'everything considered, it is a fact that women students are not performing up to their intellectual capacity' (UDSM, 1996:88). Clearly, more research is needed in this area.

4.1.2 Post-secondary education and training

Vocational Training: In 1988 girls' enrolment in vocational training institutions reached 35%. However, after the imposition of fees in the early 1990s enrolments fell (25% in 1995). After the introduction of affirmative action measures, girls' participation in vocational training rose again to 28% in 1996. This process has been spearheaded by a gender unit. However, the increase in user costs and failure to get job placements continues to deter female enrolment. Subject bias early on in the secondary system has also made it difficult for girls to pursue technical careers and it has been a struggle to attract even suitably qualified girls into non-traditional areas (ie bricklaying). Mbilinyi (1991) raised the issue of the narrow scope of vocational training which ties students to one particular trade. Until the courses offered are relevant to the changing job market, it is unlikely that they will attract more female students.

Teacher Training: For at least the past two decades, teachers in Tanzania have been seriously demoralised and poorly motivated. Due to an enormous decline in real incomes, most teachers have more than one job. One of the main causes of poor quality in Tanzania's education system has been the low proportion of grade 'A' teachers. Recently the situation has improved somewhat with the proportion of

grade 'A' teachers rising from 30% in 1991 to 37% in 1994 (MOEC, BEST 1995). During this period, the numbers of male and female Grade 'A' teachers remained approximately equal. Women teachers as a proportion of the total grade 'A' teachers rose slowly from 42% in 1981 to 51% in 1994 (ibid). Whereas the overall the proportion of women primary school teachers has risen from 37% in 1980 to 41% in 1990, the proportion of women teachers at secondary schools fell from 27% in 1980 to 24% in 1990 (DAE, 1994). There are generally fewer women teachers at all levels in rural areas.

The proportion of women lecturers at teacher education college has not risen above 20% during the 1990s. Very small numbers of women lecture at the two universities, particularly in applied and pure sciences and engineering.

4.1.3 Literacy and non-formal education

In 1969, adult education activities were shifted to the MOEC and a mass literacy campaign was started with financial support from Sida and UNDP in order to promote social and political mobilisation. During the post-independence period there has been a remarkable increase in literacy[5] rates for men and women although rates fell by 8% from 91% in 1986 to 83% in 1992 (URT, 1995). Illiteracy rates are estimated to be rising by 2% per annum. This is a consequence of deteriorating education quality and literacy classes being abandoned due to inappropriate models.

[5] Tanzania's literacy rates show a high degree of regional variation.

Table 2: Mainland literacy rates, by gender

Year	Male literacy (%)	Female literacy (%)	Average (%)
1975	66	56	61
1977	79	67	73
1981	85	73	79
1983	90	79	85
1986	93	88	91
1992	87	81	83

Source: URT 1995

4.1.4 Education funding

The overall proportion of education expenditure in the discretionary budget was 21.6% in 1993 which fell to 18.6% in 1994/95. Although the World Bank Public Expenditure Review suggests that there is considerable scope to re-allocating resources towards social sectors, education competes with the health

sector for resources. Although the government's commitment to primary education has remained constant, spending on post-primary sectors has declined (IDS/MOEC, 1996).

The expansion of primary education as part of the drive for UPE in the 1970s did substantially narrow the gender gap in enrolments. However, the expansion of secondary education has failed to keep up with the rising demand from primary leavers. Gender inequality at higher levels of education has decreased somewhat over the last two decades, but girls are still not in a position to compete with boys academically (particularly in science and maths). The degree of educational inequality depends on class and location as well as gender. Girls are hampered by subject-defined specialisations at school which, in turn, restricts subject choices at the tertiary level. Lack of educational opportunities for girls at higher levels is both the cause and the consequence of continuing gender inequalities.

4.2. Knowledge generated

4.2.1 The overall research effort

Compared with other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, an impressive volume of literature has been produced on gender and education in Tanzania: A recent bibliography lists some 397 consultancy reports, academic articles and books (FAWE, 1996). Most of these outputs have been funded either directly or indirectly by foreign aid agencies. Most early research on gender and education focused on the direct and indirect costs of girls' education as well as the cultural constraints operating against their participation.

Gender disparities in education were first highlighted in a 1969 study by Marjorie Mbilinyi. She identified three main obstacles to girls' participation - school costs, girls' domestic labour, and traditional views concerning the proper role of women. A survey of parental attitudes to education which formed part of this study showed that parents wanted more boarding schools for girls. The study also proposed that rural communities should be consulted in the formulation of education policies. Gender issues in education were taken further by a group of academics at the University of Dar es Salaam in the early 1980s. In particular, they produced an annotated bibliography, *Women in Tanzania* (1985), targeted at policy makers as well as a wider audience. Subsequently, several women's groups were established at the UDSM, (including Women's Education and Development (WED)) which focused on girls' education. All have been financially dependent on aid donors, most notably SAREC.

By the early laces, the economic and social constraints affecting girls' participation had been clearly demonstrated through primary research (Sumra and Katunzi, 1991). There is also ample evidence that returns to primary education have declined and parents' enthusiasm for education has diminished due to perceptions of the 'irrelevance of education' and the obvious decline in quality (TADREG, 1990 and 1993).

4.2.2 The Mbilinyi report

By far the most influential research output to date was a study commissioned by Sida and undertaken by Mbilinyi and associates in 1991 entitled, *Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective*. The objectives of the study were to 'summarise and critically assess available knowledge on women in the education system, specifically primary, secondary, adults and technical education' and to identify the support needed, further research and appropriate methodologies' (Mbilinyi et al 1991:1).[6] Although the research was based mainly on secondary information, there was an extensive process of consultation and lobbying around the production of the report. In addition to measuring the usual indicators of gender inequality in the provision of education, the Mbilinyi report also examined more qualitative aspects of education including gender streaming and pedagogy, social constraints facing women, and the unequal access of women to resources.

[6] The report's main authors were mainly academics with the exception of one MOEC official.

The report's comprehensive coverage and in-depth analysis led to a series of recommendations and strategies to promote gender equality. The report concluded that the lack of a gender policy in education had inhibited any kind of gender transformation in education. It was also critical of the 'instrumental' donor policy of prioritising basic education at the expense of other sectors where gender inequalities are more evident and made a large number of specific and general recommendations including curriculum reform, guidance and counselling, improvement in school materials, less emphasis on the role of examinations in determining access, family life education and the strengthening of teacher's associations. It also recommended that the government adopt an Equal Opportunities Policy across all ministries.

In more general terms, the report cautioned against cost-saving measures which might discriminate against girls. The broader framework in which these changes would take place included the establishment of an equal opportunities policy to cover all sectors of government. In terms of knowledge and information regarding gender, the report recommends greater support for research and gender sensitive data collection. Officials from the two education ministries, MOEC and MHE, formed part of the group who drew up the recommendations. However, the failure of this working group to prioritise the 300 recommendations ultimately hindered implementation.

The following important lessons were learned with regard to gender policies in education:

- The importance of participatory methods in policy formulation.
- The ability to use advocacy to promote gender equality.
- Greater cooperation is needed between the academic community, policy makers, NGOs and those at the grassroots.

- The formation of specific units within ministries to promote a gender perspective in policy.[7]

- The practical difficulties of moving from identification of problems to action.

- The importance of following up initiatives if bureaucrats are to incorporate research findings into policy.

[7] Interview with authors of report.

The social and moral imperative for improving girls' education continued to be elaborated in the 1990s notably in the publications of the UNICEF situation report (1995).

4.3. Government interventions

4.3.1 Gender policy

The government of Tanzania has formally committed itself to creating a positive environment for gender equality. This is reflected in the constitution and the signing of various international conventions and resolutions upholding the rights of women. The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWAC) was established in 1990 with the aim of monitoring and improving the status of women. The role of the Ministry is to coordinate, facilitate and represent women at top decision making levels. One of the main aims of this ministry is to help integrate women in the development process. A Women and Development (WID) policy was also developed in the late 1980s and was formally adopted by the government in 1992. Its main objective has been to integrate gender issues into the planning process as well as encouraging and coordinating women's participation in development programmes. The MCDWAC has been supported by a number of donor agencies.

The MCDWAC has close links with the MOEC[8] and cooperates with NGOs around gender specific projects and programmed The post-Beijing National Programme of Action stressed women's inequality in decision making and a national commitment to women's rights. Consultants were commissioned to help redefine the WID policy in 1995 (Meena et al, 1995a).[9] Despite all these efforts, it has proved very difficult to mainstream gender across government ministries and other public sector organisations although the current civil service reform process has the potential of strengthening the coordinating role of the MCDWAC (see below). Various meetings and workshops have been held with NGOs in order to widen inputs into gender policies and practices.

[8] For example, in the area of adult literacy.

[9] The 1995 report recommended that the MCDWAC adopt the Women, Equality and Empowerment Framework (WEEF) of UNICEF.

Gender Focal Points: GFPs were established in 1988 along with a gender unit at the Central Establishment Department following recommendations of a study on Women in Development which proposed the original WID policy. The introduction of focal points was an attempt to promote gender activities across different government sectors. However, GFPs have been treated as a marginal activity by most ministry personnel. Only when heads of department have been particularly interested in gender issues have the GFPs been active, as in the case of the Central Establishment Department, the Treasury, the MOEC and the Ministry of Trade and Industries. They have remained dormant in the Ministries of Land, Water, and Health. The proposed establishment of an inter-ministerial task force to support gender mainstreaming should have the effect of revitalising the GFPs.

Gender and the Civil Service Reform: In Tanzania, positions of power and influence in the public domain tend to dominated by men. In 1996, the Civil Service Department reported that the following proportions of senior positions in ministries were occupied by women: Ministers 11%, Deputy Ministers 28%, Principal Secretaries 9% and Deputy Principal Secretaries 16%. In an attempt to improve female representation in decision making, affirmative action measures were introduced by the government in the early 1990s, in order to guarantee women at least 15% of seats in the Union parliament and 25% of seats in local government councils. Women comprised only 15% of MPs after the 1995 election and most of these were put forward by their respective parties and not elected through a process of open competition. However, some women's NGOs consider that gender equality is not sustainable unless women are able to compete with men as equals in the political arena.

The current programme to reform the civil service was started in 1994. As part of the reform process, it has been agreed that the following measures should be taken to facilitate the mainstreaming of gender right across the public sector:

- Strengthening the gender unit in the Civil Service Department by increasing the number of officials from one to four. The Unit is in the process of developing a gender dissaggregated data base of all civil servants in order to improve information and access of women to senior government positions.

- Gender sensitisation for female managers.

- A training fund established for women in the Civil Service Department. The development of an equal opportunity policy. [10]

- Research on gender discrimination in Tanzania (e.g. the issue of not re-admitting pregnant girls to school).

[10] This was recommended by Mbilinyi et al (1991).

By 1997, no significant progress had been reported with respect to any of these measures.

4.3.2 Gender in education policy

Education Policies: During the 1990s, three wide ranging education documents have been produced by government. *The Educational System in Tanzania Towards the year 2000* and the *Tanzania Education System for the 21st century*[11] (the latter dominated by academics from the University of Dar es Salaam) were published in the 1990 and 1993 respectively. Both emphasised the need for rapid political liberalisation and sustainable social and economic development, based in particular on coherent, long term energy and industrial strategies and the expansion of the trade, transport and communication sectors. Education for Self Reliance was not given the same prominence as in the past. Increased cost sharing was also a major consideration in these documents.

[11] Supported by DANIDA

Current government education policy is enunciated in the *Education and Training Policy* (ETP) of 1995. The emphasis given to higher education in *the Tanzanian Education System for the 21st Century* is largely absent from the current education framework. This largely reflects institutional rivalry between the MOEC and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE) (see Buchert, 1996). The ETP identifies two central issues: the seriousness of the decline in the quality of education and the key importance of increased investment in human capital in all 'productive sectors'. The overall aim of the policy is to:

- Decentralise education and training by empowering regions, districts, communities and education institutions to manage and administer education.

- Improve the quality of education and training by strengthening the following areas: in-service teacher education programmes, the supply of teaching and learning materials, rehabilitation of physical facilities, teacher training programmes, the system of inspection, streamlining the curriculum and examinations and certification.

- Promote science and technology through the following: the intensification of vocational training, rationalisation of tertiary institutions, strengthening science and technical education and the development of polytechnics.

- Broaden the base of education financing and training through cost-sharing measures involving individuals, communities, NGOs, parents and users (ESDP, 1997).

The ETP's main focus is basic education, but special attention is also given to equity issues with respect to girls' education, positive statements are made concerning support for girls' boarding and hostel facilities, special financial schemes, curriculum review, and elimination of gender stereotyping. However, because

gender is not integrated throughout the documents and none of these recommendations are backed up by concrete plans of action, gender concerns appear as an 'add on' and lack real conviction. The gender inputs in the ETP were proposed by the Gender Coordinating Unit - although a number of other recommendations (such as providing for the re-admittance to school of pregnant schoolgirls) were ignored by the all male team of senior officials from the MOEC who approved the final draft of the ETP.

The Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) (1997) linked to the social sector review, sets targets for revitalising student performance and ensures access and equity by region and gender. The aim of the Education Task Force and the sectoral development programme is to produce a clear framework for educational reform which involves a greater role of the private sector, cost sharing and the better use of existing state resources. The emphasis on cost recovery, however, is potentially negative for girls and women. The Education Master Plans have been strongly shaped by donors and have been developed in the context of the civil service reform programme.

The following structures have been established:

The Education Sector Coordinating Committee (ESCC) was established in 1996 in order to facilitate greater coherence in education policy formulation and implementation. It comprises members from key ministries: the Prime Minister's Office, the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Science and Technology and Higher Education, the Treasury, the Central Establishment, Economic and Social Research Foundation and the secretariat of the MOEC. Government and donors intend to work together to promote greater transparency and Tanzanian ownership over education policy. The ESCC is to set up a documentation centre to avoid duplication of research and information in the education field and it will also produce a newsletter. By the beginning of 1998 documents on education had been collected and a study on the resource centre been completed.

By late 1997, joint government and donor structures had been worked out through the ESCC. Since 1996 the inter-ministerial planning team under the ESCC has been preparing the first phase of the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). The main objective of ESDP is to decentralise education by realigning the powers and functions of the central, district and local school authorities by the year 2000. This involves a wide ranging process of structural and organisational reform with the associated strengthening of operational management at various levels. The regional level has already been 'down-sized' and over the next year district authorities should be managing their own budgets. This is taking place in the overall context of the Civil Service and Local Government Reform Programmes.

A study was commissioned in 1997 to assess the gender needs of the SDP although its recommendations that the SDP should draw upon a local team of gender experts and the production of a gender oriented teacher's manual have not yet been acted upon. There is a pressing need for a gender training module to be developed for personnel involved in the SDP which could be developed in collaboration with interested NGOs. There needs to be a consistent gender input into the Education Sector Reform programme in order to ensure that gender issues are introduced at every level into the work of the MOEC.

The Gender Coordinating Unit (GCU) was formed in 1994 in response to the recommendations of the

Mbilinyi et al report' its objectives being to coordinate gender activities across all departments of the MOEC. Sida and UNESCO have assisted with funds to operationalise the tasks of the GCU. The GCU is responsible for training teachers in guidance counselling techniques and it has also worked with some NGOs such as TGNP to engender the current education and training policy.

The formation of the GCU was followed by a series of training seminars in gender planning sponsored by Sida. MOEC personnel drew up gender objectives for their respective departments, know as the 'Elimu guidelines'. Their recommendations included such actions as gender sensitising parents on the importance of girls' education, guidance and counselling for all children, and introduction of a 50/50 male to female teacher ratio. However, this comprehensive set of targets and goals were not even published, let alone acted upon. Important initiatives which might have enabled the mainstreaming of gender in the MOEC were allowed to founder due to 'lack of resources'.[12] Admittedly, for these targets to be met, funding levels in many areas would need to be substantially increased. Nor does there appear to have been much follow up of the gender training by Sida. Asked why these and other initiatives were not taken up, a local gender trainer commented that 'Tanzania is a patriarchal society...they are afraid to take on gender.' The Gender Coordinating Unit lacks any real power and is marginalised in the MOEC hierarchy. Not surprisingly, therefore, it has been quite ineffective. The GCU members attend on a voluntary basis and are not given any time off from their permanent jobs. Like other sections of the MOEC, its activities also suffer from a lack of transparency.

[12] Interview with head of GCU 9/96.

DFID has also sponsored gender training initiatives in a number of government ministries. In 1993, the MCDWAC requested training support from the British Council for gender sensitisation and gender planning for senior government officials as part of the post-Nairobi plan of action to mainstream gender. The training (based on the Caroline Moser gender planning model) had the intention of raising gender awareness across all ministries. The MOEC group established the following objectives: improving girls' performance at 'O' level, counselling for girls and provision of adequate material resources for girls schools.[13] A number of activities were delineated for the MOEC including strengthening the research unit in the Planning Department.

[13] These details are from 'Report of the Gender Planning Workshops for Senior Government Officials in Tanzania' by Nazneen Kanji, 1/96.

The two gender training sessions [14] in which the MOEC was involved, undoubtedly raised awareness of gender, although neither resulted in concrete inputs into policy formulation or implementation. Nor did they appear to strengthen the hand of the Gender Coordinating Unit. 'There has been a lot of gender training in the MOEC and other ministries, although it has failed to attract the right people even though many have obtained valuable skills from such training.'[15]

[14] The consultant in charge of the DFID sponsored training felt that it had failed to reach its target group i.e. senior bureaucrats, as they delegated to more junior officials.

[15] Interview with former permanent secretary of the MCDWAC.

Specific Gender Interventions: Despite the abundant evidence that has been produced on the extent and causes of gender disparities in education in Tanzania, very limited action has been taken. For example in 1991 Mbilinyi made recommendations in the following areas: the readmission of pregnant school girls' to school, the introduction of family life education, and actions to prevent the sexual harassment of girls and improve gender bias in the curriculum. None of these had been comprehensively addressed by mid-1997. Some respondents considered that the Mbilinyi Report had 'limited impact' on government policy, although such initiatives that have taken place (i.e. the formation of the GCU and the attempts to raise female enrolment in non-traditional areas of vocational training) were largely as a result of the momentum created by the report and donor pressure (particularly by Sida). A number of gender specific interventions have been taken within relevant government ministries to improve gender awareness, often sponsored by foreign aid agencies, notably Sida, DFID and UNICEF. Some aspects of the government's education policy which tried to promote gender equity have had unintended consequences; the quota system being one example.

Girls' access to secondary & tertiary education, the quota system: As discussed earlier, girls in Tanzania have more limited access to educational opportunities, particularly at the secondary level. A quota system was introduced shortly after independence by the government to increase the enrolment of girls in government secondary schools as well as students from disadvantaged regions. The quota operates by allowing a certain proportion of girls to be admitted to secondary school with lower PSLE grades than boys.[16] However, as presently constructed, the system sets up girls for failure because of the lack of any kind of additional support at both primary and secondary schools. In the early 1990s, the World Bank put pressure on MOEC to remove the quota system although NGOs concerned with education (such as the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP)) have argued that quotas should remain until remedial measures are put in place. Omari correctly points out, '..the vicious circle of poor learning in primary schools compounded by the gender quota, gives girls an extremely poor foundation for competition in higher levels where there are no gender quotas' (Omari, 1995:38).

[16] Half of secondary school places have been reserved for girls in most urban areas.

With the rapidly rising demand for secondary education, disproportionately more girls have enrolled in private schools than in public schools. The main reason being that there are not enough secondary places to meet demand for all children, but particularly girls. However, most private schools are seriously underfunded and their overall examination performance is poorer than that of public schools.

Any attempt to redress inequality of any kind in educational provision has to tackle two fundamental issues, namely the availability of school places and performance in terminal examinations. It is important to emphasize that gender equity in education does not only mean gender parity in access, but also the creation of conditions which enable girls to remain in school, to participate in a positive learning environment and to perform to the best of their natural abilities. This involves raising the overall standard and quality of educational provision.

Gender Streaming in Arts and Science Subjects - the diversified curriculum: The policy of streaming secondary school students by broad subject areas is a key feature of the Education for Self Reliance. In order to replace 'irrelevant' colonial models of education, a diversified curriculum was first introduced for all secondary schools in 1973 and is still in operation. There are five main streams - agriculture, home economics, technical, commercial and general academic (Katabaro, 1991). Because each secondary school has to follow one particular stream, students have been denied any meaningful choice of subjects. Girls predominate in the commercial and domestic streams and boys are found mainly in agriculture and technical education. Even if girls follow a technical bias, they can only go on to technical colleges since they do not usually have the requisite academic qualifications for university (Meena, 1995).

Gender in the Curriculum: Improved family life education to address issues of sexuality in schools was an important recommendation of the Mbilinyi (1991) report. In response to mounting concerns about the drop-out of pregnant schoolgirls, family life education was taught on an experimental basis in a small number of primary and secondary schools between 1987 and 1994. This pilot project was supported by the UNFPA. The second phase of the programme began in 1995 and involves the integration of family life education into all levels of the education system. The Tanzanian Institute of Education has also sponsored research to assess the acceptability of Family Life Education materials in the community at large which will be followed by a training needs assessment for teacher training colleges.[17]

[17] Interview, family life education official at TIE, Dar es Salaam.

A number of school inspectors and curriculum developers have attended UNFPA sponsored training sessions on family life education. Although first mooted in 1994, a general review of the curriculum is only just underway in 1997. This offers an ideal opportunity for the MOEC to try and mainstream gender. UNICEF has run sensitisation workshops for Tanzanian Institute of Education personnel to help them assess the existing syllabi from a gender perspective. Introducing 'girl child' issues into the syllabus has, however, been controversial within the Institute. Curriculum reform has been given high priority under the Education Sector Development Programme. However, the on-going curriculum reform package which includes the introduction of gender into the curriculum and teacher training, is likely to be a long and difficult process, and dependent on the strength of gender advocates within the Institute.

Vocational Training: The Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) was established in 1994 to replace the National Vocational Training Department (NVTD) as part of an attempt to improve the coordination of vocational training activities in Tanzania. It has been estimated that returns to vocational training are greater than returns to formal education in Tanzania. While private rates of return for university education were 10% and 11% for males and females, respectively, they were 18% and 20% respectively for vocational training (Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997). The employment profile of Tanzania has undergone profound changes since the mid 1980s as a consequence of economic liberalisation with the shrinking of employment opportunities in the formal sector alongside a mushrooming of the informal sector. A significant proportion of women operate in the informal sector, although only a small proportion are employed as artisans. The majority of these are concentrated in the catering sector.

The National Vocational Training Programme offers training in five areas of provision: basic training, in

plant and apprenticeship training, evening courses for skills upgrading, the training of instructors and in-plant supervisors, and trade testing. However, VETA only provides 17% of training provision in Tanzania, the rest is provided by private sector training institutions.

A gender unit was formed at the VETA headquarters in Dar es Salaam in 1996 in order to spearhead affirmative measures to increase the enrolment of girls at vocational training centres. These measures include:

- The training of more women teachers.
- Gender sensitisation of all VETA staff.
- Counselling provided for women at all VETA centres. A counselling service is also offered to secondary school girls to encourage them to take up non-traditional trades.
- The curriculum has been revised to encourage girls to enrol in areas previously dominated by males.
- Improvement of workshops and use of 'gadgets' to make learning easier for girls.
- New modular based courses are shorter and, therefore, more attractive to female students.

Affirmative action measures have been encouraged and funded by Sida since the early laces, and shaped by the commitment of senior female officers in VETA. The recommendations of the 1991 Mbilinyi Report had a significant effect on gender aspects of vocational training policies. Despite a drop in girls' enrolment in the mid laces, due to the introduction of user fees, affirmative action measures have helped to attract more girls subsequently. VETA will continue to develop strategies to attract women students. Girls have found it harder than boys to gain entry to a vocational training centre and almost impossible to acquire job placements even if they get admitted due to gender discrimination in the workplace (Mush, 1995). Furthermore, NVTD statistics indicate that in 1993, of those who left VTCs, 93% of males secured employment compared to only 30% of females. Although VETA's affirmative action measures are commendable, their impact will be limited by the wider educational environment and problems within the vocational training system itself. Despite some diversification of courses to provide training for self employment, the state provision of vocational training is still tied to traditional artisan occupations.

The School Environment - Single sex versus co-educational schooling: The generally negative environment for girls prevailing in most co-educational schools in Tanzania explains why girls generally perform better at single sex boarding schools (Mbilinyi, 1991, UNICEF, 1995, Meena, 1995). However, there are only 15 single sex boarding schools for girls in Tanzania and 38 boarding schools for boys. Single sex boarding schools at secondary level offer girls an atmosphere that is free from sexual harassment and provides strong female role models. However, for financial reasons, it is unlikely that the any new single sex government schools for girls (either day or boarding) will be constructed in the

foreseeable future.

Up to the end of the 1980s, the policy making process in education tended to ignore available expertise and knowledge. As the government itself accepted, 'political sentiments have tended to override technical knowledge' (URT, 1993:44). Academic respondents at the UDSM stressed that government policy formation often proceeds without reference to existing knowledge.[18] For example, the repeated failure by the MOEC to take measures to allow pregnant schoolgirls back to school flies in the face of research evidence which shows the negative effects of such exclusion. In some cases, however, the failure to utilise research evidence concerning gender inequalities may be quite deliberate. In general terms, education policy in the past has been inconsistent and unclear, reflecting competing political and bureaucratic interests. Indeed, the frequent change of political leaders and senior officials over the past two decades has created a climate of uncertainty and insecurity not conducive to careful planning (Mosha, 1995). The reluctance to tackle gender issues in education, therefore, can be attributed to both inefficient management systems and a resistance to gender equality on the part of some male policymakers.

[18] Interviews with a professor of education and the chief academic officer at UDSM 11/96.

4.4. NGO and Donor interventions

4.4.1 NGOs and gender

Civil society in Tanzania has been considerably strengthened and enriched as a result of political and economic liberalisation Equally important, the government's growing inability to fund the social sectors has strengthened local and foreign-based NGOs which, since the mid to late 1980s, have become heavily involved in a variety of activities, in particular, health, education, human rights, and income generation. Since the early 1990s, the number of NGOs in Tanzania have mushroomed. By 1997, approximately 800 NGOs operating in Tanzania were registered under the Tanzanian Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (TANGO) and 60-80 more under the umbrella of the Tanzania Council of Social Development (TACOSODE). There are also a number of unregistered NGOs. Only a few of these have seriously addressed gender issues in education. Most women's NGOs in Tanzania were formed in the wake of the two global Women's Conferences (Nairobi and Beijing) and foreign aid agencies have extensively underpinned these organisations.

The following six NGOs have made significant contributions to gender equality in education.

The Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) was established in 1992 to plan for the Beijing Conference on Women. Its formation was strongly influenced by the knowledge and experience gained from the production of the Mbilinyi report (1991). TGNP's main funder has been the Dutch government. The overall objective of TGNP is to facilitate the process of gender equality and empowerment. Its goals are to generate and coordinate information on gender and development using animation[19] and social

analysis. TGNP has produced a number of publications on gender inequality in Tanzania which have been widely disseminated. *A Gender Profile of Tanzania* (1993) deals specifically with education and training. TGNP also offers gender training and assertiveness courses. TGNP has consistently engaged with MOEC officials regarding gender aspects of the Education and Training Policy 1995. It is in the process of strengthening its advocacy techniques and, along with other womens' NGOs, intends to scrutinise the next national budget from a gender perspective.

[19] A Freirian form of participatory methodology.

The Tanzanian Home Economics Association (TAHEA) Since its formation in 1980, TAHEA has moved beyond the narrow concerns of home economics to campaign for children's rights (particularly those of girls). It has conducted research on child labour and expanded this into a situational analysis in order to raise the status of children. It has a particular concern with teenage pregnancy and promotes health education.

The Family Planning Association of Tanzania (UMATI) is one of the oldest NGOs in Tanzania. In addition to promoting family planning, it has broader WID concerns. UMATI runs a non-formal education programme for girls who have left school due to pregnancy. One of their aims is to demonstrate to the policy makers that such girls could complete their education. UMATI has lobbied the MOEC to re-admit pregnant schoolgirls at a time when donors are reducing their support for non-formal education.

The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) is a continent-wide organisation concerned with improving girls education through lobbying of top decision makers. Its membership is made up of senior policymakers and politicians. FAWE's aim is to network with all those interested in promoting girl's education including women's NGOs, education policy makers and constituencies at the grass roots.

The FAWE national chapter in Tanzania was launched in 1990. A FAWE workshop held in November 1996 on girls' education produced a plan of action in three main areas: improving the school environment as it affects girls (e.g. dealing with sexual harassment), school drop outs through pregnancy, and female literacy. By early 1998 work still had not begun in the above areas although two staff persons had been appointed to carry forward the FAWE agenda.

FAWE also sponsored a research project on *Gender and Primary Schooling in Tanzania* which was a joint effort between MOEC and a team from the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University. This project outlined the constraints affecting girls' participation in primary education and made policy recommendations regarding the financing of education aimed at improving the quality of education. The project's main findings were presented at a workshop in Tanzania in April 1997. Taking its recommendations further is the responsibility of the FAWE members within the MOEC. Although the report contained some important insights into gender differences in education from its school surveys, with the exception of the recommendations concerning the financing of education, its conclusions did not go beyond what has already been covered by previous literature and other policy recommendations. Once again, the problem is not lack of information concerning gender inequalities in education so much as a failure to move from understanding to action.

Nevertheless, FAWE is one of the few organisations, with its central focus on girls' education which has the potential to support the mainstreaming of gender in the education ministries.

The Tanzanian Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA) was formed in 1988 to educate women and the wider society. TAWLA provides legal clinics for women and conducts research and lobbying in crucial areas such as the marriage and inheritance laws. TAWLA has been centrally involved in pushing for resolution of gender issues in the proposed Land Act and is a leading member of the Gender Land Task Force which involves a number of women's NGOs.

The Tanzanian Women's Media Association (TAMWA) was formed in 1987 at the instigation of one of the women's research groups at the UDSM. Its immediate concern was to challenge discrimination against women in the media as well as the negative portrayal of women. It has campaigned around violence against women and teenage pregnancy and conducted research on the extent of female domestic labour in urban areas of Tanzania. In 1998 TAWLA's focus is on gender sensitisation for the media which it uses as a tool in its advocacy work.

All these organisations, have used and, in some cases, generated research to support their advocacy programmes concerning gender equity in education, legal and human rights. Given their common goals, these organisations, have worked closely together to further their case for gender equality through dialogue with policy makers. All of them are funded by donor agencies which raises the issue of sustainability. Moreover, there is a considerable degree of competitiveness between some NGOs in the context of limited foreign funding.[20] However, a coalition of women's NGOs recently managed to successfully lobby for the introduction for new legislation against sexual offences which will be on the statute by the end of 1998. Most respondents agreed that there was currently greater awareness of gender issues than before which can be attributed partly to the activities of the NGOs mentioned above which have helped provide a more enabling environment for gender equality in education.

[20] Interview with TGNP board member.

4.5. Donor interventions

4.5.1 Donor support to education

Since the mid 1970s, Tanzania has become increasingly aid dependent. Development assistance as a proportion of GDP increased from 12% in 1975 to nearly 43% in 1990. The influence of foreign aid agencies on internal decision making has increased as a consequence (Buchert, 1996).

Tanzania devotes around 6% of its GDP to education with donor agencies funding about 84% of development expenditures and 14% of all government expenditure on education (World Bank, 1996). The share of primary education in the total education budget increased from 50% in 1990/91 to 55% in 1993/4 (IDS/MOEC, 1996). While levels of funding have been inadequate in all education sectors, resources have not been used efficiently. Most foreign funds in the 1990s have gone into primary education. Foreign aid has tended to finance the development budget and donors have been reluctant to subsidise teachers' salaries. The major bilateral donors active in the primary education sector are Denmark, Sweden, Ireland and the Netherlands. The main donors to secondary education have been NORAD and DFID. In terms of numbers of projects and amount of funds, the most influential donors are DANIDA, Sida, NORAD and GTZ followed by the DGIS, Irish Aid and DFID.

Among the multilateral agencies, UNICEF and UNESCO have been involved in education programmes since before independence. European Union and World Bank support has increased and both agencies have recently become heavily involved in renewed efforts to reform the management and organisation of the education sector. The World Bank have also invested in a community education Programme and a girls' scholarship scheme for secondary school.

Different agencies have tended to support different sub-sectors to the point where 'there is a danger of donors building parallel education systems'.[21] DANIDA, DGIS, Irish Aid and UNICEF have channelled their aid through district level programmes, and others, most notably the World Bank, have conducted pilot projects in a number of areas. A 1996 review of district level programmes, showed little evidence of improvement in the quality of teaching and learning.[22] Furthermore, the focus on poor districts by some donors raises issues of sustainability. It is clear that a coordinated sector wide development is needed. Agency coordination should improve with the Education Sector Coordinating Committee (ESCC) and the Education Sector Development Programme.

[21] Interview, Professor I. Omari, UDSM.

[22] District based Planning: Primary Education Planning and Programming, a review of approaches by DGIS, UNICEF, Irish Aid, Draft, 1996.

Until very recently, few donors explicitly addressed gender issues in the education sector However, by 1996 Sida, UNICEF, the World Bank, DANIDA, NORAD, DFID, Irish Aid and DGIS all had some gender objectives in their education programmed Irish Aid is financing a primary maths upgrade project in Korogwe to promote the more effective participation of girls. DANIDA's Primary Education Project (PEP), based in the MOEC, has a strong gender component in its community and teacher training operations. The project introduced a 'better schooling for girls' module for teachers and trainers which contains training material aimed at enhancing teacher awareness of the central role of school in the socialisation process. The World Bank's Girls' Secondary Education Support Programme (GSESP) has since 1995 developed a pilot programme to provide bursaries to enable poor girls to attend secondary school. Up to 1997, 392 girls had received bursaries for junior secondary school. The scheme has been scaled down in response to criticism about the complicated process of getting communities to identify

suitable candidates and the high administrative costs. Now potential candidates are identified by headteachers.

4.5.2 DFID

As part of a global rationalisation process, DFID decided in 1996 to increase significantly its support to the education sector in Tanzania with a focus on basic education. Prior to that time, DFID's main involvement has been the English Language Teacher Support Programme (ELTSP) that was mainly concerned with reading programmes, teacher development and in-service training in order to boost the standard of English at secondary schools where it is the medium of instruction. In 1992, two consultants were asked to make recommendations regarding gender inputs in the ELTSP. The report went well beyond the terms of reference and pointed to some now well know constraints affecting girls' participation in secondary school. In light of the general lack of consideration of gender issues in the project at the time, it was recommended that the ELTSP develop training modules on 'gender dynamics in the classroom' to be incorporated into pre-service and inservice teacher training colleges (Katunzi and Ladbury, 1992:32). The aim was to help teachers exchange information and develop ways of promoting girls' learning. The first workshops were held in 1994. However, subsequent changes of personnel in the project appear to have weakened the effectiveness of gender inputs.

The main limitations of the gender components of the ELTSP have been: infrequent monitoring visits to schools, sensitising only English teachers, and limited time allocated to gender in teacher training programmed An evaluation of the ELTSP conducted in early 1996 by two consultants from Bristol University found no hard evidence to indicate any improvement in examination results (ODA, 1996). However, more qualitative data obtained from the Examinations Council clearly points to improved English competencies over the lifespan of the project.

The Primary Education Support Project (PESP) provides crucial assistance to the Education Sector Development Programme. Project objectives emphasise women and the poor, the improved management and delivery of education services, improved demand responsiveness, community participation and sustainability. These activities will cover a wide area: primary education management, curriculum reform and teacher development, English Language teaching, examinations, planning and monitoring, adult education and NGO support. Project related activities include improving the performance of girls in primary and secondary school. However, the project is still at a formative stage.

DFID has used consultants to help to shape their gender inputs in education. It has also placed a consultant in the Ministry of Education who is taking a lead role in assisting the Education Sector Development Programme. However, as we have seen in section 4.3.2, in the past, DFID has not consistently monitored gender inputs to ensure that programme goals are being achieved.

4.5.3 Sida

Up until 1995, Tanzania was the largest recipient of Swedish bilateral aid. Since the late 1960s, Sida played a prominent role in supporting a wide range of education and training activities. A new agreement

in 1996 between GOT and Sida increased the proportion of Sida's aid funds on education in both nominal and relative terms. Sida supported the UPE policy in the 1970s and has provided quality back-up for the quantitative expansion of education. During the 1990s, Sida has invested in adult non-formal and primary education and vocational training. However, its support for vocational training will end by 1999. Sida has also made smaller contributions to secondary education and teacher training. Since 1996, Sida's approach to gender has shifted from specific interventions administered through gender officers to integration in on-going programmes.[23] Consequently, there has been a change in emphasis from gender awareness and sensitising to gender mainstreaming. Sida tends to adopt a 'hands off approach when dealing with government partners and it does not (like some other agencies) write terms of reference or plans of action for the MOEC.

[23] Interview with Sida education official, Dar es Salaam, 9/96.

While Sida has strongly backed adult education, a 1991 evaluation of the government's literacy programme, concluded that learning outcomes were generally disappointing due to traditional, top down teaching methods (Kater et al, 1992). Subsequently, Sida funded a women's expert group to make suggestions regarding the gender sensitivity of literacy materials. Sida even suspended its support for adult education until the MOEC agreed to develop more participatory approaches. Sida is currently helping to fund a pilot REFLECT literacy scheme in several districts.[24] Since the re-organisation of the Folk Development Colleges, more women have participated in literacy training, although teacher training in this area still lacks gender sensitivity. The distance education programme that it sponsors has been highly problematic. In particular, teacher training materials have been poorly designed and lack gender sensitivity (Thomas et al 1996).

[24] Interview member of the Adult Education department at the MOEC.

Support for production and distribution of educational materials has great potential to improve the learning environment for both sexes,[25] but book management activities in the past have been beset with administrative problems.[26] Sida's education programme for 1996-1999 intends to help reduce sex role stereotyping by means of sensitisation seminars for authors, curriculum developers and publishers (MOEC, 1996).

[25] Although this is unlikely on its own to raise the standards of Tanzanian schools.

[26] School text books either were found rotting in the warehouses or were sold in local markets instead of being provided free to schools which was Sida's intention.

With respect to vocational training, low female enrolments and the persistence of gender stereotyping of courses reflects wider problems which are outside of the control of the vocational training institutions themselves. The gender aspects of Sida's education programme have been problematic in some areas, notably teacher training and distance education. But with regard to vocational training, measures have been put in place by the gender unit to encourage the participation of girls.

The production of knowledge around gender and education has been given a high priority by both SAREC (now part of the new Sida) and Sida. This has included sponsoring of various women's groups and education working groups at the UDSM and the funding of the Mbilinyi Report. SAREC and NORAD also funded a Women's Research and Development Project which produced the high profile report, *Mothers of Africa* which focuses on women's health and reproductive rights. Both organisations have helped to build the knowledge base and strengthen the advocacy of women's groups.

At a more general level, Sida has supported the development and publication of gender disaggregated statistics in *Women and Men in Tanzania* (1992) and *Analysis of Women and Men, the Tanzanian case* (1995).[27] This kind of data collection is essential for gender research and policy formulation.

[27] Produced jointly by the MCWAC and the Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics.

Sida's gender officers played a significant role in supporting women's groups and education research activities. From the mid 1980s to the mid 1990s, a number of Tanzanian women also benefited from different types of training offered through a Sida sponsored training fund.

Conclusion: An evaluation of Sida's aid programme in 1996 concluded that, despite substantial improvement in the integration of gender into plans between 1993-1996, the extent to which gender goals could be achieved depends on the extent to which they have been internalised and prioritised (Thomas et al, 1996). Under the new system of mainstreaming, it is often assumed that gender has been internalised by all staff which can be problematic[28]. One Sida official interviewed considered that clearer targets should be set in Sida's own planning of gender inputs.[29] A local gender trainer stressed that if Sida staff are hesitant or unclear about the operationalisation of gender, this is picked up by local partners. In Tanzania local capacity regarding gender remains limited despite extensive Sida supported gender training. The Thomas evaluation stressed the need for Sida to link up with NGOs to a greater extent to promote gender in education.

[28] Interview Tanzanian gender trainer, 9/96.

[29] Interview, education official, Dar es Salaam, 9/96.

4.5.4 UNICEF

UNICEF has a long history of providing welfare to women and children in Tanzania. As part of its global empowerment framework, the Tanzanian office of UNICEF has since the 1990s emphasised capacity building and confronting structural inequalities. In 1995, UNICEF was operating in 50 districts in the mainland and Zanzibar. Like Sida, UNICEF operates through the MOEC although many of its programmes, are decentralised. Education as a proportion of UNICEF Tanzania's total budget has risen from 8% in 1992 to 15% in 1996.[30]

[30] Interview education personnel, UNICEF, Dar es Salaam 9/96.

Research on gender and education has played a key role in the design of UNICEF's country programme. According to one staff member UNICEF is a 'knowledge based organisation'.[31] Certainly, insights gained through the monitoring and analysis of their own programmes have powerfully shaped gender initiatives. The present thrust of UNICEF's education programme is towards basic education, (both formal and non-formal) with a particular emphasis on girls. UNICEF research in the 1990s found that schools tend to play a stronger role in reinforcing traditional gender roles than the family. UNICEF's situation report entitled *The Girl Child in Tanzania, Todays Girl Child, Tomorrows Woman*, explores the social, economic and cultural factors affecting Tanzanian youth and highlights the relative disadvantage of girls. The report points to the rising tide of violence against women and the many cultural practices (including initiation and early marriage) which seriously hinder girls' educational opportunities.

[31] Interview, education personnel, UNICEF Dar-es-Salaam, 9/96 and 11/96.

During the 1980s, UNICEF pursued a community-based approach in most of its programmed. As part of its 1992-1996 country programme, UNICEF built 300 primary schools and trained school committee members and headteachers in participatory methods. Teachers were provided with gender sensitive materials at UNICEF supported teacher resource centres. Following on from the Situation Report, UNICEF launched the girl child initiative (GCI) funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).[32] The first phase involves a study of girls' enrolment and performance in seven districts.

[32] CIDA contributed $3 million supplementary funding to UNICEF for the 1997-2001 phase of GCI.

UNICEF's current programme comprises two main strands: (i) A primary education project whose main objective is to improve enrolment and retention of all children, but especially girls, (ii) A complementary basic education project which provides functional basic education to out-of-school children and adolescents.[33] In 1996, UNICEF began to organise training sessions for curriculum developers at TIE in order to facilitate the engendering of the curriculum. However, this is recognised as a long and difficult process.

[33] Curriculum will be geared towards local needs and life skills.

An important regional programme for East Africa, 'The Sara Communication Initiative' uses multimedia approaches to raise the status of girls. Materials produced by UNICEF will be used in both formal and non-formal educational settings and these are in the process of being tested in Tanzania.

In conclusion, UNICEF initially believed that gender inequalities could be resolved by using participatory techniques. Following UNICEF's adoption of its empowerment policy in 1995, UNICEF Tanzania has focused on directly addressing the specific social and educational needs of the girl child. UNICEF's gender inputs are relatively new and therefore it is difficult to assess their impact. Informed by research in the first stage of the Girl Child Initiative, UNICEF has developed a strategy to promote more positive attitudes towards girls in the wider community at the same time as improving the quality of basic

education.

4.6. Conclusions and recommendations

During the last two decades, a number of important gender interventions in education have been made by government, donors and NGOs in Tanzania. Research has contributed to an understanding of the disadvantages faced by girls at all levels of the education system. The much higher opportunity costs of girls' schooling and the numerous social and cultural constraints that adversely effect female participation have been consistently highlighted. While these research efforts have been fairly comprehensive, a few crucial areas have been neglected; most notably the role of teachers, curriculum, and forms of assessment. Equally important, much of the knowledge generated has been in the form of consultancy reports commissioned by donors.[34] The findings of these reports have not been widely disseminated which raises major concerns about the ownership of knowledge. Significant home-grown (although Sida funded) research initiatives such as the Mbilinyi Report education policy might have had a greater impact on education policy if the lobbying process had been conducted more effectively.

[34] It is often hard to gain access to consultancy reports commissioned by aid agencies.

Government education policy since independence has viewed gender as one of several equity issues. While the narrowing of the gender gap in primary education has been widely documented, steps taken to improve girl's access to post-primary education institutions (like the quota system for secondary schooling) have had unintended and often negative outcomes. While the main areas of gender inequality remain at the post-primary level, during the 1990s most donors have focused on basic education.

The formation of a separate women's ministry and of the gender coordinating unit at the MOE opened up new opportunities for integrating gender into education decision making. However, due to political, social and structural constraints, this potential has yet to be realised. The only major education institution to develop a gender plan of action has been VETA in the field of vocational training. But the difficulties faced by VETA in implementing this plan of action highlight the limitations of one institution acting in isolation.

Donors have been the main driving force behind gender research and policy, mainly through their funding of NGOs, the MOEC's own education programmes, and provision of gender training in key areas. However, educational aid has failed to deliver quality improvements in the education system. Many agencies now realise that, without fundamental administrative reform, education policies of any kind will not be implemented. This accounts for the strong donor support for the ESCC and the Civil Service Reform Programme. A core group of aid agencies (notably Sida, DFID, UNICEF, DANIDA, NORAD, DGIS and the World Bank) have tried to promote gender-sensitive education projects. This group has been the common denominator in all gender activities, be they inside or outside of the government system; its support for gender initiatives has been both financial and moral. Sida has been a major player in this respect. However, as elsewhere, the effectiveness of donor interventions relies upon the existence of local gender advocates operating either within ministries or the NGO sector. Several women's NGOs in

Tanzania are managed by ex-academics, which has helped to fuse knowledge and practice regarding gender.

Without internal advocates, any donor moves to promote gender will founder. For example the women's groups at the University of Dar es Salaam (supported by SAREC and NORAD) have played an important role in raising gender awareness both on and off the campus. This has undoubtedly helped not only to raise the level of understanding of gender inequalities in Tanzania, but also to encourage higher female enrolments at UDSM. In contrast, extensive donor-sponsored gender sensitisation and training has been undertaken in MOE and other ministries since the early 1990s, but the impact on gender policy in education has been minimal. Even though donors like Sida believe in local ownership of education planning, they have used conditionality indirectly to keep gender 'on the agenda' in education. Acceptance of funding for gender initiatives by the MOEC is sometimes motivated not by commitment but the need to keep 'resources flowing.'

Most gender initiatives in the education sector have only emerged over the last five years and their partial and uncoordinated nature has already caused serious problems. A prime example is the controversy in the donor community surrounding the efficacy of the World Bank's girls' scholarship scheme for secondary education. As always, greater donor coordination would certainly help to remedy this situation. Strengthening local ownership also means further capacity building. This is nowhere more relevant than in the field of gender but it is clear that gender is a particularly difficult nut to crack as it involves not only arguments about human resource development but also extensive attitude change. UNICEF is one of the few agencies which is trying to change negative social and cultural attitudes towards 'the girl child'.

Despite numerous training efforts sponsored by donors, gender has not been internalised in either of the education ministries. Nor has it been internalised in some of the donor agencies which claim to have mainstreamed gender. The push to institutionalise gender has invariably come from committed gender advocates both within government and aid agencies. Clearly, any process involving attitude change will be laborious, requiring different kinds of interventions both short and long term. However, any package of gender measures must be coherent and grounded in sensible educational reform and an overall gender policy.

A number of recommendations emerge from this analysis of gender and education in Tanzania. The following include recommendations by the Tanzanian country group at a dissemination seminar held for this project in Harare on January 12th-13th, 1998.

Recommendations:

1. Structures and Functions

- The MCDWAC's role of 'watchdog' for gender across other ministries should be enhanced in order to actively support affirmative action at senior policy levels and promote gender policies in all ministries.

- Women's representation at senior levels in government should continue to be improved by introducing incentive structures for ministries which achieve certain targets.

- The Gender Unit should be located in the Planning Department of the MOEC. The unit should have jurisdiction over activities of both the education ministries.

- The head of the Gender Unit should be a senior official selected through open competition.

- The terms of reference for the present Gender Unit in the MOEC need to be reviewed and updated. This process would also involve individuals and institutions outside of the Ministries of Education.

- The GCU should be involved in the process of compiling documentation in the area of gender and education.

- In order that gender issues are successfully mainstreamed throughout the entire education system, it is essential that the two education ministries coordinate their activities in this area more closely.

- Gender initiatives within the ministries of education should not be 'one off' affairs but an individual or individuals should have responsibility for follow up and further developments.

- Systems must be set in place to institutionalise gender both in government structures and aid agencies.

- Greater transparency should be encouraged in the ministries of education and more participatory methods employed in the design of education policies.[35]

- NGOs and other interested groups in civil society have a key role to play in opening up the policy making process and widening its constituency.

[35] As is already the case in the Adult Education Department of the MOEC.

2. Areas of focus and lobby groups

- The crucial areas of curriculum reform and engendering the curriculum should involve close collaboration between the two education ministries and the TIE.

- Teachers' status should be improved and their professional organisations, encouraged if they are to take gender issues on board. Such organisations should be drawn into policy

making.

• FAWE should not be tied to government officials but should link up with NGOs and other interested groups to help open up the policy making process.

• If FAWE members are too busy to proceed with present plans of action, they should delegate or employ others to complete these tasks. The formation of a permanent staff as in the Ghana chapter might be a useful model.

• School inspectors and members of the Teachers' Service Commission should be gender sensitised.

• Greater continuity in the process of gender sensitisation should be encouraged.

3. District level interventions

• The GCU should develop a team of gender trainers to work with teachers and community leaders at the district level.

• Parents should be involved in education planning and resource management through school committees.

• School committees should be fully accountable to both the community and government.

• The current drive to decentralise education which involves capacity building of school committees should be extended to other areas, for example, Parent Teacher Associations.

4. Donors

• The activities of donors should be made more transparent.

• Better utilisation of existing knowledge about gender and education would assist in the formulation of gender policies. Every effort must be made to synthesise key findings of donor funded research and these should be made freely available. This includes the findings of consultancy reports.

• Donor coordination should be improved (particularly in the area of capacity building) to avoid wasteful duplication of effort.

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Chapter 5 - Zimbabwe

5.1. Educational provision in Zimbabwe: An overview

The present education system in Zimbabwe is the outcome of the colonial education system inherited at independence in 1980, and the attempts of the post-colonial state to effect some change over the past 18 years. Post-colonial education policy and the resultant changes in the education system were not isolated, specific to education only, but an integral part of overall socio-economic policy.

5.1.1 Primary and secondary schools

When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the ZANU [PF] government initiated mass free education to eradicate educational inequalities that existed during the colonial period. More schools had to be built and this resulted in the massive expansion of schools mainly in rural areas. Rural district councils, with the assistance of parents, embarked on rebuilding schools that had been destroyed during the liberation struggle. On the grounds of cost, it was decided that the new schools should be co-educational.[1]

[1] Fay Chung, Camfed Conference, Cambridge, 1995.

Similar developments took place in secondary education as well. Huge enrolments in secondary schools were accommodated by the construction of new, and rebuilding/repair of war-damaged schools in rural areas which were previously extremely disadvantaged. Government day secondary schools and district council schools (which were termed "Upper-Tops") were established. The number of secondary schools in the country rose from 197 in 1980 to 1,535 in 1995.

The GOZ's commitment to mass education can be seen from the budgetary allocations to this sector (see Table 1). Since independence, education has been allocated a relatively high proportion of the national budget annually. Compared with other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe spends a large share of its national income on education. In 1980, the vote to education was 18.1 per cent of the national budget, by 1996 it had fallen to 11.8%.[2] Whilst remaining a high proportion of the vote, government expenditure on education has been decreasing, particularly since the start of the structural adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1990. Recurrent expenditure (particularly salaries) absorbed most of the education vote in 1996 (91.7 per cent).[3] An insignificant proportion of the budgetary allocation goes to finance capital expenditure. While overall expenditure on education has increased, it has not kept pace with growth in the system.

[2] Codes and Allocations, 1980-1996, Ministry of Education, Harare.

[3] An insignificant proportion of the budgetary allocation goes to finance capital expenditure.

Table 1: Education Expenditure as a Proportion of Recurrent and Capital Expenditure

Year	Education Votes (ZW$)	% of Budget	Recurrent Expenditure	% of Vote	Capital Expenditure	% of Vote
1980	223845000	18.1	218037000	97.4	5808000	2.6
1985	516765000	14.5	456000000	88.2	10500000	2.0
1990	1038094000	14.3	1015221000	97.8	17340000	1.7
1991	1410224000	15.3	1329074000	94.2	17700000	1.3
1992	1565900000	14.0	1434752000	91.6	12239000	0.8
1993	2051568000	12.9	1914456000	93.3	20505000	1.0
1994	2410491000	13.6	2312991000	96.0	80975000	3.4

1995	3345020000	12.8	2974855000	88.9	178701000	5.3
1996	3995668000	11.8	3666663000	91.7	-	-

Source:

1. Codes and Allocations 1980-1996, Ministry of Education, Harare.

2. Estimates of Expenditure 1980-1996, Zimbabwe Government, Harare.

The rate of expansion of schooling in Zimbabwe in the first decade of independence (1980-1990) was phenomenal; primary school enrolments increased threefold while secondary enrolments jumped by tenfold. Zimbabwe was close to achieving UPE in the late 1980s. The dramatic expansion of primary education facilities after 1980 led to huge increases in primary school enrolments, from 1,235 994 in 1980 to 2,482,508 in 1995 (See Table 2). The Surveillance Survey in 1995 of 9-12 year olds showed that 94% were enrolled in school, suggesting that almost all Zimbabwean children get at least some primary education (GOZ and UNICEF, 1996). Despite the increase in enrolments of both boys and girls, fewer girls were enrolled than boys, although the gender gap has narrowed during the 1990s. Overall enrolment figures, however, disguise huge variations in enrolment countrywide with the lowest rates being found in the commercial farming areas (CFAs).[4]

[4] The CFA's had the highest proportion of 6-17 year olds reported to be not in school. (UNICEF, 1996).

In January 1992 school fees were introduced for urban primary schools and, although safety nets have been created through the Social Development Fund, there is doubt that these are working effectively (Chisvo, 1993 and 1996). The introduction of school fees and the sizeable increases (in real terms) in foreign exam fees (due mainly to devaluation) has raised the overall costs of education in Zimbabwe at a time when incomes are being eroded.

Table 2: Gross enrolment rates in primary school by sex

Year	Total population aged 6-13 years	Total Males	Male GER	Total Females	Female GER	Gross Enrolment Rate (%)
1980	1 489 149	643 953	87.0	592 041	79.0	83.0

1985	1 787 805	1 142 480	128.6	1 074 398	119.5	124.0
1990	2 342 143	1 073 452	92.2	1 011 545	85.9	90.5
1991	2 409 148	1 168 450	97.6	1 126 484	93.0	95.3
1992	2 547 115	1 162 565	91.8	1 143 200	89.2	90.5
1993	2 477 453	1 258 465	102.2	1 178 206	94.5	98.4
1994	2 618 245	1 260 694	96.9	1 205 698	91.6	94.6

Source: Education Statistical Analysis, Educational Development Indicators, MOE, Harare 1994. Female population figures taken from the 1992 census.

Since 1980, Zimbabwe has implemented a policy of automatic promotion in primary education which strongly discourages the repetition of grades. As a consequence, the repetition rate is negligible. UNICEF's achievement tracking of examination results in 1995 showed that, although overall pass rates in the Grade 7 examination results are low (i.e. below 50% for maths), there was no significant difference recorded between the performance of girls and boys.

Table 3: Drop-out rates for pupils during transition from grade 7 to form 1

Year	Boys	Girls
1985	16.12	20.93
1990	28.2	35.1
1991	30.0	33.7
1992	26.7	35.6
1993	29.7	36.5
1994	33.5	34.4
1995	26.1	33.5

Source: A Sector Analysis of Education in Zimbabwe 1995, UNICEF, Harare, 1995.

It is estimated that over 25% of pupils entering Grade 1 fail to complete Grade 7. The drop of out rates from primary school of rural children are particularly high with about 10% of students leaving after one or two years (Levine, 1996). Fewer girls than boys in Zimbabwe complete their primary schooling, which means that fewer girls reach the level required for transition to secondary school. Furthermore, the attrition rate in the transition from primary to secondary school for girls has increased from 21% in 1985 to well over 30% since 1990, that is, since ESAP was introduced (see Table 2).

Despite the overall increase in the proportion of girls attending secondary schools since 1980 (see table 5), progressively fewer girls are enrolled in the higher secondary grades. Furthermore, the drop-out rate for girls once enrolled at secondary school continues to be much higher than that for boys (see Table 4) and, despite fluctuations, the gap between male and female drop-out rates has consistently risen since 1985. Table 5 shows that overall secondary level enrolment declined by 9% between 1991 and mid 1993 which was most likely due to increasing education costs combined with increasing poverty. These factors together with significant increases in 'O' level fees between 1990 and 1992 led to a 14% drop of students doing this key exam (Lied, 1995).

Table 4: Drop-out rates for secondary school pupils between form 1 and form 4

Year	Boys %	Girls %
1985	2.8	4.1
1990	34.7	42.6
1991	24.5	31.1
1992	27.0	36.5
1993	24.8	37.3
1994	26.5	35.1
1995	18.2	26.7

Source: Sector Analysis of Education in Zimbabwe 1995, UNICEF, Harare, 1995.

The higher attrition/lower completion rates for girls from Form 1 to Form 4 means that fewer girls than boys leave school with the qualifications to continue their education in tertiary institutions or with qualifications suitable for employment in the formal sector. Once having dropped out, girls are less likely than boys to re-enter the formal education system (UNICEF, 1994).

The data reveal that very few pupils of either sex make the transition from Form four to Form six. The gender gap in attrition rates has remained fairly stable between 1985 and 1995, with the overall rate being 91.6% for boys and 93.1% for girls in 1995. Again, girls are disadvantaged with regard to obtaining the requisite qualifications to enter most tertiary educational institutions, particularly universities.

Table 5: Secondary school enrolments by sex

Year	Total Males	Total Females	% Females	Total Enrolment
1980	42 140	32 181	43	74 321
1985	287 061	194 393	40	482 000
1990	381 030	291 626	43	672 656
1991	397 954	312 665	44	710 619
1992	368 060	289 274	44	657 344
1993	358 198	285 503	44	643 701
1994	361 473	295 784	45	657 257
1995	386 120	323 818	46	709 938

Source:

1. *Gender Equity in Education*, 1994, UNICEF, Harare
2. Zimbabwe Basic Fact Sheet on Education, 1995

5.1.2 Secondary school examination results

'O' level pass rates have declined as secondary school enrolments have increased. The decline in performance of both sexes has been explained by the deteriorating quality of provision (Bennell and Ncube, 1994). The 'O' level examination is key in Zimbabwe because it provides potential access to job market opportunities. In overall terms, girls do not perform as well as boys, particularly in science subjects and other subjects gender-typed as masculine (Gordon, 1995a). In the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC) for 1993, 1994 and 1995, there is a substantial difference between the performance of boys and girls, especially in science and maths (UNICEF, 1996). However, this gender gap in educational outcomes is most distinctly observed at 'O' level, where male students do better in all subjects except languages. Ministry of Education (MOE) figures show that, on average, twice as many male students as female passed one science subject with Grade 'C' or better. A similar situation exists with regard to mathematics. An examination of the pass rates in languages, however, shows that girls

outperform boys in the local languages, Shona and Ndebele, and do marginally better than boys in English (see Table 6).

More boys than girls obtain 'A' grade passes in core subjects at ordinary level. The gender gap is particularly evident in science and mathematics with three times as many boys as girls obtaining an 'A' in science. Unfortunately, it is not possible to construct a time series for secondary school examination data by sex, as gender disaggregation of statistics only started in 1993, with assistance from UNICEF.

Table 6: Percentage of Students by Gender who passed with Grade C or Better in Ordinary Level Core Subjects

	1991		1993		1995	
Subjects	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
English	44.5	50.9	23.1	22.8	21.7	21.9
Mathematics	45.5	43.3	30.0	17.1	26.3	14.2
History	36.0	22.8	37.1	25.1	37.4	25.4
Geography	69.3	37.6	38.9	24.7	40.0	26.4
Science	32.7	15.4	37.0	18.9	36.8	18.7
Shona	44.4	42.9	56.1	60.5	54.7	60.6
Ndebele	60.0	63.3	61.0	69.0	60.9	70.9

Source: Ordinary Level Examination Results Analysis November, 1991, 1993 and 1995, Ministry of Education Examinations Branch, Harare.

A different situation pertains to performance at 'A' level where candidates constitute the top 4% of school students in the country. More girls than boys pass with grade 'E' or better. However girls still tend to be weaker in mathematics than other subjects at this level, and do less well than boys. Girls outperform boys particularly in the arts subjects and biology. While it is encouraging to note that girls at 'A' level do as well as boys, it must be borne in mind that most girls study arts subjects and they are an even more highly selected minority of each cohort than boys.

5.1.3 Tertiary education

Tertiary education is dominated by males. At both teacher education and technical education colleges, men outnumber women, with the exception of private teacher training colleges where since 1993 more women have been enrolled than men. The

proportion of women teachers rose from 39% in 1985 to 50% in 1995. However, national figures mask the preponderance of male teachers in rural areas.

The proportion of women enrolled at technical colleges and vocational centres rose from 29% in 1990 to 37% in 1995 (UNICEF, 1993). However, in technical and vocational training institutions, females remain under-represented and are concentrated in areas traditionally gender-typed as feminine and under-represented in technical fields (see Table 7).

Table 7: Technical Colleges and Vocational Centres - Enrolment by Gender

Technical			Vocational		All Technical/Vocational		
Year	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**
1990	6541	2842	240	1	6781	2843	9624
1991	8626	3057	338	2	8964	3059	12023
1992	8793	3108	358	4	9151	3112	12263
1993	9336	3248	270	2	9606	3250	12856
1994	9671	3551	219	2	9890	3553	13443
1995	9747	3865	814	10	10561	3875	14436

Source: A Sector Analysis of Education in Zimbabwe 1996, UNICEF, Harare.

A similar situation exists in all tertiary education institutions including the universities. Female students at the University of Zimbabwe, for example, have typically comprised 25% of all students in every year since 1980. In 1993, however, an affirmative action policy was introduced by the University that allows female undergraduates with two points lower in 'A' level examinations than their male counterparts to be admitted. This had the effect of raising the proportion of women from 26% in 1995 to 29% in 1996 (Dorsey, 1996). As at lower levels of the education system, women are particularly under-represented in the faculties of science, agriculture, and engineering. They tend to he concentrated in the arts, social science, education and medicine. In 1992, only 17% of students registered at the University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo were female (MNAECC, 1994). At university, in contrast to secondary school there is no evidence of significant differences in achievement by gender.

One of the consequences of the lower numbers of women entering tertiary education, particularly in the areas of maths, science and technology is that there are few role models for girls and women to emulate.

Not surprisingly, given much higher drop out rates for females coupled with their relatively poor performance in national examinations as compared with males and their very limited participation in science and technology subject areas, women are under-represented in key areas of the economy and employment. In the formal employment sector women constitute only about 7 per cent of the skilled and semi-skilled workforce and approximately 12-16 per cent of the total workforce in this sector (Chisvo, 1996).

5.1.4 Non-formal education

Non-formal education initially focused on adult literacy after independence. Over 80 per cent of participants in the Adult Literacy Programme are women. Accurate figures for literacy rates are difficult to obtain with different sources yielding different data. However, what is clear is that there are more women than men illiterates in Zimbabwe (25% and 14% respectively in 1995). Adult literacy rates have not fluctuated greatly since 1980 nor has the gender gap between men and women illiterates, which was 11 percentage points in 1995.

In conclusion, despite the fact that Zimbabwe managed to achieve near parity of enrolment at primary school between boys and girls by 1994, the gender gap continues to widen further up the educational ladder. A higher proportion of boys make the transition to secondary school and the gender gap in favour of boys has not diminished in the 1990s.

However, at every transition point in the education system, a high proportion of girls than boys drop out. There has been little improvement in the performance of girls at 'O' level and they obtain poorer results than boys in all subjects except languages. The gender typing of subjects at secondary school as well as poor performance, restricts of the access of girls to careers requiring a maths, science or technological background. Female representation at university, although steadily improving, remains below one-third of total enrolments. The same level of under-representation of females exists with regard to vocational technical training although the sex segregation of subjects is even more pronounced than at university.

5.2. Knowledge generated

There is a paucity of literature relating specifically to gender and education in

Zimbabwe. In general, where these gender concerns are raised, they form only one section of articles, papers and research reports on education, or, only one section of overviews of gender issues (the status of women and girls) in Zimbabwe.

Most of the literature to date has been generated by donor agencies, based on research commissioned and funded by these organisations in connection with their aid programmes. The ostensible reason for this research being undertaken is to inform policy and to identify specific interventions and strategies. There has been a strong bias in favour of quantitative research and the production of statistical data. Very little in-depth qualitative research on gender and education in Zimbabwe has been undertaken.

5.2.1 Statistical overviews

A number of statistical overviews on gender and education have been produced, based on data from government ministries, including the MOE and the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) and the Central Statistical Office (CSO). The statistics have been analysed and interpreted to reveal nation-wide trends and patterns. The information generated by this research has been utilised to highlight large gender gaps in access, persistence and examination performance, and as such have been extremely useful for gender advocates in their dialogue with policy makers and politicians in the ministries that deal with women and education.

In an effort to bring about a change in attitudes towards the education of the girl child and to gender sensitise the educators and general public, it is clearly necessary to present solid statistical evidence to support arguments for specific gender redress programmes. Reports of this kind are important for influencing policy changes in education, identifying areas where more research is needed and encouraging researchers to investigate these problem areas and for monitoring current trends (UNICEF, 1996).

Much of the most widely used statistical data appears in section 5.1. In addition to its utility for gender advocates, the research discussed above has highlighted problematic areas which require further investigation, such as:

- Higher attrition rates for females than males with the gender gap increasing as each cohort ascends the educational ladder;

- The lower pass rates for girls in public examinations, particularly in maths and the science and technical subjects;

- The under-representation of women students in tertiary education, particularly in the technical colleges and in the science and technology

departments/faculties of universities and polytechnics;

- Regional and urban/rural disparities in female enrolment in schools;

5.2.2 In-depth research

There have been very few studies which analyse the underlying causes of the gender inequities revealed by the mainly statistical research discussed above. A proper, in depth understanding of these causes is clearly crucial for the design and implementation of programmes and interventions that seek to redress gender inequities in educational provision. A limited amount of field research has shed some light on a number of specific problems and, has strongly influenced the formulation of gender and education policies and projects among donor agencies, in particular UNICEF and Sida.

Attitudes of parents: Parental attitudes towards the education of girls are shaped by a number of factors, most notably, what other children in the household go to school and for how long, the purposes for which girls are educated, occupational and social aspirations and knowledge deemed appropriate for girls and women. In Zimbabwe, the fact that parity in enrolment of girls and boys at the primary level has almost been achieved indicates that most parents, even the poorest, believe that some education for girls is necessary. However, research has revealed that most parents regard education as more necessary for boys than girls. Many also consider that the levels and types of education necessary and desirable for girls and boys differ. Studies by Gordon (1995a; 1995b) and Nyagura and Mupawaenda (1996) found the following attitudes, beliefs about and perceptions of girls to be extremely widespread:

- Girls are inclined to be too interested in boys and romance.

- Girls are easily seduced, tending to be promiscuous and thus involving themselves in sexual activities.

- Girls get pregnant and waste their education.

- Girls are not serious about education.

- Girls marry and join their husband's families thus parents will not benefit from the investment in their daughters' education.

In addition, Gordon (1995a; 1995b) found that parents tend to believe that girls are less intelligent and academically able, physically weaker, and less courageous than boys. Not surprisingly, girls' attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and aspirations almost exactly

mirror those of their parents (Gordon, 1995a; 1995b). Gordon (1995a) found that due to the ubiquitous belief that the main role of women is as wife and mother, girls are involved in domestic labour and chores which leave them with little time to study or do their homework.

Attitudes and expectations of teachers: Within schools, the attitudes of teachers, both male and female, towards girls are little different from those of parents. Girls are generally believed to be less academically able and less interested in education than boys. Nor do teachers feel it within their power or responsibility to assist girls to improve their academic performance.

Sexual harassment and abuse of females: The sexual abuse and harassment of female pupils and students is rampant in Zimbabwean educational institutions (Gordon, 1995a; 1995b; IBRD, 1992; Zindi 1994). Not only are females sexually harassed by male students, but also by teachers. This can take the form of verbal harassment - teasing, derision - and other behaviour aimed at belittling and embarrassing girls which appears to be very common (Gordon, 1995a). Also common, and increasing, is the sexual abuse of adolescent girls, including statutory rape, by teachers and other male members of staff (IBRD, 1992). Zindi concluded that "there is no doubt that sexual harrassment is rife in institutions of higher education throughout Zimbabwe" (Zindi, 1994:184).

The gender-typing of school subjects and occupations: As discussed in Section 5.1, gender-typing of subjects and occupations remains pervasive in Zimbabwe. Girls tend to be channel led into the arts and other subjects typed as feminine and it appears that girls themselves select to study subjects which they type as "feminine" when offered the same choices as boys. Pupils tend to opt for subjects which they perceive as prerequisites for occupations to which they aspire and which, like their parents and teachers, they rigidly gender-type. In general girls aspire to occupations that are perceived as appropriate and fitting for women, nursing, teaching, domestic work, clerical and secretarial work (Gordon 1995a; 1995b)

Gender stereotyping in school textbooks: The content of school textbooks that reinforces gender stereotyping has come under scrutiny. A recent study which examined 42 primary school books found that:

> "Gender stereotyping and prejudice against women in virtually any roles outside the home is a continuous thread in primary school pupils' textbook [sic] and teachers' books in all subjects." (Brickhill, 1996:21).

Women are consistently depicted as mothers and housewives and there are no instances in which men are shown participating in domestic or household activities. Men are portrayed in adventurous decisive roles, and are associated with property. The books do

not portray the reality, nor the diversity of male and female roles and activities which exist in Zimbabwe today. To some extent, more recently published books have improved their treatment of gender although many state government schools do not have the funds to buy them.

5.2.3 Research impact

In general, the literature on gender issues encompassing education concerns, consists of broad overviews of the status of girls and women in Zimbabwe in all spheres of life: employment, health, land ownership, legal status and rights, and education. Often the same data is brought forward repeatedly to support the same conclusions. A small number of authors all cite each other, and all the data, however presented, stems from the same sources. Not surprisingly, therefore conclusions drawn and recommendations made tend to be repetitive.

It must be borne in mind that gender issues in education have only very recently been seriously raised in Zimbabwe. The major thrust, as noted above, was to afford every child access to primary education and to redress the racial and urban-rural imbalances that were inherited at independence. As a result, individuals, institutions and organisations involved in research on education issues initially focused on these aspects of education. Furthermore, until very recently, there was no NGO or group of gender advocates organised around issues of gender and education in Zimbabwe.[5] NGOs have tended to focus on issues of women and the law, violence against women, and the economic empowerment of women.

> [5] Even the FAWE chapter in Zimbabwe remains dormant despite the fact that a former Minister of Education was one of the founding members.

Where there has been in-depth research on the above problems, education, fairly understandably, has been raised only in relation to these issues. The knowledge generated by this research, has, in the main, been utilised to inform non-formal education programmes and interventions organised around the specific concerns of the particular organisation which has undertaken the research. Some examples of this are, the inheritance rights of women and violence against women.

Another key factor is that research in Zimbabwe is funded mainly by donor organisations As a result of conditionalities imposed by aid and the donor's own agendas, donor-driven research is not necessarily congruent with local concerns and priorities. Thus, only when donor organisations began to focus on gender issues in education, did funding become available for research on gender in Zimbabwe.

Statistical data and studies which produce evidence of gender inequities and makes

these issues visible are obviously very valuable for gender advocates. They are the means by which policy and other decision makers have been made aware of many aspects of gender inequalities in Zimbabwe. However, generating data on gender problems has too often been offered as evidence of *commitment* on the part of policy makers, ministries and donor organisations to redressing gender equities in education and tends to have a limited utility once the issue has been highlighted. It is essential, therefore, to move to a deeper level of research and analysis in order to understand the nature of the structures and processes which perpetuate gender inequalities in education in Zimbabwe. Such in-depth field research is necessary in order to identify and clarify the nature of specific barriers and problems facing girls and women within the education system. It is on the basis of such knowledge that appropriate policies and interventions can be put in place.

Only the few studies in Zimbabwe mentioned above that have focused exclusively on gender and education issues have attempted to discover the causes of the observed statistical patterns and trends. These studies have produced knowledge which has contributed to an understanding of the causes of problems in important areas, and have thus informed programmes of action and interventions recently put in place.

5.3. Government policy

5.3.1 Policy issues

In the first decade after independence, policy statements emphasised the need for equity and development and, in particular, the dismantling of the system of racial segregation which had existed during the colonial period. The major thrust, therefore, was to redress social and economic disparities based on race and to enable every child in Zimbabwe to have access to at least primary schooling.

Certainly, at independence the new Mugabe government indicated an awareness of gender issues and inequities. Steps were taken to rectify some of these inequities particularly in the realms of family law and employment. Women and children were also the target of increased health care provision. In spite of the fact that no gender specific rights for women had been included in the Constitution (Gordon, 1996; Kazembe, 1986), the government early on displayed some commitment to redressing the unequal position of women.

The stated policy of the government at independence, Growth with Equity (1981) was based upon the manifesto of the ruling party, ZANU (PF). The overriding aim was to create a non-racial egalitarian society. In ZANU (PF)'s Election Manifesto, women were for the first time acknowledged as a disadvantaged group, by both the ruling party and the state. With regard to education, the Manifesto included, "the abolition of sex discrimination in the educational system", as one of its six "cardinal principles" (p12).

The gender gap existing in all spheres of society was viewed as an anomaly which could, however, be altered by piecemeal reform. The state's most serious attempt to rectify discrimination against women was in the area of legislation relating to the legal status of women, and the position of women in family law and employment. In 1982, the Legal Age of Majority Act came into effect which conferred majority status on African women at the age of 18 years for the first time. Also legislation was passed securing for women, amongst other things, protection from discrimination in the workplace, equal pay for equal work and maternity leave (Gordon, 1996). However, as two bodies of law, Customary and Common, continue to operate, the legal position of women, particularly with regard to family law, remains ambiguous and discriminatory (Ncube, 1987; Stewart, 1987).

With regard to education policy, "gender neutral" policies have been perceived as means by which equity, including gender equity, can be achieved. The category of sex is omitted despite the ruling party's stated commitment to the abolition of discrimination against girls in education. Initially, equality of educational opportunity was perceived as equality of access.

In the First National Transitional Development Plan 1982/83 - 1984/5, the fact that fewer girls obtained education prior to independence was identified as a problem of the inherited educational system requiring resolution (GOZ, 1983). However, the next plan, the First Five-Year National Development Plan 1986-1990 (GOZ, 1988) made no reference to gender inequities in the education system.

Education policy in the first decade after independence reflected GOZ's perception of education as a human right, the means by which racial inequities could be redressed and the major means by which development could be achieved. The state embarked upon an impressive programme of educational expansion in order to achieve universal primary education, and secondary and tertiary education facilities were also expanded rapidly. Girls and boys both benefited from the expansion of education facilities and the introduction of "free" primary education. Free primary education, in this context, referred to the fact that until 1992 no tuition fees were charged at any government or rural council school. There were, however, other costs incurred. More specifically, parents were expected to pay a general purpose fee, and several of the following: sports fees, building or development levies and fees for material and equipment used in

practical subjects. Communities were also involved in the construction of many of the new schools and were expected to contribute their time and labour to develop school infrastructure. Enrolment does not seem to have been affected by the introduction of fees for primary schooling in urban areas from 1992. This is probably because by that time a 'culture of learning' had been firmly established.

Since independence, the gender gap has persisted throughout the education system with respect to performance. However, gender inequality was not viewed as problematic until the early 1990s when the government's attention was drawn to these issues by donor organisations and NGOs.

Even so, the Zimbabwe Government has never produced a formal gender policy. There is evidence that the government was aware of the gender inequities existing prior to and at independence, and some steps have been taken to redress the most glaring inequalities. However, the lack of a coherent national policy has led to piecemeal reform.

The massive and very rapid expansion of education facilities achieved within the first five years after independence certainly benefited girls as well as boys. However, the focus was on improving access and little attention was paid to other aspects of the system causing gender inequities. Only in the 1990s have issues of efficiency, quality, and the gender-gap come to the fore. Furthermore, whilst there was an attempt to develop and expand education at all levels, government was unable to provide secondary and tertiary education for all pupils graduating from primary education. Secondary education was not free, and this fact alone led to differential access for children from different social classes and of different genders.

Attention has been drawn to the following with regard to government education and employment policies:

- the need to concentrate on improving education quality, especially in disadvantaged rural schools;
- the inadequate supply of jobs for the majority of school leavers;
- the failure to achieve universal primary education (Berridge, 1993:12)

In 1998 an Education Review Commission was established to make recommendations for improving the quality and relevance of education in Zimbabwe.

5.3.2 Gender policies and the emergence of gender equity as an issue in education

The focus on women's and girls' education by donors and at international fore since the late 1980s has clearly influenced politicians and senior policymakers in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is signatory to several international conventions on the elimination of discrimination against women, including the UN General Assembly's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. It has also been represented at a number of international conferences concerning both education and women. Furthermore, the influence of donor and multinational organisations which have increasingly incorporated a gender dimension in their policies and programmes, has also been felt in Zimbabwe, particularly since 1990.

Since independence, there have been two Government ministries dealing with education and one with women's affairs. The Ministry of Education is responsible for primary and secondary education, while the Ministry of Higher Education covers all formal post-secondary education.

The MCCDWA and MNAAECC: At independence, a new Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCCDWA), headed by a woman minister, was created with a mandate to identify areas in which women were discriminated against and to initiate measures and interventions to redress the situation. However as Batezat and Mwalo (1989) note, projects of this ministry were neglected and under-resourced and those targeting women were left for NGOs and donor organisations During the 1980s, the government's policy on promoting gender equality in society was aimed at the progressive removal of all customary, social, economic and legal disabilities facing women (Batezat and Mwalo, 1989:58). The MCCDWA was tasked with spearheading the neglected rural population and effecting the integration of women in development. The major emphasis was on reaching women at grassroots level and it had an impact in terms of outreach and material support for its adult literacy and early childhood care and non-formal education, and the mobilisation of women to become involved in income generating projects.

The creation of the MCCDWA, whilst evidence of the Government's commitment to gender equity early on, was based on the belief that womens' issues could be addressed and inequities redressed by piecemeal reform in areas where these inequities were most visible. This view, which also accounts for the lack of a national gender policy, led to the neglect of gender issues in many state organisations (Batezat and Mwalo, 1989). By and large, therefore, where gender was raised as an issue in governmental institutions and departments, this was through the advocacy and commitment of individuals and external organisations

Since the early 1990s, the Ministry of National Affairs Employment Creation and Cooperatives (MNAECC), has had responsibility for womens' affairs. Both the current minister and permanent secretary of MNAAECC are women. At present the Department of Women's Affairs is engaged in producing a national gender policy in the

wake of the Beijing Conference on Women.[6] In Zimbabwe, women have limited representation in the public domain. For example, in 1994, 11% of the 150 MP's and only 8% of 37 ministers and governors were women (UNIFEM, 1996).

[6] UNIFEM is supporting is the production of a national gender policy.

The Ministry of Education: Little attention was focused on gender issues within the MOE until the early 1990s. Initial awareness of gender issues and gender sensitivity were introduced by international and donor organisations particularly Sida and UNICEF. In keeping with the gender policies of these organisations country plans of action did contain a gender perspective and specific components dealing with the gender gap in education. In order to obtain aid from donors, the MOE was obliged to accept this condition, even if half-heartedly at first. Thus, it can be seen that donors tended to play the role of gender advocates.

One element of donor support to MOE has been research on gender issues. Based on the findings of this research, the MOE accepted that something must be happening within the education system which introduces a selective bias against girls. In other words, the system may "push out" girls. Alternatively, there could be something happening outside the education system which "pulls" them out of school. Possibly, and most probably, it is a combination of both sets of factors (MOE,[7] 1995:49).

[7] This Ministry, now named the Ministry of Education (MOE) was previously named the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and then the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC or MOEC).

Since 1993, the MOE has targeted "those factors that are malleable for manipulation through the education system" (MOE). In 1994, with support from UNICEF, the MOE designed an in-depth, multi-pronged programme of action to address the problems of the girl child, The resulting Gender Equity in Education Project (GEEP) was included in the Zimbabwe/UNICEF Programme of Cooperation for the period 1995-2000. The project's aims are the following:

1. Design and establishment of gender equity programmes in the MOE for (i) sensitising the policy makers and parliamentarians of the project's aims and the needs of the girl child and (ii) sensitising and mobilising the support of decision-makers and opinion leaders at the national, provincial, district and community levels;

2. Development of a gender-neutral primary school curriculum for Grades 1 and 2 in all core subjects by reviewing and rewriting all curricular materials to make them gender neutral;

3. Production of a film on the position of the girl-child;

4. Development (by independent experts with assistance from MOE and UNICEF) of training modules on gender sensitivity and awareness for adults;

5. Devising strategies for raising girls' pass rates in Maths and Science by 5 per cent in primary schools (MOE, 1995);

6. The MOE has embarked on a number of actions and interventions in order to implement GEEP. An integral part of this project has been the generation of knowledge based on research, which has been utilised to inform various aspects of the programme.

There can be no doubt that there is a *de facto* gender policy and a fair measure of gender sensitivity in the MOE despite the lack of a clearly articulated overall gender policy. Whilst GEEP is tangible proof of this *de facto* policy, it addresses only some of the key issues in the education sector and is mainly concerned with primary education. Other broader policy concerns are not addressed by this project including, single-sex schools, male-female teacher ratios, and affirmative action measures. A further question that has not been addressed is the lack of gender training as part of pre-service teacher training courses.[8]

[8] Teacher education, however, is the responsibility of the MOHE and not the MOE.

The Ministry of Higher Education: Whilst there is recognition in this Ministry that women are seriously under-represented in all areas of tertiary education, the Ministry has no formal or clearly articulated gender policy, nor do there appear to be any programmes or projects in place which deal specifically with the redress of gender inequities in higher education. Information obtained during interviews indicated that there has been practically no research on gender within this Ministry.

While the MOHE does have a broad gender policy (MOHE, 1995), this is neither explicitly stated nor systematically implemented (Chisvo, 1996). MOHE interviewees were unable to give instances of the way in which this policy was being effected, beyond citing some follow up on a study on the participation of women in the engineering and science subject areas.

In broad terms, it appears that the serious under-representation of women in higher education is viewed by MOHE officials as the outcome of the policies and practices of

the MOE (with respect to primary and secondary education) and, as such, the solution to the problem is seen to lie with the MOE. The lack of women students and staff in the science and technical areas of tertiary education is generally seen by MOHE officials as the responsibility of women themselves who are "not interested" in these disciplines. There is no joint effort by MOE and MOHE, to explore these issues nor to collaborate on remedial action.

As with the MOE, donor supported projects have included some gender components. However, with most donors now focusing on basic education, donor funding for higher education has fallen considerably since the early 1990s. This has meant that the role of donors acting as gender advocates with respect to higher education has been very limited. There is considerable evidence of a lack of gender sensitivity in the MOHE.[9]

[9] Interviews with MOHE officials.

5.3.3 Gender issues in education: policies and practice

The GEEP addresses a number of important gender concerns in primary education. However, the lack of an overall Government gender policy, and coherent ministry policies, combined with the lack of coordination and joint action on the part of all the ministries which are responsible for the various levels and aspects of education are factors which have contributed to the failure to tackle gender inequality in the education sector in a comprehensive and systematic manner.

i) Girls' and women's lower participation in post-primary formal education

Both negative parental attitudes towards girls' education and the ever increasing costs of schooling under ESAP undermine attempts to improve girls' participation in post-primary education. Safety nets for poor children have not been effective for a number of reasons. For example, the procedures are so complex that poorer parents are unable to understand how they can apply for exemptions (Chisvo, 1994).

ii) Academic under-achievement of girls at secondary school and under-representation in the science and technology areas

Neither the MOE nor the MOHE have attempted to address the negative attitudes and expectations of teachers regarding girls outlined in Section 5.2.

iii) Pregnancy policy

The MOHE has a contradictory pregnancy policy. Women falling pregnant at teacher

training colleges, whether married or not, are obliged to withdraw from the college. In theory they are entitled to re-apply after giving birth and may resume their studies. In practice, readmission is not monitored by MOHE and is left to the discretion of individual college heads. There is no such practice, however, at technical training colleges.

Until recently, the MOE policy on pregnancy in schools was clear cut. Any girl falling pregnant was immediately expelled with no possibility of re-admission after the birth. Although this policy has allegedly been revised (in 1996) to allow for the re-admission of girls after giving birth, interviews revealed that there has been no formal mechanism for readmission or monitoring put in place. There is need for a clearly articulated and rigorously implemented pregnancy policy to facilitate re-entry/continuing education of women and girls during pregnancy and after giving birth.

iv) Gender in the Curriculum

A few measures have recently been taken promote gender in the curriculum. The MOE's Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) has begun to address gender stereotyping in textbooks and there are on-going efforts to introduce gender into parts of the curriculum.[10] The most effective programme to date has been the Women in Law Project (WLP) which was initiated by NORAD as part of its gender and development focus. The aim of the project is to spread information on the legal position of women and provide educational material on women and the law. The project is located in the MNAECC and has an advisory committee including individuals from NGOs and the legal profession. The WLP identifies schoolchildren as an important target group in their campaign to counter gender negative cultural influences. WLP focuses on three areas:

- Introducing modules on Women and the Law into the curriculum, initially in social studies.
- Provision of workshops on gender in the curriculum for teachers and heads
- Media programmes covering such issues as family law, maintenance and rape.
- Schools drama competition for secondary schools.

[10] Supported by Sida.

The WLP also organises gender training for CDU personnel. The project has become a conduit for the introduction of gender in the curriculum.

The Gender Equity in Education Project commits the GOZ to promoting Family Life

Education (FLE) in primary and secondary schools. School advisory officers who used to take up issues of sexuality are being phased out and Education for Living (EFL) now operates in secondary schools, while an AIDS/HIV project is directed also at both primary and secondary schoolchildren. Both contain information about sexual health and relationships.[11] EFL is generally ignored by teachers who do not have enough time, nor do they feel competent enough to deal with the subject matter in the AIDs/HIV project.[12] Despite such initiatives, there is an urgent need to introduce a comprehensive approach to gender across the whole school curriculum concurrently with teacher training.

[11] Materials are supplied by UNICEF who have also developed an evaluation scheme for teaching in the AIDs/HIV project.

[12] Interviews with CDU personnel, Harare.

The role of gender advocates in the MOE and MOHE: As far as education in Zimbabwe is concerned, the major gender advocates have been external to the two ministries of education. Furthermore, they have not been local individuals or groups within local civil society. Gender and education concerns were first raised and introduced within the MOE and MOHE by donor organisations and gender objectives were subsequently incorporated into country education programmes as specific conditions. Sida and UNICEF have been the most active donors with regard to gender and education in Zimbabwe. Whilst Sida initially introduced gender awareness in the early 1990s within in MOE, UNICEF has emerged as the more influential and active of the two organisations as far as gender is concerned.

Initially, UNICEF's approach was that of producing evidence on the extent of gender inequities in the education system. The main objective thrust was to influence top policy makers within MOE, notably the then Secretary for Education and to work with him in placing gender on the agenda within this Ministry. Thus a 'top down' approach was taken, initially on an informal basis.

Information obtained from interviews suggests that there have been a number of differing responses to the introduction of gender issues by non-Zimbabwean stakeholders. A major problem has been the lack of cross-cultural sensitivity on the part of some of the gender officers of external agencies. In general, 'donors have been too pushy regarding gender and are not aware of the social/cultural context in which they are operating'.[13] Feminism is often perceived as informing the agenda of Western development organisations and as a threat to Zimbabwean culture and norms. In some cases, this has lead to resistance on the part of ministry officials.

[13] Interview, Education official, Dutch embassy, Harare.

The top-down approach taken initially by UNICEF has also been problematic for the following reasons:

- The initiation of gender projects and advocacy work was identified with individuals who were personally committed to the gender equity ideal and projects. Other officials felt excluded or by-passed which meant that the sustainability of the projects was jeopardised when these individuals left the Ministry. Thus, the institutionalisation of gender has been weak.

- Initially, no gender sensitisation or training was carried out within the MOE. There were also male officers who felt excluded and had little or no understanding of the issues. In fact, some still claim that they are not certain about the true meaning of gender and its implications.

All of the issues discussed above are interrelated and interdependent and cannot be dealt with in isolation.

5.4. Donor interventions

The most important donors supporting the education sector are Sida, UNICEF and DGIS. The exact proportion of the education budget funded from overseas sources is not known. Until the early 1990s, well over half of foreign aid went into the tertiary sector, most notably various types of technical and professional training and support for university education. Since then, however, both donors and GOZ have prioritised basic education. It is clear, however, that the most glaring gender inequalities are in secondary and tertiary education.

The planning section of the MOE is formally responsible for donor coordination but, in practice, little coordination has taken place. Gender is a cross cutting issue in the UN agencies. UNESCO coordinates education, whereas UNICEF and UNFPA are active in the health sector and UNIFEM works with the Ministry of National Affairs. There is a general lack of coordination between the two United Nations education agencies. A thematic group meets bi-monthly at UNESCO to discuss education and sometimes MOE officials are invited to participate. Duplication of donor supported interventions in the gender area has been frequently discussed, along with the need for a clear policy framework. Without such a framework, it is generally accepted that donor priorities

often prevail. As one donor official put it, 'At present the MOE is overwhelmed by donors and they do not stand up to agencies'.[14]

[14] Interview, Education official, Dutch Embassy, Harare.

5.4.1 DGIS

The bulk of Dutch support to education has shifted from the tertiary level into basic education and training. DGIS funds a community based Early Childhood Education and Care programme through UNICEF. From 1996, it has supported institutional development at Mupfure Self-Help College (channelled through HIVOS). The cornerstone of Dutch support to basic education is the Better Schools Programme (BSP)[15], a nation-wide scheme to improve infrastructure for the professional development of teachers, heads and education officers. The MOE has responsibility for implementation. Gender components are built into all projects and programmes of DGIS. Gender was included in the BSP from the outset and a consultant was hired to help the MOE to develop a gender framework for the programme. However, there are no clear guidelines for introducing gender which is usually done on a 'trial and error' basis.[16]

[15] The teacher training component is worth £4.2 over five years.
[16] ibid.

5.4.2 Sida

Sida is the most important bilateral donor in the education sector in Zimbabwe, although its education disbursements as a proportion of total aid fell from 54.5% in 1990/91 to 37.4% in 1995/96.[17] Since 1995, Swedish aid to education has mainly focused on primary schooling which includes primary teacher training. Sida's accumulated disbursements to education in Zimbabwe up to mid 1996 amounted to approximately £64 million (Side, DESO, 1996). In 1997, Zimbabwe was the fourth largest recipient of Swedish aid to education.[18] Sida switched from project to programme support in the 1990s and a number of areas were phased out in 1995 including teacher training and radio learning.

[17] Sida, Sweden-Zimbabwe Development Cooperation, Harare.
[18] Personal communication education section official, DESO, Stockholm.

Sida's aid is programmed on a three year cycle. The current 1995-1997 programme is the first where gender is separately delineated with its own budget of £1 million. The other key activity areas are: planning, and monitoring, research and evaluation,

curriculum development and textbooks (mainly in maths, science and environmental science), special needs education, buildings (particularly support for disadvantaged schools and rehabilitation of schools in commercial farming areas) and the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP). Sida also supports capacity building in the MOE and MHE as well as providing funds for education policy reform. However, disbursement of funds has been a persistent problem. In future, Sida wants to shift to budgetary aid although this has been made contingent upon the GOZ embarking on a comprehensive education reform process.[19] Sida has constantly stressed its commitment to local ownership and the process of dialogue with local partners.

[19] Interview, First Secretary, Swedish Embassy, Harare

Although girls have benefited from Sida projects and programmes prior to 1995, there were no specific gender inputs with the exception of a small scale scholarship programme to enable farm school children to attend either primary or secondary school, 70% of whom are required to be female. By 1996, 90 children had gone through this programme. Interestingly, an evaluation of this programme in 1996 suggested that the girls were in urgent need of advice on sexuality as their pregnancy rate in one region was 28% (well above the national average).[20] Sida also sponsored training of officials at the MOHE which mainly benefited women. Tackling gender stereotyping in school textbooks was only introduced as part of the new programme. After a number of delays in finalising the 1995-1997 programme, the MOE hired two local consultants to help them develop gender related activities. Gender sensitisation exercises began in early 1997 to cater for MOE middle and senior officials.

[20] P.P. Pfukani, for MOE (Research and Evaluation) 'Preliminary Report of an Evaluation of the Effects of the Sida Scholarship fund'.

As discussed earlier, Sida has sponsored a number of research and sector studies to assist the direction and design of its policies. The education sector report of 1990 (Colclough et al) commissioned by Sida, while pointing to the inequitable distribution of resources in Zimbabwe's education system, paid little attention to gender issues which partly explains the lack of a gender perspective in the 1990-1995 Sida programme. The 1995-1997 programme which prioritised gender was strongly influenced by research undertaken by Rosemary Gordon, an academic at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ).[21]

[21] Interview, 1st Secretary Swedish Embassy, Harare.

In conclusion, Sida has played a vital role in educational planning and staff training of MOE personnel as part of its commitment to capacity building. More recently, it has made concerted efforts to introduced gender into its programme with the MOE.

Research findings have strongly influenced Sida's recent prioritisation of gender. Sida also recognises the importance of local ownership of gender initiatives and is helping to facilitate this process. However, operationalising the gender aspects of its education programme has been a slow process.

5.4.3 UNICEF

UNICEF has a long history in Zimbabwe which goes back to the liberation struggle. In the 1980s it supported curriculum reform in primary and teacher training.[22] UNICEF alerted GOZ to the gender problem in the early 1990s and it became the driving force behind the Gender Equity in Education Project which started in 1993. This took place in the context of the organisation's global interest in promoting Education for All and women's empowerment. The 1995-2000 Programme of Cooperation with the MOE emphasises the development of community capacity. Its gender specific interventions in education form part of the 'Girl Child Initiative' (GCI) funded by CIDA who also fund the GEEP.[23] UNICEF is more involved in implementation than other aid agencies and works closely with the MOE at central and regional levels. It provides funding and logistical support to MOE teams in the field.

[22] Interview with a former Permanent Secretary MEC.
[23] Interview, education official, UNICEF, Harare.

The following projects and programmes (linked with GEEP) are aimed at improving the learning outcomes of girls:

- Encouragement of gender disaggregated statistics since 1993. Information is still piecemeal and UNICEF would like to see a composite document.

- A manual for teachers to help them identify and handle gender stereotypes. It covers issues such as the innate ability of boys and girls as well as sex bias in the use of language.

- A role model reader to be incorporated into teacher resource centres.

- A video about the girl child entitled 'Mwanasikana' (in Shona).[24]

- A holiday coaching scheme in maths and science for girls which started in 1996. Books and equipment are supplied to primary schools throughout Zimbabwe. Forty-five girls have been selected from poor schools and brought to a central venue for coaching. An applied research

component has been added to the project in order to discover why girls do not perform well in maths and science. In an attempt to promote institutional change, the experiences of this project will be fed back into teacher training.

- Sensitisation of female college lecturers.

- Performance and achievement of children will be monitored by working with the exams branch to generate more information on performance in Grade 7, 'O' level

- A girl mentor programme being developed with the intention of targeting five girls from three districts. They will receive funds to buy uniforms and pay school fees and in return provide mentoring services for other primary school girls.

- Production of a facilitator's manual for the sensitisation of school development committees from 1996.

- Provision with MOE of gender sensitising sessions for secondary school heads.

- Plans to sensitise teacher training college principals if the MHE will cooperate[25].

- Examining curriculum and examinations for gender sensitivity. Also provision of material to support the development of the CDU's AIDs/HIV programme for schools.

- The Sara communication initiative is being piloted in several districts to assess its suitability for Zimbabwe although there is some doubt on the part of UNICEF
Zimbabwe as to whether it is culturally relevant. However, affecting attitude change is central to the UNICEF project.

[24] In 1996 UNICEF began an impact assessment of the video's impact on communities and 'A' level.

[25] This comes Under the management skills programme which trains both school and college managers.

UNICEF's gender initiatives overlap substantially with Sida's programme. Until the end of 1996 there was limited cooperation between the two agencies but they are in the process of working out a degree of complementarily in their gender focus in education.

UNICEF places a strong emphasis on providing gender-related information and analyses which it feeds back into policy formulation and implementation. From UNICEF's point of view, Gordon's research (1995b) highlighted the need to change school culture and atmosphere and to change teaching methodologies so as to improve the participation of girls.[26] UNICEF will help MOHE to introduce gender sensitisation into teacher training in the near future.

[26] Interview, education official, UNICEF, Harare.

The 1994 Situation Report on *Children and Women in Zimbabwe* emphasised the declining quality and relevance of the education system and also raised concerns about girl's drop-out from both primary and secondary school. In conjunction with the examinations council, UNICEF produced an achievement tracking document in 1997 which will be used to monitor the progress of gender initiatives. Monitoring mechanisms are put in place at when the programme is developed, although it is premature to assess the overall impact of UNICEF's gender interventions many of which are at an early or developmental stage.

More broadly, UNICEF wants to see a reformed education system with greater flexibility. Since the early 1990s, it has played an important advocacy role in support of the girl child in Zimbabwe. UNICEF, with its parallel interest in health, is in a strong position to support girl's education while taking on board issues such as AIDS/HIV which affect young girls to a greater extent than boys.

With regard to gender, UNICEF has managed to move to the implementation stage more effectively than Sida. This is partly because of their different approaches and also there has been greater staff continuity in education in UNICEF Zimbabwe. If UNICEF's Girl Child Initiative is to is to have any meaningful impact, further attention needs to be paid to teacher training and curriculum, which are key areas that have barely been touched by recent initiatives.

5.5. NGOs and the struggle for gender equality

Prior to Independence, NGOs were at the forefront of the liberation struggle. After independence, however, they assumed a more developmental role. But since the late 1980s, NGOs (including women's organisations have reverted to more of an advocacy

role). In 1996, the government brought in the Private Voluntary Organisations legislation which gives the state power to suspend the executives of NGOs. A number of local and foreign NGOs protested strongly, but this was to no avail.

Apart from some adult education projects, only a few NGOs in Zimbabwe have directly addressed gender issues in education. Five important womens' organisations are considered: The Musasa Project, Women's Action Group (WAG), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAFF), Women in Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), and the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN).

The Musasa Project was established as a training and advocacy organisation in 1988 to tackle the problems of rape and domestic violence in Zimbabwe. The approach developed by the project has been one of fostering change with various institutions, notably the police and judiciary in the way in which they deal with domestic violence. During the 1990s, the project has had a high profile and has succeeded in attracting significant donor funding (mainly from NORAD, Sida and CIDA). It has now institutionalised training for the Zimbabwe police and this will be extended to the judiciary and teacher training institutions. Its education department organises sessions on domestic violence for secondary school students and research is conducted on issues such as child sexual abuse which it uses for campaign purposes. Thanks to collective pressure from the Musasa project and other women's organisations the government is considering the introduction of domestic violence legislation.[27] The project has made very tangible gains and has brought the issue of sexual violence to centre stage in Zimbabwe.

[27] Interview with the director of the Musasa Project, Harare.

The Womens' Action Group (WAG), one of the most radical women's NGOs[28]. It was formed in 1983 as a women's coalition to resist the rounding up of women in public places. It became an active proponent of women's rights and has consistently lobbied parliamentarians and has worked closely with other women's NGOs such as the Musasa Project. During the 1990s, WAG has began organising outreach programmes throughout the country to raise awareness of key gender issues concerning marriage, inheritance and land. Its magazine, entitled 'Speak Out', is widely circulated. WAG also runs an important health information project which has researched women's perception of their health problems. Major outputs include a book on AIDS and the reproductive system which has been widely disseminated. WAG staff and volunteers also give talks in schools on reproductive health issues. WAG has campaigned strongly for greater social sector spending and action to address the AIDS pandemic and has also lobbied for changes in the Marriage and Inheritance Acts demanding that wives be able to inherit land directly.

[28] WAG is considered to be one of Zimbabwe's most effective lobbying organisations for women's rights.

Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAFF) emerged from the law reform caucus network set up by two African conferences on 'women and the law'. An office was set up in Harare in 1991 with the intention of lobbying and advocating for women's legal rights. Its main funder is the DGIS. Promotion of legal literacy forms a central part of WILDAFF's work as well as a campaign to educate people regarding potential changes in existing laws. Seminars on legal rights are also organised for teachers.

Women in Law in Southern Africa (WLSA). The objectives of WLSA are to improve the legal position of women in Zimbabwe and five other countries in the region. Lobbying for law reform focuses on the interaction between customary and general law. The view of WLSA and other groups is that the present version of customary law is prejudicial to women. The research undertaken by WLSA is intended to inform and influence action being taken to improve women's legal position. Action research is integrated into their legal rights campaigns. The research generated by WLSA is used by other NGOs including WILDAFF. The action wing of the organisation has disseminated research findings to other NGOs and government departments. WLSA are also closely involved in the Women and Law project based in the MNAECC. As part of this project they help organise plays for school children around social issues affecting women.

Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) was established in the 1980s. It has built up a high quality documentation centre which collects and disseminates information on gender. A wide range of people, (both local and foreign), use the centre which also produces an informative news bulletin covering a wide range of gender issues. ZWRCN currently operates in three main areas: documentation, advocacy and training. Its work is organised thematically. In 1996 land and housing were the main focus. Although ZWRCN has never specifically targeted the education sector, ZWRCN initiates debates on GAD issues and, in 1996, organised a debate on engendering the curriculum. ZWRCN is currently building up an extensive gender training capacity and offers its services to other NGOs, donors and government. In March 1997, for example, ZWRCN organised gender sensitisation for education officers from the MOE. In late 1997, it trained 50 more gender trainers and test materials for the production of a gender training manual.[29] The organisation emphasises the importance of getting people to define issues from their own perspective. ZWRCN plays a key role in coordinating advocacy around women's issues in Zimbabwe.[30] Its main funder is the DGIS.

[29] Most of the information here comes from an interview with the

advocacy and gender training officers at ZWRCN.

[30] For example, in March 1997 the second reading of the Estates Bill was opened to suggestions from women's groups. WLSA and others made submissions and ZWRCN put together a summary.

The Cambridge Female Education Trust (CamFed)[31] was founded in 1992. It consists of two partner organisations CamFed UK and CamFed Zimbabwe. Although it is not a 'home grown' NGO, it is one of the few NGOs to directly address the problems faced by girls in schools. Having identified the economic causes of low enrolment of girls in rural secondary schools, by 1997 CamFed was providing financial assistance to 621 girls attending senior primary and secondary school. The project aims to encourage parity of enrolment at selected rural secondary schools at the same time as raising the self esteem of girls. It seems to have achieved a measure of success with very low drop out rates of girls being registered in the programme.[32]

[31] In 1997 CamFed's funders included CIDA, UNICEF and several private charities.
[32] However, the overall impact of the programme awaits an external evaluation in 1997.

A number of conclusions emerge from the review of the activities of local NGOs concerned with gender issues:

- All, the locally based NGOs have in some way promoted a feminist viewpoint which challenges patriarchal attitudes in the society. Their research efforts have been closely tied to lobbying and advocacy. Women's NGOs are constantly faced with the accusation from critics in government and the community that feminism goes against African culture. The director of the Musasa Project offered the following response to this criticism: 'There is no 'real' culture in Zimbabwe. A clear policy framework is needed which sets limits to what Zimbabwe will tolerate'. Furthermore, there is unanimous agreement among the NGO community that the government urgently needs to produce a coherent set of gender policies.

- In the field of legal rights, despite considerable advocacy and lobbying efforts, it is often difficult to measure gains.[33] It was the view of some NGOs that donors should make greater use of conditionality to affect change in the area of gender equality. Although few have focused directly on the education system as such, their collective efforts have helped to create an enabling environment for changes in the education

sphere.

[33] Interview, programme officer, WLSA, Harare.

5.6. Conclusions and recommendations

Compared with the other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe has high levels of participation in the formal education system. Both boys and girls have benefited from government policies which resulted in the rapid expansion of educational provision after independence. Even so, the gender gap in the transition to secondary school has widened since 1985. For various economic, cultural and social reasons, negative attitudes towards girls in both school and community, although less than before, have persisted. Compared with Malawi and Tanzania, there is a limited amount of research available to explain these attitudes and inequalities. What little that has been available has been used by donors in particular to frame their gender policies in the education sector. Government interventions through ministries of women and education have failed to formulate coherent programmes to tackle these gender inequalities in education. This could well be because Zimbabwe is seen as relatively well off in terms of educational provision, with the result that gender equality in education has not been prioritised by policy makers. Even though no local NGOs have focused on gender and education, since the late 1980s, women's organisations have helped to raise the general level of awareness around gender equality issues.

The GEEP initiated by UNICEF in conjunction with gender advocates in the MOE in the early 1990s has started to be implemented. The role of external organisations in gender advocacy has been both considerable and fruitful. There is, however, a need for greater local involvement and initiative with regard to gender equity in education if the momentum already established is to be accelerated and sustained.

The following recommendations include those made by the Zimbabwe working group at the research dissemination seminar held in Harare 12th-13th January 1998.

1. Government Policies

- The government needs to produce a clear gender policy as soon as possible.

- A comprehensive package of gender interventions should be developed, preferably in the context of wider educational reform.

- Priority areas for intervention are curriculum, examinations and teacher

training (for both schools and colleges).

- A greater transparency in decision making by government and donors is essential for the development of gender interventions.

- The inspectorate should be included in all gender sensitisation programmes.

2. Donors

- Greater coordination is needed amongst donors (particularly Sida and UNICEF) who have similar gender objectives in their education programmes.

- Gender sensitivity training sponsored by donors should be part of a wider gender strategy whose primary concern should be with developing mechanisms to institutionalise gender in the education system.

3. Gender Issues and Teacher Education

- Gender issues need to be made part and parcel of teacher training.
- The in-service training of teachers should include gender issues.

4. Policies and Practices on Pregnancy

- The pregnancy issue should be reviewed at all levels of the education system with a view to developing a coherent policy of readmission and support for unmarried girls and women.

- Counselling should be provided for these students.

5. Sexual Abuse in Educational Institutes (rape/sexual abuse)

- There is a need to determine the nature and extent of sexual abuse in Zimbabwean education institutions.

- Preventative measures should be put in place so that fewer victims are subject to abuse.

- Harsher penalties should be imposed on the perpetrators of sexual

abuse.

- Issues concerning sexuality (i.e. AIDS/HIV, pregnancy, rape) should be tackled in the curriculum.

6. Promotion of Women to Positions of Decision-making and Influence

- In order to encourage qualified women to apply for and take up senior positions in the educational system, particular attention should be paid to women's problems in the job market.

- With regard to teacher training colleges in particular, the Ministry of Education should be more sensitive to the constraints operating against women by providing support and suitable facilities.

7. Women and Vocational Training

- There is a compelling need to open up opportunities for women and girls in non-traditional areas of vocational training.

- Facilities should be made available to enable girls to participate fully in vocational training. For example, appropriate toilets and changing rooms should be provided.

8. Early Learning Education Teachers (ELET)

- In the light of the predominance of women in ELET training and teaching, men should be encouraged to train at this level in order to avoid perpetuating the existing gender role models.

Lessons from Single Sex and Co-educational Schools

- Research should be undertaken in order to identify the factors which explain the success of girls in single-sex schools in order to draw lessons to support girls in coeducational schools.

Reduction to Disparities in Rural/Urban Schools

- More resources should be channelled into rural schools, particularly in the commercial farming areas in order to improve levels of access and achievement of all children.

Content of Educational Material

- A review should be undertaken of the content of educational materials which are presently gender-insensitive.

- Efforts should be made to ensure that teachers are aware of their pedagogical practices.

Coordination and Networking

- Better coordination is needed between the two education ministries as well as other relevant ministries.

- Civil society needs to be more involved in the design and implementation of education policy. The Ministries of Education should link up with NGOs and the wider community in the process of policy design and implementation and experiment with participatory methods.

Gender Coordinating Unit

- In order to promote ongoing communication between interested parties, a gender coordinating unit should be established to deal with gender issues across the entire educational system. The location of such a unit should be decided by persons both inside and outside of government ministries.

The Education Review Commission

- The current Commission of Enquiry into Education and Training should be used as a basis for advocacy and lobbying to promote the specific needs of girls and women.

- The needs of other disadvantaged groups i.e. handicapped children should also be addressed.

Research

- Present research outputs regarding gender and education are limited in scope. There is a need to clarify the nature of problems faced by girls in a number of areas. It is important that donors should continue to support

research initiatives both inside and outside of the education ministries. This research will help to identify factors in the school system which have contributed to poor educational outcomes for girls. More research is needed particularly with regard to the issue of pregnant schoolgirls and the gender disparities in vocational training.

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Chapter 6 - Conclusion

This study has shown that improving the knowledge base concerning gender and education is a necessary but not sufficient to ensure the design and implementation of well conceived policies. Improving the information base is certainly crucial. However, the fact remains that a small group of government officials will decide which policy issues will be prioritised. These male dominated groups have a disproportionately powerful role in interpreting what 'cultural realities' are and the desirability and feasibility of changing them (see Kardam, 1995). The last ten years has seen a concerted effort by a number of donor agencies in Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe to introduce a variety of measures to reduce gender disparities in education. Despite these efforts, progress has been very slow for a number of reasons including bureaucratic intransigence, lack of an effective dialogue between donors and government, and the piecemeal and uncoordinated nature of the interventions themselves.

Donor sponsored research on gender and education, although valuable, has often been oriented towards meeting donor goals rather than those of recipient governments. A way around some of the structural inequalities in the production of knowledge is to promote participatory methods and encourage local researchers as far as possible. A large proportion of the knowledge on gender inequalities in education in all three countries is in the form of consultancy reports which are often not made available locally. Donors who urge governments to adopt greater transparency should themselves be more open and share research findings with governments and others in the recipient countries. Ministries of education would be advised (as is being done in Tanzania) to develop data banks of existing material on education in order to avoid duplication of efforts. An efficient research clearance system might help in this respect. In this way, research findings could be better utilised by policy makers and other groups such as academics and NGOs.

Proving that gender inequalities exist and pinpointing areas of concern is not enough to ensure action. Despite widespread commitments to international agreements on gender equality, the key policy makers in Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are still predominantly male. The establishment of women's ministries in the aftermath of the Nairobi Women's Conference in 1985 should have helped to promote the cause of gender across the sectors, including education. However, in all three countries, womens' ministries have been ineffective for various reasons. Nor have gender units or gender

officers within ministries of education managed to promote gender in policy and practice.

The role of women's NGOs is crucial in that they help to challenge the established patriarchal norms. This has been particularly the case in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, but less so in Malawi due to the limited development of NGOs during the Banda period. The introduction of empowerment into development discourses by UNICEF and other individuals and organisations have also attempted to address the issue of women's' control over their lives. However, donors often shun programmes at economically empowering women (Chisvo, 1996). Apart from the odd civic education programme, there has been a general reluctance on the part of donors not to upset the status quo in recipient countries as far as gender is concerned. However, NGOs in particular recognise that because donors exercise 'real influence,' they should become more actively engaged with governments in lobbying for womens' rights. Some NGOs interviewed in Zimbabwe also felt that government officials were hiding behind irrelevant and inaccurate cultural arguments in order to avoid taking gender issues seriously. Although few NGOs have been directly involved in education in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, these organisations have played a key role in raising the general level of awareness around gender equality which has helped to provide an enabling environment for many of the most important gender interventions in education.

While in all three countries gender initiatives with respect to education have been mainly 'donor driven', unless gender advocates are active both inside and outside of government ministries, these initiatives are likely to founder. Malawi is an excellent case in point. Where gender interventions in education have come about they have been the result of advocacy on the part of individuals in government and/or donor agencies. The reliance on key individuals to promote change is hardly surprising but has created serious problems in ensuring that policy interventions become effectively institutionalised. The high turnover of personnel in many aid agencies has also caused inconsistencies and lack of continuity. It is precisely among the agencies that have retained a core of local staff in education (such as UNICEF in Zimbabwe and Tanzania) that the most progress has been made.

Another important issue raised by the study is whether it is possible to design and implement piecemeal gender interventions in the context of highly flawed education systems, many aspects of which operate negatively against girls. The 'education for all' philosophy and the drive (as in Malawi) to get more children (especially girls) to school by any means should be considered in the light of enormous classes, very high drop outs and minimal learning. It is clear that if parental demand is to be revitalised (as in Tanzania) or sustained (as in Malawi), immediate attention needs to be given to raising the quality of education. In the case of Malawi, donors (most notably USAID and DFID) are already supporting the expansion of primary education at the same time as emphasising the importance of educating girls.

Even though there is some interest in improving the management of education through sector reform programmes (As in Tanzania), donors have tended to shy away from the question of overall education reform, not wishing to impinge on the 'ownership' of national governments. Curriculum and teacher training are two areas which need greater and more consistent attention within existing gender policies and programmes in education. In Zimbabwe, an overloaded curriculum and a norm-referenced examination system have had negative effects on all children, but particularly girls. Donors and governments should consider the limitations of incremental attempts to promote girls' access to education systems that are fundamentally gender biased. Scholarship programmes, for example, can help to provide important female role models in rural areas where there are few, but what will be their lasting impact?

Donors and government interventions to promote gender equality in education have invariably been couched in terms of support for 'girls education'. As we have seen, although UNICEF has mainstreamed gender, the 'girl child' has been the focus of its efforts. It is essential that the analysis of girls' education is based on an understanding of gender as a dynamic relationship between the two sexes which is played out in the home, community and school. The negative response of boys' parents to the girls' secondary scholarship programme in Malawi illustrates the dangers of an exclusive focus on girls in a context of general poverty. The overall lesson is clear, namely effective interventions require a better understanding of the gender and class aspects of schooling.

The predominance of supply and demand frameworks in the analysis of gender in education has also resulted in poorly designed gender policies and programmes. The common assumption, for example, that increasing the overall supply of primary education by means of higher public expenditure will eliminate the gender gap is seriously flawed. It is certainly the case that in all three countries the expansion of primary education in the decades after independence has succeeded in increasing the enrolment rates of girls. However, the deep rooted problems to do with the poor educational outcomes, accompanied by the low self-image of girls, seem to persist despite higher levels of participation. The main lesson learned is, therefore, that access and quality issues need to be considered in the light of the overall framework within which education operates.

Poor donor coordination in education has also encouraged a fragmented approach to gender interventions. The strength and coherence of gender interventions in education depends ultimately on the extent to which national governments are able to clearly articulate both their education and gender goals. Donors need to work more closely with government to achieve this. The policy making process itself needs to be more open and transparent with greater use of participatory methods in policy making. This is particularly relevant in Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Three main contradictions emerge from donor sponsored interventions:

(i) The need to cut social sector budgets and the numbers of civil service personnel (as part of SAPs) directly undermines the goal of reducing gender inequalities in education. Structural adjustment in Tanzania has certainly exacerbated rural poverty and reduced the demand for schooling. The overall context of resource scarcity is not likely to encourage senior officials within the education ministries to prioritise girls.

(ii) Since Jomtien, the World Bank and other donors have prioritised 'basic' education. Although the World Bank now admits that rates of return to junior secondary are as high as those at primary, donor funds are increasingly being channelled into primary sectors (World Bank, 1995). In different degrees, the experience of all three countries has shown how poor educational outcomes and low participation rates become more pronounced at the secondary and tertiary levels. The poor qualifications of girls (particularly in maths, science and technical subjects) inhibit their access to labour markets. Unless this cycle of inequality is broken, the paucity of female role models in teaching and other professions will continue, thereby narrowing womens' access to income earning opportunities. Apart from the odd scholarship programme for secondary schoolgirls (as in Tanzania and Malawi), little attention is being paid to the poor educational outcomes of girls at post-primary levels. Access of girls to universities in Tanzania and Zimbabwe has certainly improved, although sex-stereotyped subject choices are still pronounced. With respect, however, to the area of vocational and technical training, access still remains a major problem for girls.

Another area neglected by donors which has important gender implications is that of non-formal education and literacy. Despite particularly high female illiteracy rates in Malawi, adult literacy is a forgotten priority. Yet research done for the DFID's Community Schools programme, in Malawi shows how low levels of female literacy pose serious constraints on women's participation in the management of schools.

(iii) The current move from project to programme aid and budgetary support could also be problematic, as most gender interventions in the past have been tied to discreet projects and programmes. If donors continue to increase budgetary support to Ministries of Education, (which

ultimately involves a greater degree of recipient control over funding), there is a danger that gender could be lost. This could be avoided by a clear prioritisation of gender by both donors and governments.

In general, it is hard to assess the overall impact of donor interventions on girls' education, as most projects and programmes are relatively recent. However, interviews suggest that monitoring and evaluation of gender projects and programmes needs to be improved. A key problem is the difficulty of measuring qualitative changes. It is of utmost importance that the donors and government build sensitive but rigorous indicators linked to clear targets and objectives into the programme design. Our case studies have shown that the follow up of gender initiatives has often been unsatisfactory at both government and donor level. This raises structural problems about lines of accountability. Locally inspired interventions such as quota systems for girls to enable them to enter secondary school with lower grades than boys have generally been found to be unsatisfactory. In Malawi, for example, they have acted as a brake on female enrolment at secondary school.

Mainstreaming of gender in donor organisations is now commonplace and most recipient governments are moving in that direction. As we have seen, gender mainstreaming has been problematic enough in the donor agencies themselves. Where there is even stronger resistance as in ministries of education, the need for strategically placed gender units is overwhelming. The institutionalisation of gender in education ministries, will be an arduous but necessary task if the process of gender reform is to be deepened and sustained.

Differences of approach between donors have also affected the outcome of programmes. UNICEF for example, generally have a more holistic view of education that encompasses formal and non-formal schooling which is particularly important in the context of the higher drop out rates of girls. An exclusive focus on the formal schooling sector ignores realities on the ground. Donor programmes should be more flexible and distinguish clearly between long and short term goals. Creative partnerships between governments, donors and NGOs are needed in order to promote greater gender equality in education and the wider society. Despite the inevitable problems of accountability and 'scaling up' faced by many NGOs, it is important to help grassroots womens' organisations in terms of access to funding for research and other activities.

Important gains have been made over the past five years, gender issues in education have been raised and a number of interventions made to promote girls' education.

For their part, governments should firmly commit themselves to coherent gender and education policies as a framework for and commitment to change. Donors, on the other

hand, should be more aware of the cultural and political pitfalls in the way of developing coherent gender policies in education. Gender advocates in both agencies and governments have had to argue their case for gender on the grounds of the benefits to development offered by supporting the education of girls and women. However, the proposition of education as a basic human right should never be forgotten. Gender interventions in all three countries should be part of a long term, wide ranging process of social and political reform.

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List of abbreviations

ACSSE	Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education
AGEI	African Girls' Education Initiative
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BDDCA	British Development Division in Central Africa
CamFed	Cambridge Female Education Trust
CCAM	Chitukuko Cha Amayi M. Malawi
CDA	Community Development Assistant
CERT	Centre for Educational Research and Training
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CONGOMA	Council for Non-Government Organisations in Malawi
CRSP	Civil Service Reform Programme
CSC	Christian Service Committee
CSR	Centre for Social Research
CSSE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEC	Distance Education Centre
DEO	District Education Officer
DFID	Department for International Development
DGIS	Netherlands International Development Assistance
EC	European Community
EDP	Education Development Plan
EFA	Education for All
ESARO	Eastern and Southern Region Office
ESS	Education Sector Support

FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalist
FAWEMA	Forum for African Women Educationalist Malawi
FINCA	Foundation for International Community Assistance
FLP	Functional Literacy Programme
FPE	Free Primary Education
GABLE	Girls' Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education
GAC	Gender and Curriculum Unit
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GIN	Gender Initiative Network
GOM	Government of Malawi
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HIV	Human Immuno Virus
HRID	Human Resources and Institutional Development
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IDM	Institute of Development Management
IFM	Institute of Finance Management
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JCE	Junior Certificate of Education
JICA	Japanese International Corporation Agency
KCN	Kamuzu College of Nursing
MANEB	Malawi National Examinations Board
MCCDWA	Ministry of Cooperative and Current Development & Womens' Affairs
MCDE	Malawi College of Distance Education
MCDWAC	Ministry of Community Development Women Affairs & Culture
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MEPD	Ministry of Economic Planning and Development
MIE	Malawi Institute of Education
MNAECC	Ministry of National Affairs, Employment Creation & Cooperation
MOE	Ministry of Education

MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MOHE	Ministry of Higher Education
MOWCACDSW	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs and Community Development and Social Welfare
MPOWA	Malawi Professional Women's Association
MSCE	Malawi School Certificate of Education
MSIS	Malawi Social Indicators Survey
MSTHE	Ministry of Science Technology & Higher Education
NABW	National Association of Business Women
NCWID	National Commission for Women in Development
NECTA	National Examinations Council
NER	Net Enrollment Rate
NGO	Non Governmental Organisations
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NPA	Non Programme Assistance
NSO	National Statistical Office
ODA	Overseas Development Agency
OPC	Office of the President and Cabinet
PAAD	Programme Assistance Approval Document
PCOSP	Primary Community Schools Project
PCR	Pupil: Classroom Ratio
PEA	Primary Education Advisor
PIF	Policy Investment Framework
PSLCE	Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination
PTA	Parents Teacher Association
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
PWA	Progressive Womens Association
REO	Regional Education Officer
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries
SAW	Society for the Advancement of Women
SCF	Save the Children Federation

SDD	Social Development Division
SEEP	Gender Equity in Education Project
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SMC	Social Mobilisation Campaign
SSA	Sub-Sahara Africa
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
TADREG	Tanzania Development Research Group
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TANEA	Tanzania Home Economics Association
TANGO	Tanzania Non-Governmental Organization
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
TFD	Theatre for Development
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
TTC	Teacher Training College
TWID	Tiyende Women in Development
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UMATI	Ulezi na Malezi Bora (Tanzania Family Planning Association)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activity
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VETA	Vocational Education Training Authority
WAG	Womens' Action Group
WB	World Bank
WED	Womens' Education Development Group
WID	Women in Development

WILDAFF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WLSA	Women in Law in Southern Africa
WWBM	Women's World Banking Malawi
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZWRCN	Zimbabwe Womens' Resource Centre and Network

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