

ISBN 82905

**STUDY OF GIRLS' ACCESS
TO PRIMARY SCHOOLING IN GUINEA**

**Report Prepared for USAID/Guinea
by Lynellyn D. Long with Hawah Fofanah**

June 12, 1990

I.	Executive Summary	1
II.	Organization of the Study	3
	A. Statement of the Problem	3
	B. Analytic Framework	3
	C. Methodology	6
III.	The Guinean Context	8
	A. Historical Experience	8
	B. Socio-economic Constraints	9
	C. The Policy Environment	11
IV.	Regional Variation	13
	A. Guinee Forestiere	13
	B. Haute Guinee	17
	C. Moyenne Guinee	20
VI.	Conclusions	22
	A. Regional Comparisons	22
	B. Political, School, and Household Factors	23
VII.	Recommendations for Action	25
	A. Negotiations on Program Conditionalities	25
	B. Special Studies	25
	C. Women In Development (WID) Action Plan	27
	Appendixes	28
A.	Results of Plan Guinee Survey (Gueckedou)	28
B.	Measures of Girls' Access	29
C.	Interview Protocols	31
D.	Interviews	32
E.	References	34

I. Executive Summary

Indicators of social and economic welfare are low in Guinea particularly, for girls and women. Guinea ranks 40th among the least developed nations in aggregated measures of economic well-being (World Bank 1989). Key social indicators which reflect the status of women and children are likewise low. Under five mortality rates are 252/1000; the infant mortality rate is 148/1000 and the average nutrition intake is 88% of requirements (UNICEF 1989).

While the illiteracy rate for Guinea is high (64%), female illiteracy is even higher (84%). The total primary enrollment rate in 1988/89 was only 28.0%; girls' enrollment was 17.8% (SEEPU 1990). Low levels of literacy and enrollments coupled with low levels of social and economic welfare point to the need to increase access to primary schooling for children in general and for girls in particular.

Present Government policies and actions suggest a favorable climate for increasing girls' access to education. High level support for this issue by the Secretary of State for Pre-University Education is a positive indicator. In its proposed educational reform program, the Government has also acknowledged the need to improve access of girls and rural children. Whether these reforms are successful, however, will depend on political will, administrative capacity, and sustained economic growth. In each of these areas, the Government's record is mixed and the outcome uncertain.

Although girls' primary enrollments have grown slightly with the recent expansion of the primary system, they have decreased as a percentage of total enrollments. This suggests that there is a differential demand for girls' education and that increasing the supply of schools alone will not suffice. Evidence from other countries shows that a complex interaction of political, school, and household factors determine girls' access to education. A review of these factors in the Guinean context likewise suggests their relevancy to this situation.

To provide a more in-depth analysis of household and school factors, a research team interviewed government officials, school directors, teachers, parents, and students in three regions -- Guinee Forestiere, Haute Guinee, and Moyenne Guinee. Based on interviews and observations, they constructed school and community profiles.

Analysis of the data showed that constraints to girls' primary schooling varied by region and ethnic group. In Guinee Forestiere, direct and opportunity costs of schooling and early marriage were said to be constraints. In Haute Guinee, early marriage, bride price, school hours and calendar, and traditional beliefs about girls' maturation were identified. In Guinee Moyenne, distance, illness, opportunity and direct costs were cited.

Different interventions to address the constraints identified in each region were also proposed. In Guinea Forestiere, teachers advocated pre-school programs and early age admissions for girls. In Haute Guinea, teachers and parents proposed reforming the school hours and calendar and suggested improvements in the school curriculum. In Moyenne Guinea, school and government administrators recommended school construction in rural areas. In both Haute Guinea and Moyenne Guinea, Coranic education was seen as a means to increase girls' literacy and numeracy.

Despite regional differences, there was universal consensus from the Secretary of State for Pre-University Education to teachers in rural schools that convincing parents of the value of their daughters' education -- a social marketing campaign -- is critical to increasing girls' access and completion. The study further revealed that across all regions schools face similar constraints; they lack textbooks, materials, latrines, and other basic infrastructure. However, a few schools despite these obstacles have high girls' enrollment rates. These cases of positive deviance provided insights into what works and what schools can do to make a difference. Schools with high enrollments appeared to be well-organized and managed and had enthusiastic teachers, who believed their students were good. This finding suggests that nonmaterial rather than material inputs may be more relevant measures of school quality. When measured by nonmaterial inputs, school quality may be linked to improved girls' access.

Based on the findings, the team recommends that USAID/Guinea provide policy support for Government interventions in the areas of social marketing, school and latrine construction and/or rehabilitation, quality improvements, school financing, and pilot programs to address specific regional constraints. Through projectized components of the program, the team also recommends that USAID/Guinea fund special studies of Coranic schooling and local school financing as well as school mapping and profile exercises. The special studies would be conducted by the Government to improve its administrative capacity to implement, monitor, and evaluate interventions to improve girls' access and to decrease regional disparities.

The proposed recommendations will require a substantial management effort on the part of the HRD and WID Officers. These individuals will need to monitor and assess information provided by the Government and feed it back into policy dialogues and negotiations. Despite the considerable time commitment, the proposed activities are designed to ensure that USAID/Guinea's equity objectives will become an essential part of the proposed educational reform program.

II. Organization of the Study

A. Statement of the Problem

Indicators of social and economic welfare are low in Guinea particularly, for girls and women. Guinea ranks 40th among the world's least developed nations in aggregated measures of economic well-being (World Bank 1989). Key social indicators which reflect the status of women and children are likewise low. Under five mortality rates are 252/1000; the infant mortality rate is 148/100 and the average nutrition intake is 88% of requirement (UNICEF 1989). Immunization rates are also low, but vary regionally. Only 20% of the children nationwide have been vaccinated for tuberculosis (Ibid.). Contraceptive prevalence is low to non-existent (1% in 1980) and Guinea's crude birth rate is 2.8% per annum (Ibid.).

While the illiteracy rate for Guinea is high (64%), female illiteracy is even higher (84%). The total primary enrollment rate in 1988/89 was only 28.0%; girls' enrollment was 17.8% (SEEPU 1990). These enrollment levels do not include enrollment in Coranic schools, which offer literacy in Arabic. Girls are also less likely to complete school than boys and their performance is lower. Girls' repetition rates are higher (24.1% versus 21.3% total) and they are more likely to drop out (34.2% versus 24.0% total). Girls have lower scores on exams (in 1988, 39.4% versus 50.1% total) and more difficulty in transitioning to the next level (53.4% versus 57.2% total).

The low level of female literacy coupled with low levels of social and economic welfare underscores the need to improve girls' access to and completion of primary schooling. Yet, expansion of the system -- interventions to increase the supply of primary schooling -- alone will not suffice. Although there has been a modest expansion in the primary system (overall enrollment rose from 247,702 in 1982/83 to 302,809 in 1988/89), girl's enrollment as a proportion of total enrollment has fallen (from 36.8% to 30.7% in the same time period) (SEEPU: Prospectus Statistique 1988-1989). This trend suggests that the system discriminates against girls and/or that there is also a differential demand for education.

B. Analytic Framework

There is compelling evidence of the development benefits from educating girls. Numerous studies demonstrate the correlation between increased female literacy and/or girls' education with improved levels of sanitation and nutrition, decreased infant mortality, and increased agricultural productivity (Blumberg 1989, Chamie 1983, Cochrane et.al. 1982, King 1990, Martin et.al. 1985, Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos 1988, Schultz 1989). Not paying attention to this issue has both social and economic consequences. King (1990) finds that:

a country with a large gender gap, measured between past male and female enrollment rates, will have lower economic production than another country with the same amount of capital stock and labor force but a smaller gender gap in education.

She also observes that a poorer country with a narrow education gender gap can achieve levels of social well-being comparable to a richer country with a larger gender gap. Although a boy's education is more likely to increase his earning potential, a girl's education tends to yield greater non-monetary returns in terms of increased family or household welfare.

Analyses of gender disparities in education identify a range of contributing factors (Anderson 1988, Chamie 1983, King 1990, Natriello 1990, Spratt *et.al.* 1990, Stromquist 1987, 1989). These factors can be categorized as follows: (1) political factors, (2) school factors, and (3) household factors. Here, political factors are defined as the aggregate distribution of power and resources which is a product of socio-economic and historical relationships. These relationships in turn affect government policies. So defined political factors explain cross-national differences. Household and school factors, in contrast, are defined in specific contexts (emic terms) and their interaction explains regional variation.

Political Factors: Government policies may be either intentional or unintentional with respect to gender; the effects may be positive, mixed or negative (Klein 1990). Intentional gender focused goals may be divided into sex equity goals or sex differential goals (*Ibid.*). Civil rights legislation to guarantee women's equality is an example of the former, while affirmative action or targetting are examples of the latter. Unintentional policies may also have gender effects, for example, the establishment of a minimum marriage age or the expansion of a school system.

Government policies evolve out of a particular political economic and historical context. The gender disparity in education reflects the way a society structures public and domestic relations of men and women. These relations, however, are fluid. Higher levels of economic development can, but do not necessarily increase women's access to public resources. Gender disparity in education is to some extent a function of economic development in West Africa and varies widely from 13% in Nigeria to 52% in Guinea (based on gross primary enrollment ratios) (UNICEF 1990). Technological development which introduces labor saving devices frees girls from household labor, thereby decreasing opportunity costs. A more developed economy further requires a more highly trained and literate population.

Schooling traditions also affect perceptions of education and the willingness of a given society to invest in education (Cuadra *et.al.* 1988, Spratt *et.al.* 1990). Nations may be at the same level of economic development, but will not necessarily value girls' education equally. Different literate and schooling traditions can constrain or promote access and

completion of particular groups in a society. Specific national policies to promote girls' access may make a difference. However, the effectiveness of a given policy will depend on the economic incentives, as well as tradition and past experience.

School Factors: Researchers have observed that school factors may effect both the supply and demand for girls' education (Anderson 1988, Natriello 1990). Empirical evidence is provided in several program designs and evaluations (PD-AAH-676, PD-AAS-855, PD-AAQ-651, PD-AAV-663, PD-AAZ-588, PN-ABB-252 and Their et.al. 1988). These studies identified the following school factors: (1) training of female teachers (Pakistan), (2) community based schools (Egypt), (3) pre-primary education (Nepal), (4) flexible scheduling (Indonesia), (5) distance to schools (Bangladesh, Egypt, and Mali), (6) curriculum reform (Mali, Egypt), and (7) overcrowding (Egypt). These factors reflect school organization and management. Which school factors are relevant in a given context will often depend on decisions made at the household level (Kerner 1986, King and Lillard 1987, Khan 1989).

Household Factors: A school's effort to increase female enrollments may directly compete with the household's perceptions of the girls' reproductive and productive roles. Households may treat education as a good to be consumed (the behavioral model of choice) or as an investment (the human capital model) (Khan 1989). Specific dowry practices, age of marriage, and traditions about domestic responsibilities may result in households deriving negative utility from the education of girls. Likewise, residence after marriage or gender discrimination in the labor market may make households less willing to invest in a girl's education.

The household is shown to be a useful unit of analysis for calculating opportunity and direct costs of education. Many studies that use the household as their unit of analysis, however, mistakenly assume that the head of household -- usually the man -- is the key decision maker and that decisions are unanimous. Who decides within the household and on what basis is often contested and may change over time. Informal interviews in Mali (Long 1989) and studies in other sectors have shown that women rather than male household heads were the key decision makers (Dwyer and Bruce 1988). In analyzing household factors, it is important to identify the decision makers and their relative stakes in the decision making process.

As this analytic framework suggests, the factors underlying girls' differential access and completion are complex. Interventions which are effective in one context or at a particular point in time may fail in another. The behaviors of the family, the school, and the state may be in conflict or be mutually reinforcing. As Stromquist (1989) observes, "important in this process is what each institution does not do in the way of combatting gender differences." Efforts to address the gender differential must take into account these three institutions and their interaction.

C. Methodology

The purpose of the study was to identify the constraints to girls' access and completion in Guinea. A related purpose was to provide baseline data to monitor the equity component of the Guinea basic education program.¹ With additional interviewing in the Basse Guinee and Conakry by the Mission WID Officer, the data could provide the basis for a formative evaluation of the program.

Data Collection: The research involved the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. To analyze the political context, Long, AAAS Fellow in AFR/DP/PPE, surveyed project documents and research studies conducted in Guinea (see Appendix E: References). She then interviewed government officials and administrators and Guinean sociologists. The former provided data on enrollments disaggregated by gender and region as well as information on Government policies and interventions. The latter provided background on school and household attitudes and perspectives of different ethnic groups.

Following these initial interviews, Long and Fofanah, a Guinean sociologist, then conducted fieldwork from May 6-10. Data was collected from prefectures and schools in three regions of Guinea: Gueckedou and Macenta in Guinee Forestiere, Farana in Haute Guinee, and Pita in Moyenne Guinee. The team began by developing and testing interview protocols in Gueckedou, which were then applied uniformly to Macenta, Farana, and Pita, to the extent local conditions permitted. The protocols involved:

- (1) obtaining primary enrollment data from the Direction Prefectorale de l'Enseignement (DPE) for the past five to ten years, as available,
- (2) interviewing the Prefect, DPE director for primary schooling, DPE statistician, school directors, teachers, students, and parents in each region, and
- (3) constructing school profiles (see Appendix B) based on interviews and observation of a rural and town school in each region.

Interviews and observations at the Prefecture, DPE, and schools generally lasted an hour to an hour and half. They were conducted in French except in a rural community in Haute Guinee, where interviews were conducted in Malinke and translated into French.

In Guinee Forestiere, the team interviewed at a school in the town and at a rural one on the main paved road between Macenta and Gueckedou. Although they twice tried to interview in a rural school off the main road, they were prevented from doing so by a collapsed bridge and broken down vehicle. The experience suggested the difficulties of doing good school inspection in many rural areas of Guinea. In Gueckedou, Fritz Foster and a team of Guinean animateurs from Plan Guinee supplemented the data by administering a teacher questionnaire

in six primary schools (see Appendix A). These results are included in the analysis of Guinea Forestiere.

In Moyenne Guinea, school closing on Thursday prevented the team from interviewing in two schools in that region. Normally, the school week in Guinea is Monday - Wednesday and Friday - Saturday. Fortunately, the team was able to interview at a school in Pita that served children from outlying areas and therefor, had an unusual schedule.

There was no attempt to ensure that the schools interviewed were representative of the particular region. However, regional enrollment levels were obtained to compare where each school stood in relation to regional averages.

Quality of Data: The quantitative data at the DPE level accorded with the data the team had obtained from the Service de Statistique in Conakry. The linkage between the school and sous prefecture level was not always well developed. Lack of transport in some areas makes information and data collection linkages very tenuous. The team also found occasional inaccuracies at the school level (i.e., in reporting the day's attendance). This reinforces the fact that educational data at all levels are only as accurate as what teachers collect in the classroom and any attempts to improve data collection should begin at this level. One of the most impressive aspects of the information system is that data at all levels are disaggregated by gender.

Qualitative data are lacking. More in-depth studies on gender and education are reportedly being conducted or planned by the Service de Statistique, Direction de l'Enseignement Elementaire, and UNICEF. Socio-economic descriptive and demographic data by region are available from UNDP: Etude Socio-Economique Regionale, Bilan Diagnostique au Niveau des Prefectures.

III. The Guinean Context

This section looks at the historical and socio-economic relationships which shape the present policy environment towards girls' access and completion. The section begins with an historical overview of the evolution of woman's status in Guinean society and her participation in the educational system. It then analyzes the socio-economic constraints to increased access and equity in the Guinean educational system. The section concludes with a discussion of the current policy environment.

A. Historical Experience

Sekou Toure, who came to power when Guinea became independent from the French in 1958, made the emancipation of women one of "imperatives" of the new Republic (Lewin 1984). The First Republic Government enacted several policies and statutes to protect women's civil rights (including the abolition of slavery). In 1959, the Toure Government made civil marriage mandatory, required reciprocal consent for marriage and formal divorce proceedings for its dissolution (in lieu of proclamation), and fixed dowry limits. Toure also appointed several women to high positions in his government. Several educated Guinean women observe that the Toure Government did more to advance the status of women than the present one has. However, the burden of economic stagnation also fell on women and limited their opportunities.

The Toure Government likewise instituted major reforms of the Guinean education system. Guinea traditionally has had two parallel systems, the Coranic and the French. The Coranic is several centuries old (Islam was established in 1099 in Guinea) and teaches Arabic literacy and numeracy. The French system was established in the late 19th century. As colonial systems elsewhere, it initially educated an administrative elite, which at its inception was tied to government employment. The Toure Government focused its reforms on the French system.

In the First Reform in 1962, the Government nationalized all schools, which included a few private elite and several Catholic and Protestant mission schools in Guinee Forestiere. In 1965/66, the Government instituted mass education. Supporting this policy, the Government made primary schooling compulsory, disallowed repetition, and instituted national languages in the curriculum up to the eighth year (progressively adding a new level each year). The Government also took affirmative action to encourage girls' enrollment and retention by lowering exam pass rates for girls from ten to eight and by reserving places in the university. The massive restructuring of the system engendered a backlash.

Quality was sacrificed for quantity. Parents decried the corruption of morals, particularly their daughters', with programs that emphasized theatre and sports. They also questioned the relevancy of national languages at higher levels and practical work programs (travail manuel). Teacher and student strikes further weakened support for the first reform.

In 1984/85, one of the first actions of the new Government was to promulgate the Second Reform. In the Second Reform, the Government reinstated French as the language of the curriculum, established an inspection system, allowed private schooling, and created two sectors under the Ministry of Education: l'enseignement superior (the university and research section) and SEEPU (pre-university). The Government also made passing requirements again the same for both sexes (ten out of 20).

Girls' enrollments initially dropped after the Second Reform, although the decline had begun earlier (probably reflecting parents' lack of confidence in the system) (see Appendix B). Overall enrollment levels also slightly declined in the first two years after the reform. However, both girls' and overall enrollments began growing again in 1987/88. If the sector continues to expand without sacrificing quality (as defined by parents as well), overall girls' enrollments can be expected to increase.

Throughout various reforms to increase access and/or improve quality, little attention to date has been given to the role of Coranic schools in imparting literacy and numeracy skills. These schools serve many children who do not attend the Government schools. Children also attend the Government schools and Coranic schools concurrently (studying at the Coranic in the early mornings and late afternoons). Although much of the teaching involves rote memorization of religious texts, Coranic schools teach reading, writing, and numeracy. Primary school teachers observe that the Coranic schools socialize children to school norms and that children who have attended an école maternelle (kindergarten) or Coranic school are better prepared for primary schools. In several large towns in the Fouta and Haute Guinee regions, Franco-Arabic Medersas have also been established and may eventually provide an alternative educational track to the university level.

B. Socio-Economic Constraints

In 1986 under an agreement with the IMF, Guinea instituted a structural reform program. The reforms were designed to transfer the economy from statist to a market oriented economy. Although Guinea's annual growth rate increased to an average 5% per annum and inflation declined from 78% in 1986 to 25% in 1989, private foreign and domestic investment remained low. In 1989, Guinea's external foreign deficit was estimated at 7.3% of GDP and its overall balance of payments deficit at \$US22 million. The Government has and will continue to have a significant public sector financing gap. Recent studies of vulnerable groups suggest that income disparities may be increasing and that women are more adversely affected than men by civil service lay-offs (USAID/Guinea 1990).

In Guinea the share of recurrent revenues for education are among the lowest in the region (14%). In practice, local communities directly bear the major share of the costs of schooling. The community or Association des Parents et des Eleves (APE) pays for the costs of school construction voluntarily or through the imposition of a local tax, and for

the costs of school supplies and materials. The community provides housing for the school director, donations for teachers' sustenance, and in towns and urban areas, fees for tutoring after hours. These costs make primary schooling virtually unaffordable for the poorest parents and forces many parents to prioritize who is sent to school. Until the central government has more capacity to levy taxes and redistribute the proceeds to the local level, the costs of increasing school expenditures per pupil are likely to fall on parents and local communities.

One of the legacies of the Toure era is the limited administrative capacity of the Government at all levels. Guinea is administratively organized into four regions, which are divided into prefectures, sous prefectures, and villages. The Government is highly decentralized and each level functions as an independent unit. There is limited vertical integration. Within the Central Government, different groups have duplicative functions and responsibilities. For example, the Service de Statistique and Direction de l'Enseignement Elementaire have both done studies of the constraints to girls' primary schooling, but were unaware of each other's work. Different administrative units also appear to be highly dependent on outside donor financial and technical assistance for their day to day functioning. For example, UNICEF had supported the Service de Statistique's study of girl's schooling, but there had been no follow up activity since its completion.

The four regions have distinct ethnic identities. The predominant ethnic groups in Basse Guinee are Sousou and Malinke, in Moyenne Guinee - Peul, in Haute Guinee - Malinke, and in Guinee Forestiere - Kissi, Toma, and Guerze. Although other groups may be found in each region, there are strong ethnic and regional loyalties. Guineans define themselves first as Peul, Malinke, Sousou, Kissi, or Toma, etc. and only secondarily as Guineans.

Across all regions, women and girls are generally disadvantaged by their social and legal status. Although Guinea laws do not discriminate against women, the Government, a military regime, has no Constitution to ensure the protection of civil rights and liberties. In practice, social norms and practices govern the treatment of women whose status is inferior in terms of property rights, access to capital, inheritance, and public and domestic roles and responsibilities.

Peul, Malinke, and Sousou are patrilineal and primarily Moslem, whereas Kissi, Toma, and Guerze practice a variant of matrilineal descent and are primarily Christian. Although the Government has officially established a brideprice limit of 500 Guinea francs, the going rate is 5000 and brideprice practices vary widely. In Guinee Forestiere, the informal brideprice is reported to be only ten kola nuts, whereas in Haute Guinee, it may be as much as ten to twelve livestock. The relative advantages of marrying a girl at an early age may figure in the calculation of the opportunity costs of her schooling. Not surprisingly, of the four regions, Guinee Forestiere has the highest girls' enrollment, whereas Haute Guinee has the lowest (see Appendix B).

Throughout Guinea women do an estimated 90% or more of the household labor, while contributing more than 50% of agricultural production. Women produce primarily for household consumption, while men predominate in the export crops. Women are involved in market activities, but reportedly have little access to capital or credit. In a UNICEF (1990:23) survey of Conakry, only 10% of women were found to be employed and almost entirely in the informal sector. In Guinea Forestiere, however, women and young girls are increasingly engaged in market activities and they may be gaining greater control over surplus income.

High rural urban migration of males in some regions of Guinea (the growth rate of Conakry is 7% per annum) is adversely affecting the welfare of women and children. In Moyenne Guinee, for example, large numbers of young men twelve to fourteen years attracted by the life of the city and economic opportunities migrate to Conakry. In three villages surveyed in that region, it was found that the percentage of males between 19 and 40 years was between two and four percent (Sylla et.al. 1990). With high rates of urban unemployment, remittances are not becoming a viable alternative source of income for the rural areas. The same survey found that female headed households, were poorer and less productive (Ibid.).

C. The Policy Environment

The Government of Guinea (GOG) recognizes the importance of increasing girls' access to primary schooling in its 1989 "Declaration of Education Policy". A specific target of the declaration is to:

promote equity and mitigate the costs of adjustment on the poor by carrying out special programs for the education of seven year olds and girls, as well as by strengthening literacy and post literacy programs.

In its educational reform program, the Government has established targets to augment resources for education, expand enrollments, improve quality and efficiency, and strengthen management capacity. These targets, if realized, would improve girls' access to primary education, but their attainment depends on administrative capacity and political will.

The Government much encouraged by the World Bank and the French Government, proposes to carry out extensive administrative reform through its Programme d'Adjustement Sectoriel de l'Education (PASE). The PASE comprises a series of administrative and policy reforms intended to lay the groundwork for subsequent expansion and improvement in the primary system. The extent to which these reforms will eventually improve girls' access depends on whether the Government is able to: (1) increase budgetary allocations to the education sector (particularly to primary) and (2) distribute the increased resources to all levels of the educational system (to the local school level). The reforms assume increased linkages between different levels of government and between the local government

(sous prefecture) and village.

The success of the proposed reforms also depends on political will and capacity. The current political climate is uncertain. The donor community considers the appointment of Aicha Bah Diallo, as Secretary of State for Pre-University Education (SEEPU), to be a positive sign of the Government's commitment. SEEPU is the administrative structure charged with overseeing all education below the primary level. Diallo has been a strong and vocal proponent of improving girls' access to education. At the 1989 UNICEF Conference on the Role of the Guinean Woman in Development which she chaired, conferees called for the institution of a Code de la Famille and for mandatory schooling to increase girls' enrollment.¹ Although well respected by Guineans and donors, Diallo's power in the present government is not assured. President Conte also recently appointed a military person, Jean Kolipe Lama, as Minister of Education.² Although Lama oversees higher education and research, it is not yet clear how the lines of authority will be drawn and where the real power in the Ministry lies.

The uncertainty of the current political situation is further evidenced in the teacher's strike in March 1990. Although the President appeased the teachers by promising substantial salary increases, the salary increases have not yet gone into effect. Teachers -- particularly university faculty -- are threatening to strike again. The Government in the PASE had originally proposed to tie salary increases to multi-grade teaching and downgrading of teachers. Although these reforms are not yet in place, the salary increases have been promised.

Ethnic differences are reflected in people's perceptions and analyses of the current Government's political capacity. President Conte, a Sousou, must gain the support of the Peul majority and the Malinke, who were more powerful under the former regime. As refugee situations in Liberia and elsewhere in Africa attest, ethnic divisions run deep particularly if the economic situation deteriorates.

Although the Government's rhetoric and willingness to reform its administrative structure suggest a favorable policy environment, its political capacity is weak. Any improvements in girls' access and completion of primary schooling are not likely to come from Government actions and initiatives for several years. Rather, improvements are more likely to come from local initiatives at the school level and to be limited in scope to the local level.

Footnotes

- (1) Diallo, a woman, majored in chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. She was a primary school director for more than ten years in Conakry and Labie. Protesting the policies of the Sekou Toure regime, she went into exile in 1983 and returned at his death in 1984 to work in the Ministry of Education.
- (2) The recent replacement of Salio Coumbassa, who had spent nine years in Sekou Taure's prisons, by Lama, a military person, is seen by some Guineans and donors to be a negative indicator.

III. Regional Variation

This section presents the teams' findings by region. Each section begins with a description of the environment, economy, and social characteristics of the region. School characteristics are then described in relation to girls' enrollment rates. The final part summarizes the responses of local officials, school directors, teachers, parents, and children as to what constrains girls' access and what can be done about it.

A. Guinea Forestiere

Guinea Forestiere is the most productive region in Guinea and towns such as Gueckedou and Macenta could become major trading centers in West Africa. At the crossroads of three countries -- Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire -- the region produces rice for export, plantation crops, wood, fruits, palm oil, and basic staples in the Guinea diet.

Gueckedou's Tuesday market is one of the largest markets in Guinea. Beginning as early as Sunday night, traffic flows in from Conakry and Liberia. Intense road construction between Conakry and Gueckedou has diminished the trip to a mere twelve hours in good weather conditions, although sections of the road between Faranah and Gueckedou remain uneven. An uprooted baobab tree or overturned truck can also cause delays along the way.

The war in Liberia may be yielding some economic benefits for the Forest region. Liberian taxis and other vehicles are visible everywhere and Liberians escaping with assets are spending money in local markets. At the same time, rural, poor peasants are bearing the burden of housing relatives from the war. The Prefect Adjoint of Macenta reported 5,000 officially registered refugees in the region. Others reported that truckloads of Liberians come up daily from Nzerekore to the north where they cross again back into Liberia. The war is beginning to have social and economic effects on the region. If the war is prolonged, it will undoubtedly cause greater strains.

The region has striking contrasts: thick tropical forests and tall pines, high mountains and steep valleys, intensive small household plots and large plantations, paved modern road and washed out footpaths, busy market towns and remote, largely inaccessible hamlets. It rains 10-11 months of the year, which makes it an extremely productive area, but makes transport to larger markets difficult. Many areas are beginning to suffer the effects of deforestation and landslides are not uncommon.

The region appears far from Conakry. There are no telephones, little electricity and limited potable water despite numerous rivers. Local Government officials are aware, but were somewhat unimpressed by the proposed educational reforms. "We don't wait for Conakry," one official informed us. Prefects are housed in well-kept villas built in colonial times and work in well-maintained prefectures with grand staircases from the same era. Despite these reminders of another time, it is a region that is developing rapidly.

Gueckedou:

School Characteristics: There are 3,216 primary school children in 123 schools in the prefecture. Of the school population, 12,119 (27%) are girls. This higher percentage in relation to regional levels (21.3%) may be a function of the relative affluence of the town.

The town rural difference was striking in the two schools. In Macenta Koura School, located in the center of Gueckedou, girls represented 33% of total enrollments, whereas in Kondembadou School in the rural area, they represented 19%. Macenta Koura had two female teachers, Kondembadou had none.

Macenta Koura, a large school of 746 students and two classes at each level, was on a double shift system. Except for the sixth year students who came all day, students in the other five classes came either in the morning or afternoon. The school, built in colonial times, could use some renovation. The steps were crumbling and the cement walls had cracks. The tin roof was a definite disadvantage in the long rainy season. One class was housed in temporary quarters in another part of the town and in the afternoons, the sixth year students studied at the secondary school. The majority of the children had uniforms and notebooks. The dominant ethnic group was Kissi and the teachers came primarily from that region.

Kondembadou, a small school of 54 students, had an incomplete grade system in which they offered grades four to six in the current year. Kondembadou had two classroom buildings. Both were built recently, but one had lost its walls and roof in a storm. Children had no uniforms and were not well supplied. The furniture was in poor condition and a few children sat on the dirt floor. When we arrived in the afternoon, one teacher and several students were absent, while others arrived late. The School Director explained that it was market day in the town. The ethnic groups in the school were Kissi and Guerze; the teachers were Guerze.

Community Responses: Government officials observed that girls' low enrollment rates reflected Gueckedou parents' concerns that too much time was spent with theatre, the lack of sex education, parental worries about daughters' security, and early marriage. Early marriage was said to cause many girls to drop out or knowing that they were not likely to complete the cycle, not to enter at all. They also observed that households needed girls to work in the market selling or for housework. As solutions, they proposed social marketing campaigns (sensibilisation) by teachers and government officials at all levels, compulsory schooling, and the teaching of morals and sex education in the curriculum.

Teachers spoke of the problems of early marriage, the costs of schooling (lack of money for uniforms, equipment, and fees), the opportunity costs, and the rural milieu. In questionnaires, teachers reported that parents believe that man is superior, and/or that boys will do better at school, while girls can be corrupted by school. The latter observation suggests that organization of the school itself is better structured to perceived male roles and responsibilities. As to solutions or

what might make a difference, teachers wrote or spoke of the need for teachers to work with parents (again sensibilisation), the rural urban difference, recruitment, and the need to change social relations.

We did not interview children in the schools, but informally asked girls in the market whether they attended school. The girls replied that they did not because they were needed at home.

Macenta:

School Characteristics: There are 10,277 children in 341 schools in the prefecture. Of this population, 2,745 (27%) are girls. The higher percentage of girls relative to regional levels may reflect that mission schools played an important role in establishing a strong tradition of educating both sexes. The two schools we visited -- both former mission schools -- probably had the highest percentage of girls' enrollments in the country (51% and 69%). Although these schools are by no means representative, they provide good examples of positive deviance and therefor, provide potential models for educational reform.

Kalouma Mission School, a small school of 72 students (51% girls), offered only grades one, three, and four. The school was located on the main paved road between Macenta and Gueckedou and served three villages. The original school was established by the Mission in 1949 and a new school, the present structure, was built in 1957. Like other schools in Guinea, the school was nationalized in 1960. Well-ventilated with high ceilings, the school of three classrooms was in very good condition. The fourth room, a teachers' room was used as a storage place for broken desks and chairs.

The school appeared to be well-organized and run. Attendance was very high; one or no absence in each class. Children were attentive and eagerly responded to the teachers' questions. Teachers had decorated the classrooms with the children's crafts and plants. When asked, they said proudly that their students' results were usually good. They claimed that by working closely with the APE and by visiting the homes to have enrolled every child of school age from the three villages. They also reported that the APE assisted poor parents in sending children to school. Few students had uniforms, but all sat at desks and had some materials. The students were Toma, as were the three male teachers. The school director also male was reported to be away from the village.

Kaman Camara, a medium size school of 426 students (69% girls), had a full day schedule from eight to 12 and three to five. The school had seven classes, one at each level and two at the second. There were 12 teachers, four of whom were women, and one male director. Of the 12 teachers, the Director reported that five were sick. The school was built by a Mission in the late 1940's and was in good condition; classrooms were almost filled to capacity.

The school appeared to be very well-organized with a good spirit. One female teacher volunteered, "We have a very good

director." He in turn spoke highly of his teachers and their training. The Director also maintained timely and accurate school data. The absence rate in the fourth year was 15%, which was about the norm for the school. Students had school uniforms and materials. The students were primarily Toma and all teachers interviewed were also Toma and came from the region. Two female teachers had brought their infants to school; one carried hers on her back, the other played on the floor. Four teachers, including two female, had received in-service teacher training. The teachers were very satisfied with the training. They said that it had improved their teaching and that they would like more.

Community Responses: According to a government administrator, the opening of Guinea's borders caused many young girls to drop out of school to earn their living selling in the market. This confirmed our impression that there were more young girls in the markets than in other regions of Guinea. Government administrators also mentioned early marriage as a reason for lower girls' enrollments.

Teachers observed that girls drop out after the fourth year to marry or because of pregnancy. They also said that girls had less time for homework than boys, because girls were expected to do more housework. Parents' resistance to girls' schooling was said not to be a problem. Teachers proposed two solutions to enable girls to progress through the system more rapidly: (1) allow girls to begin school at an earlier age and (2) establish more preschools (there are already three ecoles maternelles in Macenta). Social marketing campaigns (sensibilisation) of parents were also recommended.

B. Haute Guinee

Haute Guinee is a vast plain of savana, baobab, and elephant grass located at 200-400 meters. The region has a long dry season of six to nine months and short dry season during Harmattan. The Niger River flows through the region. When the river is deep, it provides hydroelectric power, but for large parts of the year there is no electricity. The people, primarily Malinke, produce rice, tubercules, and other staple crops. They also raise livestock; and cattle are the most valued asset of a household. The rural villages of round mud and thatch houses are often located next to a giant baobab tree. The demise of the tree as we saw in passing is said to be a sign of great misfortune for the village.

We visited the town of Faranah which is the second largest town in the region. The town had electricity and telephones, but the electricity had been shut down for several months. The rains had not yet arrived and were reportedly late. The Niger was very low and residents claimed that it was hotter than they ever remembered. They blamed it on deforestation. The main government hotel -- a series of villas built in Sekou Toure's time -- had seen better days. It had been designed to host international conferences and dignitaries. Everything in the hotel was on a grand scale: bedrooms with sweeping vistas and king size beds, large bathtubs mounted on platforms, long drapes and overstuffed furniture. But, nothing worked; the furniture was ripped, the water no longer ran, the lights were off, and there were long cracks in the walls. As the cook who had once worked for Sekou Toure explained, "there had been better times."

Inflation was high. A local Peace Corps volunteer reported that the price of sugar had almost doubled in six months from 450 to 800 francs a box. He added, "Everyone is afraid to ask someone to work harder, because they don't get enough to live on so you have no right to ask more." Gas was only available on the black market. There were several abandoned or partially constructed buildings in the town which residents suggested could be renovated for schools.

The prefecture reflected the economic despair. Government officials sat in large, largely empty and dusty rooms. They retrieved reports copied in student notebooks from armoires that looked as if they had not been opened in years. The process was slow and painstaking, but yielded results.

Faranah:

School Characteristics: In the prefecture of Faranah, there are 7,006 primary school children of whom 1,706 (24%) are girls. The percentage is slightly lower than the regional average (24%). The percentage has shown little variation over the past six years. Overall enrollments have fallen. Women, however, constitute the majority (60%) of the primary teaching force.

As in Gueckedou, the town rural difference was striking. In Karamoko Kourouma School, located in the town of Faranah, girls represented 29% of enrollments, whereas in Dantilia School, a rural school, they represented 14%.

Karamoko Kourouma was a large school with 785 students and 14 classes that operated on a normal full day schedule. Of the 22 teachers, nine were women. The school was one of the most attractive that we visited. It was freshly painted, cream with green and red trim and the students had planted flower gardens to decorate the school grounds. The school had a well-organized office, infirmary staffed by a nurse, and two latrines. It was the only school we visited that had latrines, although the latrines was said to be reserved for the teachers.

The atmosphere in the school was very positive. The school Director maintained up to date records and spoke highly of his school and teachers. Several teachers had created blackboards with the various parts of the day's lesson that were works of art. The teachers said that their students were generally good. Two teachers were participating in the UNICEF L'Enfant pour l'enfant program, which is designed to teach children health prevention so the children can take better care of younger siblings. They were very enthusiastic about the program and said that one of the benefits was the textbooks. The teachers in general identified the lack of textbooks as the major constraint in the school. The majority of the school and the teachers were Malinke.

Dantilia, a small school of 133 students and five teachers, was 15 kilometers off the main, partially paved road and about 12 kilometers from the Sierra Leone border. The school inspector who accompanied us welcomed the opportunity to visit the school. He explained that it was difficult to visit often, because the DPE had no means of transportation since a mobylette had broken down three years earlier.

The school had five classes, covering the second through sixth levels. The two school buildings needed substantial repair. One building of two classes built in 1988 had cracked and crumbling walls. The other of three classes constructed prior to independence was in slightly better condition, but had a leaky roof and shaky foundations. Two of the classrooms had no desk or chairs for the teachers.

When we arrived late in the morning, no one was in school. Several primary age children appeared and explained that the school director had cancelled classes when a strong wind threatened to blow the roof off the school. The School Director and a teacher were also found and organized some parents for us to interview. With some difficulty, the Director located his school records, which were kept in student notebooks. He reported that the student level was acceptable and that 65-70% of the students continue on to secondary school.

Community Responses: School officials in Faranah saw the problem of girls' low attendance as being due to early marriage, the high brideprice (several head of cattle), the lack of relevancy of education to girls' future roles, pregnancy, and lack of knowledge about sex education. They proposed that teachers be better trained and that sex education be incorporated into the curriculum.

Teachers in Karamoko Kourouma said that early marriage, household responsibilities, and the unlikelihood of completion after the fifth or six year, were factors. They proposed encouraging parents (sensibilisation) through the APE. The Dantilia staff listed early marriage, the belief that girls are inferior, household responsibilities, and the lack of completion. The Dantilia Director said that it was important to teach parents that men and women are equal. He thought that an educated girl could serve as an example for the community. Teachers and directors of both schools observed that an educated girl could go far and become anything a man could.

A village elder in Dantilia speaking in Malinke listed several reasons for girls' enrollment: (1) parents need the girls to work in the fields, (2) parents prefer to send their sons rather than their daughters, because daughters also look after the younger children, and (3) the school tax. He explained that parents receive a tax break for enrolling their children in school. They will usually enroll both daughters and sons during the tax season (January to March) and then withdraw their children in April to work in the fields. Although some children study from October to March or longer, all lose another two weeks of school in December for initiation ceremonies. A Sousou woman in Dantilia observed that school hours conflict with girls' work of preparing meals, planting and harvesting crops, and looking after younger children. She had sent her own daughters to school and thought that the solution was to make school hours more compatible with the daily and seasonal calendar.

Both teachers and parents mentioned Coranic education as an alternative. They said that there were eight Coranic schools in the village which allowed girls to learn to read and write in Arabic.

C. Moyenne Guinee

Moyenne Guinee in the Fouta Diallo is a mountainous region at 700 meters. The climate is cool most of the year and in winter months, temperatures drop to four degrees. The dry season which includes Harmattan lasts seven to eight months, the rainy from July to October. The main ethnic group, Peul, are primarily rice farmers and herders. They also grow mangoes and staple crops. The region has telephones and hydroelectric power when the water level in the dam is sufficiently high.

The road from Mamou to Dalaba was good, but from Dalaba to Pita and Labe, the road was primarily dirt. Reaching Pita turned out to be difficult, because two broken down trucks blocked the route. Extensive road construction and repair work is being done in the region and is progressing rapidly. Several more kilometers between Dalaba and Pita were completed during our short visit.

The towns of Pita, Dalaba, and Mamou had large markets with a good supply of fruits and vegetables. Gas was available and there was a lot of traffic between the main towns and between the region and Conakry. The region appeared to be prospering and residents reported that they were generally happier with the current political and economic situation, although some criticized the Government for favoring Sousou. During the Sekou Toure era, one third of the Peul population fled the country, but many have returned to the region.

The Government hotel in Pita was well maintained, as was the Prefecture. The buildings from colonial times had been renovated and several beautiful gardens had been planted. The DPE had its own separate grounds apart from the prefecture and the school administrators had a well-organized data system.

Although the region seemed comparatively affluent, residents reported that many young men fourteen to fifteen years of age migrate to Conakry seeking work and the city life. As found in the Sylla (1990) survey of three villages in the region, female headed households are generally poorer. Such households also continue the rural urban migration pattern since fathers are not around to keep boys at home.

Pita:

School Characteristics: In the Pita prefecture, there are 7,452 primary school children of whom 1,929 (26%) are girls. This percentage is equivalent to the regional average (26.6%). The percentage of girls has remained constant over the past six years (varying between 25 and 27%). Overall enrollments have risen.

As noted earlier, we were only able to visit one school because most schools are closed on Thursdays. Gueme, the school, was located on the edge of town and primarily served children from rural areas, who walked up to eight kilometers to school.

Gueme was a small school of 325 students and had five levels (two classes of the first and fourth levels and one of the second, third, and fifth). Girls represented 35% of the enrollment, which was higher than the prefecture and regional averages. Of the 11 teachers, five were women. The school was comprised of three buildings around a courtyard. The classrooms could benefit from repair, but were well maintained and filled to capacity. Flowers had been planted in the courtyard.

The atmosphere in the school was very positive. The school director invited the teachers to meet with us and we sat together outside under a tree. They were equally interested in interviewing us and asked several questions about the U.S. educational system and about how Americans had increased girls' enrollments. The Director brought out the school records which he maintained on a large blackboard. He reported proudly that 70% of the students had passed in the previous year. Even with the teachers absent from the classroom, students continued working. When we visited the classrooms, the children were very enthusiastic and wanted to perform. Few had uniforms and there were few textbooks. The absence rate was higher than other schools, 18% (ten out of 54) in the fifth year class. The teacher reported that all but two were sick and several teachers mentioned that illness was a problem.

Community Responses: The Prefect observed that parents want to send their daughters to school, but lack the economic means. He said that early marriage and brideprice were not factors in girls' low enrollment rates.

The school director and teachers reported that distance, household responsibilities, and sickness were factors in low enrollments. They said that after a long illness, many children do not want to return to school. They also observed that repetition and lack of continuation caused many girls to drop out.

School children of both sexes said that parents do not send their daughters because they need them to work at home. The school director and teachers proposed that more schools be constructed in rural areas and that parents be encouraged (sensibilisation) by the school and government officials. They also spoke of the importance of Coranic schooling as an alternative and/or to reinforce basic schooling. "Children who do well in the Coranic schools perform well in school," they observed.

VI. Conclusions

A. Regional Comparisons

As the foregoing discussion suggests, there is regional variation in constraints to girls' primary schooling. Although different interventions were proposed in the three different regions, there is also universal consensus that encouraging parents to send their daughters, a kind of social marketing campaign, by school and government officials is critical. Further, social marketing needs to be done at national, regional, and local levels.

Differences between problems and solutions in the three regions are summarized in Table I below.

Table I: Constraints to Girls' Primary Schooling

	PROBLEMS	SOLUTIONS
Guinee Forestiere	economic (direct costs) girls' labor (opportunity costs) early marriage	pre-school programs earlier age enrollment
Haute Guinee	early marriage bride price school hours and calendar girls' labor early maturation and pregnancy	alteration of school calendar Coranic schooling sex education
Guinee Moyenne	distance illness girls' labor economic hardship lack of continuation	school construction Coranic schooling

Community responses suggest that different interventions -- in addition to social marketing -- are required in each region to increase girls' enrollment and completion rates.

Across all regions, schools face similar constraints: lack of textbooks, limited materials, and very few latrines. However, a few schools despite these obstacles have high enrollment rates, a better than average percentage of girls, and in some cases, few absences. These cases of positive deviance provide insights into what works and what schools can do to make a difference. The schools with high enrollments were found to be well organized and managed and had enthusiastic teachers, who believed that their students were good. In essence, they were "effective schools" (Lockheed and Verspoor 1989:45).

What are the characteristics of effective schools? Many studies measure school quality by material inputs (see Fuller's 1986 discussion of definitions of school quality). However, research on the characteristics of particularly effective schools has identified the following nonmaterial inputs: an orderly school environment, clear goals and high expectations, a sense of community and strong instructional leadership (Lockheed and Verspoor 1989:45). The results of this study likewise suggest that these nonmaterial inputs are characteristic of effective schools in Guinea. Nonmaterial inputs here were shown to be school director leadership; teachers' enthusiasm, pride in their work, and willingness to work hard; and good relations between the school and the community (APE). When measured by these nonmaterial inputs, school quality may be linked to improved girls' access. Although harder to quantify, these school characteristics need to be addressed in efforts to improve girls' access to education and the quality of primary schooling for all Guinean children.

B. Political, School, and Household Factors

Political, school, and household factors and their interaction have been shown to be relevant to understanding low primary school enrollment and completion rates of girls in Guinea. Political factors determine the Government's willingness to invest in education, the level of public resources available for such investments, and how investments in education are distributed. As has been shown in this study, girls' access to education has been constrained by the low level of investment in education. To a large extent, investments in education have been made at the local rather than national level. Rural areas have been disadvantaged in comparison to urban areas.

Because investment decisions are made at the local level, school and household factors are very significant in determining the supply as well as demand for schooling. School factors include the schooling traditions of a region, the quality of the school, and the availability of alternative forms of schooling. Guinea Forestiere has a long tradition of Western schooling associated with the Christian Missions. It has relatively high girls' enrollment rates. Moyenne and Haute Guinee have a strong tradition of Coranic schooling and low enrollment rates. In all regions, schools of better quality appear to have higher girls' enrollments.

Household factors include the opportunity costs and direct costs of schooling. The calculation of opportunity costs varies by region and ethnic group. Included in this calculation are bride price, age of marriage, and work responsibilities (childcare, agricultural, commercial and household activities). In all three regions, girls' work responsibilities in the household are more likely than boys' to conflict with school hours. In Haute Guinee and Guinea Forestiere, expectations about girls' marriage age and maturational development may conflict with school age assumptions. In Haute Guinee, keeping

a girl in school may delay the payment of a significant brideprice. In all regions, the direct costs of schooling may adversely affect poor households.

Interventions to increase girls' access and completion are needed to address all three factors. Political factors need to be addressed by the Government at the central level. Recent high level support for education and for attention to equity and access suggests a favorable trend. That political factors matter is shown by the importance that communities attach to Government promotion of education (sensibilisation) at the highest level. Historical experience also suggests that Government policies in the past have improved women's status in other spheres.

School and household factors need to be addressed at the regional and school level. Improving girls access will require profound social change in some regions of Guinea. Building on indigenous schooling traditions, such as the Coranic system, and/or on successful existing programs will help to minimize social disruption. Since the PASE reforms are not likely to take effect at the school level for several years, it will be important to identify and support successful local initiatives. Through special studies and incentive grants, A.I.D.'s strategy should be to support local initiatives, while strengthening the Government's administrative capacity to implement a reform program.

VII. Recommendations for Action

Recommendations that follow from this research fall into three categories: (1) recommendations for policy dialogue and negotiations on program conditionalities, as outlined in the Guinea Basic Education PAAD, (2) programmatic directions and options for the Mission to fund special studies under the projectized components of the Basic Education Program, and (3) recommendations for developing a Mission Women In Development (WID) action plan.

A. Negotiations on Program Conditionalities

The research presented here suggests that Mission encouragement and support for the following Government actions will further its equity objectives, as outlined in the PAAD:

- (1) Social marketing campaigns at national and local levels of Government to increase demand for primary schooling;
- (2) School construction and rehabilitation (including construction of school latrines) to increase the supply of schooling in rural areas;
- (3) Specific interventions to promote quality (incentive programs and recognition for good schools, inservice training of teachers and directors, improved inspection systems);
- (4) Redistribution of public resources to increase the share of schools in rural areas;
- (5) Pilot programs at regional levels to address specific constraints to girls' schooling (e.g., pre-primary schools, lower age limits, changes in school hours and calendar); and
- (6) Recognition of Coranic Schools that impart literacy and numeracy skills to girls.

Specific interventions to address equity need to come from the Government. However, evidence that the interventions outlined above are incorporated in Government planning and implementation of the PASE would represent progress in satisfying specific equity conditionalities outlined in the Guinea Basic Education Program (PAAD).

B. Special Studies

A.I.D. should fund a few special studies to develop its own monitoring and evaluation capacity for the Basic Education Program with regard to equity. Specific action steps are outlined here for the short and long term. These actions would be managed by the WID Officer (see time commitment level recommended in the PAAD).

Short-term (next three to six months):

(1) Complete school and regional profiles for Conakry and Basse Guinee, complete school profile of second rural school in Moyenne Guinee, code data and put in D-Base or other data base file.

(2) Share information and analysis with the Government, disseminate findings to NGOs, Peace Corps, UNICEF, and other relevant organizations.

(3) Encourage the Government to undertake special quantitative and qualitative studies to address equity issues at the school, sous prefecture, and prefecture levels.

Long-term (one to two years):

(1) Assess quality and coverage of studies undertaken by the Government to address the equity issue and identify gaps;

(2) Assess Government use of studies to guide implementation and programmatic interventions; and

(3) Replicate and elaborate the research undertaken here to monitor program progress and to identify process indicators for future monitoring of the basic education program with regard to equity.

The WID Officer may want to fund local NGOs and researchers and/or collaborate with Peace Corps to carry out the above. These steps will require a significant amount of her time and are management intensive, but will also improve overall monitoring and evaluation of the Basic Education Program.

Government Special Studies: Under the projectized components of the program, A.I.D. should also fund special studies conducted by the Government of Guinea to increase their administrative capacity with regard to equity. Studies that A.I.D. might fund include:

(1) the role of Coranic schooling in imparting literacy and numeracy skills to girls;

(2) local school financing;

(3) school mapping in relation to gender;

(4) school profiles to identify process indicators for measuring quality; and

(5) ethnographic studies to identify regional and ethnic differences in constraints to girls' access and completion.

C. Recommendations for Developing the WID Action Plan

Baseline indicators to monitor WID objectives in all sectors should be disaggregated by region. As this study has shown, there is significant regional and ethnic variation. Such information can be obtained with interviews and household surveys of local communities and with interviews of local officials. Experience in the education sector suggests that the Government at all levels may have data disaggregated by gender. These data need to be analyzed to develop a Mission WID strategy and Action Plan.

Appendix A: Results of Plan Guinea Teacher Survey

<u>School</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Grades</u>	<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Variation*</u>
Gueckedou	rural close to town	12/48 (25%)	1	household labor, more boys than girls.	Parents' involvement
Leura- Mamadou	iso- lated rural	28/90 (31%)	1-3	early marriage	Parents in urba understand importance.
Hermakono	town	119/290 (41%)	1-6	girls are more corrupted by school, early marriage.	social relation between parents and daughters.
Macenta Koura	town	256/730 (35%)	1-6	boys will do better in school	recruitment, geographic placement family wishes
Fandou Gema	small village on main road	12/72 (17%)	2,5,6	Parents believe man is superior, don't pay atten- tion to daugh- ter's education which leads to early marriage.	

* Reasons for Variation

Appendix B: Measures of Girls'

A. Regional Profiles

<u>Region</u>	<u>Total Enrollments</u>	<u>Percentage of Girls Enrolled</u>
Conakry	58.2	48.4
Kindia (Basse)	25.6	14.5
Labe (Moyenne)	18.3	9.5
Cancun (Haute)	19.8	10.0
N'zerekore (Forestiere)	33.9	14.1

B. Sub-Regional Comparisons

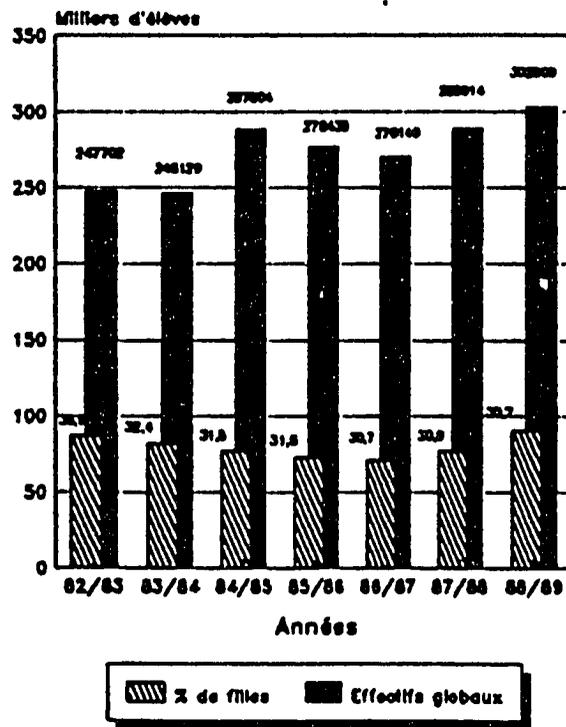
<u>Region/Prefecture/Town</u>	<u>Girls' Percentage of Enrolled</u>
Labe (Moyenne):	27%
Pita Prefecture	26%
Gueme	35%
Cancun (Haute):	25.9%
Faranah Prefecture	24%
Karamoko Kourouma:	29%
Dantilia	14%
N'zerekore (Forestiere):	21.%
Macenta Prefecture:	27%
Kalouma Mission:	51%
Kaman Camara:	69%
Gueckedou Prefecture:	27%
Macenta Koura*:	33%
Kondembadou:	19%

C. Prospectus Statistique (1988-89)

Nombre d'écoles : 2408 dont privé : 31
Nombre de classes : 7516 dont privé : 167
Nombre d'élèves : 302809 dont privé : 7008
dont filles : 93191 dont privé : 2430
% de filles : 30,77 - % global en privé : 2,31
Taux brut de scolarisation (7-12 ans): 28,66%

	Total	Z. urbaine	Z. rurale
Ecoles	2408	373	2035
Classes	7516	2402	5114
Effectifs	302809	156711	146098
El./classe	40	65	29

EVOLUTION DES EFFECTIFS DU PRIMAIRE



Appendix C: Interview Profiles

A. School Profile

School:

Date Visited:

Location:

System: (double shift, incomplete grade, complete)

Infrastructure: (number and condition of buildings)

Materials/Equipment: (textbooks, notebooks, desks, chairs, writing materials, and other school supplies)

Teacher Characteristics: (number, sex, ethnic background, training)

Student Characteristics: (number, percentage girls, ethnic background)

Absences: (by class)

Recruitment: (APE, teacher initiated, combination, other)

Reasons for low girls' enrollment:

Solutions to improve girls' enrollment:

B. Questionnaire on Constraints and Solutions

The following are the kinds of questions that were asked during the interviews with the government and schools. The interviews were informal and open ended, but usually covered the issues raised in these questions.

(1) Pourquoi la scolarization des filles est plus diminuee que celle des garcons?

(2) Avez-vous une idee comment on peut ameliorer la situation scolaire pour les filles?

(3) Pourquoi il y a telle difference entre la scolarisation dans la campagne et dans la ville?

(4) Est-ce que les filles sont traitees differentes que les garcons a la maison, a l'ecole, a la vie publique, au travail? Si, en cas positif pourquoi?

(5) Est-ce que les filles reussent au meme niveau que les garcons a l'ecole? Si non, pourquoi?

(6) Quels sont des avantages pour une fille scolarisee?

(7) Est-ce qu'il y a deja une programme des reformes qui etait mise en place pour ameliorer la situation scolaire des filles?

Appendix D: Interviews

Conakry:

Administrative Officer, Peace Corps/Guinea

Barry Alpha Aliou, Barry Thierno Aliou, Marguerite Sagno, Camarra Souleymane, Barry Billo, and Kadiatu Doumbouya, Service de Statistique et Planification d'Education (SSPE)

Aissatou Bah-Diallo, Economist, UNDP

Idiatu Camara, Sociologist, Ministere des Ressources Naturelles, and Sougoule Manangbe, Economist, Direction Nationale des Mines

Alfa Mahmoud Diallo, Directeur de l'Enseignement Elementaire, SEEPU

Emmanuel Diarra, UNICEF

Kadiatu Doumbouya, Section de Plannification et Etudes, SSPE (follow up interview)

Liliane Grandcourt, educator

Jill Rizika, Program Officer, UNDP

Guinee Forestiere:

Rene Bayo Kamano, Prefet de Gueckedou

Sebe Lamine Kouyate, Ignace Pierre Kpoghroumou, Vessou Sidibe, Cecene Pepe, and Sekou Diaby, DPE de Gueckedou

Director and Teachers, Macenta Koura School

Teachers, Koudembadou School, Gueckedou

Fritz Foster, Director of Plan Guinee

Randy Movich, Evan Coughenour, and Lawrence Worker, Peace Corps Volunteers, Macenta-Gueckedou regions

Prefet-Adjoint, Macenta

Magassouba Moussa, Jacques Koivogui, and Sinae Soropogui, DPE de Macenta

Alpha Bah, entrepreneur, Macenta

Teachers, Kalouma Mission School

Director and Teachers, Kaman Camara School

Haute Guinee:

Prefet de Faranah

Bourama Camara and Aguibou Daff, DPE de Faranah

Director and Teachers, Karamoko Kourouma School, Faranah

Jordan Feig, Peace Corps Volunteer, Faranah

Director, and Teacher, Dantilia School, Dantilia

Samara Sour, Farmer and APE head, Dantilia

Mrs. Sour, Mother and Farmer

Director, Laya Solima School

Moyenne Guinee:

Prefet de Pita

Oumar Pathe Bah, Bakary Tambassa, and Boubacar Bah, DPE de Pita

Mrs. Bah, Entrepreneur, Pita

Jane Park, Peace Corps Volunteer, Pita

Director, Teachers, and Students, Gueme School, Pita

Appendix E: References

- Agency for International Development. (1989). Pakistan: primary education development program. PD-AAZ-558.
- Agency for International Development. (1985). Nepal: girl's access to education. PD-CAR-808.
- Agency for International Development. (1981). Basic education project paper. PD-AAH-676.
- Anderson, M.B. (1988). Improving access to schooling in the third world: An overview. BRIDGES Research Report Series. Harvard Institute for International Development. No. 1.
- Blumberg, R.L. (1989). Making the case for the gender variable: women and the wealth and well-being of nations. A.I.D. Office of Women in Development. Pn-ABC-454.
- Chamie, M. (1983). National, institutional, and household factors affecting young girl's school attendance in developing societies. International Center for Research on Women.
- Cochrane, S., J. Leslie, and D.J. O'Hara. (1982). Parental education and child health: intracountry evidence. Health Policy and Education. 2: 213-50.
- Cuadra, E., M. Anderson, S. Moreland, and F. Dall. (1988). Female access to basic education: trends, policies, and strategies. BRIDGES, Harvard Institute for International Development.
- Diallo, K.Z. (1989). Rapport de mission d'evaluation de l'implication des femmes dans les actions de la recherche developpement. Republique de Guinee, Projet GUI/86/004.
- Dwyer, D. and J. Bruce (1988). A home divided: women and income in the third world. California: Stanford University Press.
- EL Din, M. Gamal, S. Conly, et.al. (1987). Project evaluation summary, basic education. USAID/Egypt. PD-AAV-663.
- EL Din, M. Gamal, S. Grant, et.al. (1985). Basic education: study of USAID contributions to the Egyptian basic education program, second annual report. USAID/Egypt. PD-AAS-759.
- EL Din, M. Gamal, S. Grant, et.al. (1984). Basic education. USAID/Cairo. PD-AAQ-651.

Evans, J.L. (1985). Improving program actions to meet the intersecting needs of women and children in developing countries: a program and policy review. The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, High/Scope Educational Research Foundation.

Fuller, B. (1986). Raising school quality in developing countries: what investments boost learning? World Bank Discussion Paper; 2.

Hyde, K.A.L. (1989). Increasing female access to education: an annotated guide to questionnaires and research instruments. Draft report. A.I.D., Bureau of Science and Technology, Office of Education.

Kerner, D.O. (1986). Reading at home is like dancing in church: a comparison of educational opportunities in two Tanzanian regions. A.I.D. Working Paper #123. Pn-AAW-933.

Khan, S.R. (1989). Barriers to female education in South Asia. PHREE/89/17 Background Paper Series. The World Bank.

King, E.M. (1990). Educating girls and women: investing in development. The World Bank.

King, E.M. and L. Lillard. (1987). Education policy and schooling attainment in Malaysia and the Philippines. Economics of Education Review. 6(2):167-181.

Klein, S.S. (1987). The role of public policy in the education of girls and women. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis. 9(3):219-230.

Lewin, A. (1984). La Guinee. Presse Universitaire de France.

Lockheed, M.E. and A. Verspoor. (1989). Improving primary education in developing countries: a review of policy options. The World Bank.

Long, L.D. (1990). Access and completion in the ANE region. Paper for seminar on "Developing an AID Asia/Near East Human Capital Strategy for the 1990's". National Governors' Association.

Long, L.D. (1989). Girls' access: mali basic education program. USAID/Mali.

Martin, L.G., D.R. Flanagan, and A.R. Klenicki. Evaluation of the Bangladesh female secondary education scholarship program and related female education and employment initiatives to reduce fertility. Office of Population, A.I.D. PD-AAS-855.

Natriello, G. (1990). Access and completion in U.S. schools. Paper for seminar on "Developing an AID Asia/Near East Human Capital Strategy for the 1990's". National Governors' Association.

Olivola, K.J. (1990). Analyse rapide de la situation: enfants et femmes en milieu urbain en Guinee (avec un accent particulier sur Conakry). UNICEF, Conakry.

Psacharopoulos, G. and Z. Tzannatos. (1989). Female labor force participation: an international perspective. The World Bank Research Observer, 2.

Republique de Guinee. (1990). La femme et l'education en Guinee. Ministere d'Education Nationale, Section de Planification et Etudes.

Republique de Guinee. (1987). Analyse des statistiques scolaires et universitaires 1987/88. Ministere d'Education Nationale.

Schultz, T.P. (1989). Returns to women's education. PHRWD/89/001. The World Bank.

Sidibe, M. (1990). Analyse de la situation de la femme en Guinee. UNICEF. Femmes et developpement.

Spratt, J., L. Crouch, and L. Cubeddu. (1990). The socio-economic impacts of female education: cross-national evidence. BRIDGES Project, Harvard Institute for International Development.

Stromquist, N.P. (1989). Determinants of educational participation and achievement of women in the third world: a review of the evidence and a theoretical critique. Review of Educational Research. 59(2): 143-183.

Stromquist, N.P. (1987). School-related determinants of female primary school participation and achievement in developing countries: an annotated bibliography. Discussion Paper. The World Bank.

Sylla, B., W. Roberts, M. Diallo, M. Kourouma, and G. Bilivogui. (1990). A study of the relationships between food production, availability, consumption, and nutritional status among selected households in Dalen sous-prefecture, Republic of Guinea. USAID/Guinea. Unpublished report.

Thein, T.M., M. Kabir, and E. Boyse. (1988). Evaluation of the female scholarship program supported by the Asia Foundation. USAID/Bangladesh.

UNICEF. (1990). The state of the world's children 1990. Oxford University Press.

UNDP. (1989). Etude Socio-Economique Regionale, Bilan Diagnostic au Niveau des Prefectures.

UNICEF. (1989). Je suis l'avenir de la Guinee. Annual Report. Conakry.

UNICEF. (1989). Journees de reflexions sur la situation et l'integration de la femme Guineenne au developpement.

USAID/Guinea. (1990). Guinea program strategic plan (preliminary).

World Bank. (1989). Rapport sur le developpement dans le monde. Washington, D.C.