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**Constraints to Girls' Persistence in Primary School
and Women's Employment Opportunities in the Education Service**

A Report to the Ministry of Education and Culture
and USAID/Malawi
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study is designed to increase our understanding of policy and institutional constraints operating in Malawi which affect both female persistence in primary school and female employment in the education sector. This report seeks to contribute to the continuing discussion within the Government of Malawi and to the formulation of policies and establishment of practices aimed at improving the situation of females in education. In addition, it suggests ways in which USAID/Malawi might assist the Government in moving that agenda forward through its new education program. In conducting the study, the team concentrated on identifying the constraints, analyzing the underlying factors, and suggesting what can be done to address the situation described here.

Our principle focus is on policy and institutional constraints. Clearly there are many other types of factors constraining female persistence and employment. Factors operating at the school, community, and household levels are explored in other studies being supported by USAID and other agencies. This report should therefore be seen as complementary to these other analyses.

GIRLS' PERSISTENCE IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

The paper reports that while girls enter primary school in about the same proportions as boys, regional disparities exist, and dropout rates are higher among girls than boys, particularly in Standards 1 and in the upper Standards of primary school. Repetition rates are high, and multiple repetition is more prevalent among boys, reducing the efficiency of the entire system. Such inefficiency operates to the greater disadvantage of girls, for whom the onset of adolescence is more likely to bring on competing responsibilities with the risk of early pregnancy, expectations of marriage, and initiation practices in some areas. The presence of a great proportion of male multiple repeaters may also distort the distribution of Primary School Leaving Certificate examination scores, thereby affecting girls' chances of selection into secondary school. Low academic performance of girls on examinations has been linked elsewhere to gender-biased attitudes and classroom practices of teachers, which appear to be present in the Malawian context as well, especially in math and science subject areas. The evidence also indicates that girls are more likely than boys to perceive themselves as having limited chances of access to higher levels of education and to its rewards, as well as having limited knowledge of life options open to them, especially in rural areas where educated women in formal sector positions are few. Finally, once girls leave school, their options for continuing education are limited by a variety of policies and practices and again, a lack of knowledge of these options.

The study found that policies and institutional practices such as the levying of school fees and other private costs of schooling; policies (or lack of policy) and conditions which produce extreme flow inefficiencies in primary schooling; and the student pregnancy policy are likely contributors to the school dropout of girls in particular. School-level factors contributing to

girls' lack of persistence in school appear to include the lack of career and personal guidance counseling services, and gender-biased perceptions and teaching practices which may undermine girls' classroom and examination performance, especially in math and science subjects.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE EDUCATION SERVICE

For a number of reasons, women entering the labor market appear to face more severe constraints on their employment and earnings prospects than men. First, women tend to have less education and training than men. Second, women have many more non-labor market responsibilities than men. Besides lower levels of education, women are expected to shoulder a heavy burden of household responsibilities--including childbearing and childcare. Even women working in jobs with significant demands are expected to run the household and care for its members. Third, employers are skeptical of women's commitment to their jobs. This may result from the common perception that women follow their husbands who may move for job-related reasons. Pregnancies are considered disruptive to the work environment, particularly when they are followed by maternity leave.

One consequence of these constraints is that women have a more difficult time than men in obtaining good jobs in the formal sector. For example, among those with a university level education, 29 percent of women found professional or technical work, or administrative or managerial work. Nearly 65 percent of men with a university level education found work in these occupations.

Many women do work as primary teachers. A large proportion of educated women of all ages with good secondary school qualifications are in teaching. Further, an even larger share of new female secondary graduates appear to be entering teaching. But of all the advanced formal training opportunities available in Malawi (including the University of Malawi), only 25 percent go to women.

The same factors that affect women's career opportunities throughout the society affect women's opportunities for advancement in the education sector in Malawi: too few women with the right skills and qualifications in the "pipeline" to advanced training and employment options, the large number of demands on women's time, and cultural and historical perceptions of women's abilities interfere with their ability to move up the career ladder. Within the primary education subsector, women hold few of the choice positions. For example, a promotion to T1 in the teaching service is accompanied by a good salary increase and other benefits but women are mostly overlooked when these merit promotions are awarded (only 11 percent of T1 teachers are women). More over, a very small share of women are ever promoted to headteachers or to good positions in the District Education Offices.

There are many reasons for why women should be afforded the same opportunities as men to advance to leadership positions in the education sector. First, from an economic efficiency standpoint, a system that impedes women's educational attainment or their opportunities to achieve their

potential in their careers is wasteful of Malawi's resources. Second, women deserve to be given authority and responsibility commensurate with their qualifications and abilities. The availability of senior positions to which women can reasonably aspire would improve the morale and help motivate women in the teaching profession. Finally, there is a considerable body of research suggesting that the presence of positive role models helps motivate children, who tend to emulate those they look up to. The presence of women in leadership positions in schools and districts throughout the country, for example, may encourage more girls to complete primary school and to perform better at all levels of education.

FURTHER RESEARCH REQUIRED AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

Our study has identified areas in need of further research before informed policy or project actions can be proposed or extended. There is some evidence that the direct costs of schooling may be more detrimental to the participation of girls than boys, given family spending and investment patterns. More research is needed, however, to understand the full system impact of proposed policy changes such as the elimination of school fees in the lower standards. Std.1 dropout (greater for girls, but high for boys as well), for example, may be linked to an inability to pay school fees midway through the school year, but it is unclear that the removal of school fees alone will not shift the burden of other costs of schooling onto parents, or whether other factors are contributing to this phenomenon. The new Std.8/Form 1 transition policy being adopted may also have secondary effects that are as yet unknown and important to monitor through controlled study. Empirical examination of the paths into and out of TTCs can further our ability to increase the efficiency of the teacher training process.

The 2-page "research and activity matrix" below summarizes our proposals for actions to address these points. The matrix is organized according to nine major objectives identified by the study, with proposed research and suggested activities relating to each. More detailed descriptions of the suggestions for action are available in the accompanying suggested activity sheets. These are carefully but briefly sketched ideas only, intended to facilitate the discussion of next steps in addressing issues related to girls and women in education.

RESEARCH AND ACTIVITY MATRIX:

MAJOR OBJECTIVES SERVED BY PROPOSED RESEARCH AND SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

MATRIX I OBJECTIVES RELATED TO GIRLS' PERSISTENCE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL	Major Objectives				
	Encourage timely entry of girls into Std. 1	Improve girls' performance: Std. 1 to Std. 8	Reduce girls' dropout rate: Std. 1 to Std. 4	Reduce girls' dropout rate: Std. 5 to Std. 8	Increase opportuni- ties for girls to continue education
PROPOSED RESEARCH					
A. Promotion & Repetition Study			X	X	
B. Private Costs of Schooling	X		X	X	
C. Single-Sex School Effects		X		X	X
D. Std. 1 Entry, Repetition, Dropout	X	X	X		
E. Secondary Places for Girls Study				X	X
F. Primary School Qual. Data Analysis		X	X	X	
G. Tracer Study: TTC Recruits					X
H. Tracer Study: TTC Graduates					X
I. Job Transfers & Mobility					
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES					
A. Establish guidance counselling for primary school girls in careers and family life education		indirect		direct	
B. Support school visits by established female role models		indirect	indirect	indirect	
C. Change gender-biased perceptions and practices of primary teachers		direct	indirect	indirect	
D. Establish primary school math & science improvement program		direct	indirect	indirect	indirect
E. Provide educational alternatives to female dropouts					direct
F. Support birth and school registration efforts	direct		indirect	indirect	
G. Increase number of female teachers and TTC efficiency		indirect	indirect	indirect	
H. Increase percent of women promoted to headteachers		indirect	indirect	indirect	

MATRIX II OBJECTIVES RELATED TO WOMEN'S ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE EDUCATION SERVICE	Major Objectives			
	Increase the access of qualified women into TTCs	Improve math/science teaching skills of fe- male primary teachers	Increase the proportion of women teaching in rural areas	Increase the number of women promoted to T1, headteacher, and district office positions
PROPOSED RESEARCH				
A. Promotion & Repetition Study				
B. Private Costs of Schooling				
C. Single-Sex School Effects				
D. Std. 1 Entry, Repetition, Dropout				
E. Secondary Places for Girls Study				
F. Primary School Qual. Data Analysis				
G. Tracer Study: TTC Recruits	X		X	X
H. Tracer Study: TTC Graduates	X		X	X
I. Job Transfers & Mobility	X		X	X
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES				
A. Establish guidance counselling for primary school girls in careers and family life education				
B. Support school visits by established female role models				
C. Change gender-biased perceptions and practices of primary teachers		indirect		
D. Establish primary math & science improvement program	indirect	direct		indirect
E. Provide educational alternatives to female dropouts				
F. Support birth and school registration efforts				
G. Increase number of female teachers and TTC efficiency	direct		indirect	indirect
H. Increase percent of women promoted to headteachers			direct	direct

INTRODUCTION

Ukaphunzitsa bambo waphunzitsa munthu
m'modzi koma ukaphunzitsa mai waphunzitsa
mtundu wonse.¹

This study is designed to increase our understanding of policy and institutional constraints operating in Malawi which affect both female persistence in primary school and female employment in the education sector. This report seeks to contribute to the continuing discussion within the Government of Malawi and to the formulation of policies and the establishment of practices aimed at improving the situation of females in education. In addition, it suggests ways in which USAID/Malawi might assist the Government in moving that agenda forward through its new education program. In conducting the study, the team concentrated on identifying the constraints, analyzing the underlying factors, and suggesting what can be done to address the situation described here. This is not a project design document but rather a study to help inform and stimulate discussions in this area.

THE CONTEXT

The demonstrated commitment of the Government of Malawi to promote full participation of females in the development process deserves mention. The establishment of the National Commission for Women in Development (NCWID) in 1984 and the Chitukuko Cha Amayi m'Malawi (CCAM) in 1985 set the institutional structure for furthering the contribution of women to development. In the education system, affirmative action targets of 33% for females have been in use since 1972 to ensure that females gain places in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. The recent Workshop on Access of Girls and Women to Education and Training Opportunities (to which this study serves as a follow-up) is another indication of the Government's concern. This report should therefore be viewed as an effort to suggest ways to meet the goals set by the Government and to highlight other constraints not currently receiving attention.

RATIONALE

USAID's interest in assisting the Malawi Government in the education sector is to develop the country's human resource base. Basic education is seen as a necessary input to the attainment of USAID/Malawi's five strategic objectives: increase agricultural productivity and production; increase off-farm employment; reduce fertility; reduce infant mortality and child mortality and

¹ Translation from Chichewa: "If you educate a man you educate one person but if you educate a woman you educate the whole nation."

morbidity; and control the spread of AIDS. Female education in particular appears key to these issues.

Recent research has found the economic impact of girls' primary education on economic growth in Africa to be significantly stronger than that of boys (Benavot 1989). This study suggests that the expansion of girls' primary schooling has a stronger positive effect on long term economic growth than that of boys' primary education and of secondary education.

The impact of girls' education on economic development. . . occurs through numerous channels. Many of these channels do not exist in [labor] markets. . .

By increasing the level of cognitive skills possessed by girls and women, education enhances their productive capacities both at home, in the farm, at the market, or in the workplace. Their improved ability to produce and to earn income becomes even more important as more females take the place of principal breadwinners in female-headed households. (Floro and Wolf 1990, pages II-2,15)

In the area of agricultural productivity and production, the work by Lockheed, Jamison and Lau (1980) and Schultz (1975) concluded that farm productivity increases with education and literacy levels but the extent of impact depends on the environmental conditions and stage of economic development. Educated farmers are more likely to be aggressively innovative farmers, more open to new agricultural technologies and are more likely to seek extension assistance. Given that 70% of Malawi's full time farmers are women and that 30% of rural households are headed by women (World Bank 1990 Malawi Human Resource Development Study), an emphasis on improving female access and persistence in education will also contribute to increasing agricultural productivity and production.

Education of rural women expands their options beyond farm activities. Higher literacy levels among women are associated with increased sources of income. In regard to informal sector earnings, Floro and Wolf (1990) conclude that there are no discernible direct educational effects on informal sector earnings of women, due to the ubiquity and diversity of activities and the range of skill requirements. While education may not improve earnings in "traditional" informal activities, it is valuable when women take up new methods of production or engage in activities in which literacy, numeracy, access to credit, and the ability to adapt are required. Improved access and persistence of girls in schools is therefore expected to help increase off-farm employment and income for women.

A recent review (Floro and Wolf 1990) on the social impact of education on women highlights the cumulative gains over generations of educating females. The education of females who later become mothers stimulates changes in knowledge, power, and attitudes in the areas of health, fertility, and children's education. In the area of health, educated women use medical

facilities earlier and with greater frequency. More family resources are directed to child nutrition and infant survival rates improve. Regarding fertility, educated mothers seek out family planning facilities, use child spacing methods more, show an increased ability to make fertility choices, and show a desire for fewer children and later marriage. In the Malawi context, the Family Formation Survey (1984) showed a direct negative correlation between level of female education and family size. As fertility is reduced, women's health and productivity improve which in turn is accompanied by a decline in infant and child mortality. In regard to children's education, educated mothers are better able to help their children with homework, are more likely to be able to speak the language used in schools, place greater value on the education of girls than their uneducated counterparts, value education for all their children, and can help to build the confidence of their children, particularly daughters.

Given the recognized contribution of female education to economic and social development, the team's task was to identify the current state of girls' primary education and the factors operating at the policy and institutional levels which are constraining female persistence. In suggesting ways to address these constraints, we have considered both supply issues and demand for education issues. Work by Court (1975) argues that the disparity in demand for education is as significant an impediment to increased participation as disparities in the supply. The motivations behind demand are many and complex but options do exist for government to affect demand for schooling in Malawi. For example, we are convinced that the gender of teachers and administrators, the perceptions and practices of teachers, and the opportunities for girls' advancement through the education system are all major factors affecting demand. The constraints are numerous and overlapping. We have identified areas in which the relationships among these factors are not clear and require further investigation. In areas we do feel we understand, we have suggested that efforts be made on many fronts. The manipulation of any one factor is unlikely to result in improved girls' persistence in schooling.

LINKAGES

The linkages between female persistence in school and female employment in education became more clear to the team as the analysis progressed. Concern with female employment and advancement in the education sector arises from the conviction that female role models in the classroom and school administration are key to improving female retention. In addition, it is considered important that females participate along side their male colleagues in the administration, planning and policy making of the country's education system, at local and national levels.

This study focuses on policy and institutional constraints. Clearly there are many other types of factors constraining female persistence and employment. Factors operating at the school, community, and household levels are explored in other studies being supported by USAID and other agencies. This report should therefore be seen as complementary to these other analyses.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The report is divided into three main parts. The first is a presentation of findings regarding female persistence in primary schools. This section includes a brief description of the conditions of schooling followed by an analysis of the persistence situation with regard to enrollment, repetition, and performance. The section concludes with an analysis of the relative importance of various explanatory factors.

The second major part of the report explores the constraints to female employment in the education sector. After placing the education sector into the broader national employment context, this section identifies factors affecting female recruitment, admission, retention, and advancement in education. Policies and practices constraining female participation in the education service are identified. The emphasis is on the primary teaching force, the largest segment of the education service.

Suggestions for addressing the identified constraints are presented in the third major section of the report. This begins with a discussion of what is currently being done to address female persistence, including identifying areas in which foreign assistance agencies are involved. Having identified areas not currently being addressed and areas requiring additional support, the next section lists the team's suggestions for action. These ideas cover both policy issues and areas which might best be addressed through project assistance. As many of the proposed options address constraints in female persistence and female employment, they are presented together.

Female education is an area which has received a good deal of attention in Malawi's research community. The team has made a concerted effort to draw on this body of research and to build upon it. This report serves as a synthesis of existing research. Appended to the report is an annotated bibliography on female education in Malawi and a report of the Research Roundtable organized as part of the team's work. We hope that these two documents prove valuable to the reader and moves forward the country's research agenda. As the final section of this report notes, there are many unanswered questions deserving attention but we are confident that given the impressive research capability of Malawians, the challenge will be met.

CONSTRAINTS TO FEMALE PERSISTENCE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL

The present section describes the current situation regarding the relative persistence of girls in schooling and their patterns of school dropout. Explanatory factors put forth by Ministry officials, school administrators, and head teachers are discussed and evaluated in light of the existing research and available statistics. Special emphasis is placed on institutional policies and practices related to these factors at the primary school level, in an effort to identify areas most amenable to change and the means of addressing them.

CONDITIONS OF SCHOOLING

Structure. Formal education in Malawi follows a modified British structure, with an eight year primary level (Standards 1-8) culminating in the Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC); a four year secondary system (Forms 1-4) with the Junior Certificate of Education (JCE) required for continuation after Form 2 and the Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) after successful completion of examinations at the end of Form 4; and several post-secondary options offered by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Primary Teacher Training, University) and other Ministries. An alternative to the conventional secondary school is the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE) which accepts school leavers at the PSLC and MSCE levels. There are also post-JCE technical colleges which provide training for males.

The education pyramid (Appendix B) indicates the select nature of the system. With primary enrollment rates of about 50%, only 4-5% of the secondary school age population are in secondary school. Enrollments at the university level represent only 1% of that school age population. A diagram of the education system is contained in Appendix C.

Historical background. Formal education in Malawi was established by Christian missionaries whose aim was to evangelize. Since women could not become preachers, education was considered unnecessary for them. The arrival of the Colonial Government on the education scene did not change the situation but rather reinforced it. The colonial government deliberately ignored women's education for economic reasons, and because it was felt that women's education would destabilize the traditional society (Whitehead, 1984). These attitudes placed women on unequal footing with their male counterparts from an early period.

Primary school conditions. Primary education is administered through three regional and 28 district education offices. There are 2,660 primary schools in the country, only 99 of them in urban areas (4%) and accounting for 14% of the enrollment. Approximately 25% of the schools (676) are unassisted, some

of them private but most of them rural junior primary schools that do not usually offer the full complement of primary grade levels through Std. 8. These unassisted schools account for only 6% of the primary enrollment (MOEC Education Statistics 1988).

Capital investments in primary educational facilities and materials are generally made at the local rather than the national level. Rural areas, which tend to have fewer material and human resources (e.g., skilled manpower), are disadvantaged in comparison to urban areas. In this context, school and community factors become critical in determining educational participation and the availability and quality of the educational infrastructure. The MOEC is obliged to supply a community with teachers and materials only when that community has erected a school structure and teacher housing that meet fixed building specifications. As a result, many communities remain without schools, while others use the services of a school much further away than the official catchment radius of 5 km.

Pupils attending rural schools are less likely to have female teachers as only 27.6% of the rural teachers are female. In the urban areas, however, 66% of teachers are female. Teachers in rural areas tend to have slightly lower qualifications and fewer teacher's guides and these are reflected in their subject competency. Their competency in arithmetic, however, is slightly higher than that of urban counterparts (Primary School Quality Study [PSLC] 1989). Rural teachers also teach more periods. Rural pupils often do not change to English as the language of instruction until Standard 6 and it can even be found in use in Standard 8.

Classrooms everywhere are in very short supply. Although the teacher:pupil ratio is 1:67, the classroom:pupil ratio is 1:88. In urban classrooms the ratios reach 1:120. Consequently, schools are often organized by overlapping shifts. The common practice is to have Standards 1-4 arriving at 7:30 and leaving at 10:30 and Standards 5-6 arriving at 10:00 and leaving at 1:30. Standards 7-8 arrive at 7:30 and stay until 1:30 at the earliest but often much longer, attending extra classes in preparation for the Standard 8 examination. Most schools have more than one stream at each Standard. Standard 8 often has two or three streams just for repeaters, exacerbating the classroom shortage. Even with double shifting, classes often meet outside under trees.

In large urban classes there are often two teachers but they may arrange to alternate instruction sessions. Teachers are not trained in team teaching methods or in how to handle such large classes. Furniture is a rarity in schools. Students are fortunate to have a desk by the time they reach Standard 8; most learn to write with a book on their lap.

Reading materials are limited in schools, and even more limited in rural communities in general. Often the only reading material students have access to is their textbooks. These are primarily available in English, Arithmetic, and Chichewa. School libraries are rare. Exercise books are also limited, with the lower Standards having about four 40 page exercise books per year and the upper Standards receiving eight per year. Half of these are supplied by parents (Primary School Quality Study, 1989). Our school visits suggest that

pupils in lower Standards may receive as few as 1 1/2 exercise books per year.

Lunch is not provided to pupils. Students may bring food from home, or purchase from women selling prepared foods at the edge of the school compound in some communities.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Malawi has witnessed a modest but steady increase in girls' enrollment in primary school over the past decade, from 40.5 percent of total enrollments in 1978-79 to 44.3 percent in 1987-88 (MOEC Education Statistics, 1988). Since 1972, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) has followed a progressive quota policy for the selection of girls into conventional secondary and some tertiary levels of education. A gender gap remains in the absolute number of children enrolled in school, however, and girls continue to drop out of primary school earlier and in greater numbers than boys.

Relative Access of Girls to Schooling

Over the period 1978-1988, total primary school enrollments increased at an average annual rate of 5.8%, with girls' enrollment increasing at a slightly higher rate than that of boys. Nonetheless, a substantial gender gap persists with over 120,000 fewer girls in primary school than boys, a figure that has remained more or less constant over the past decade (Fig. 1).

Enrollment in Standard 1. The representation of girls has improved over the years such that Standard 1 enrollments for the country as a whole now approach parity (48% of all Standard 1 pupils in 1988 were girls). While this statistic would appear to indicate nearly equal initial access of girls and boys to primary education, the rate of dropout after Standard 1 is substantially higher among girls (29%) than boys (23%; see below). Such data underline the importance of examining gender differences in patterns of educational persistence even after school entry is achieved.

Post-Standard 1 enrollments. While higher Standards have also shown improvements in girls' representation over time, enrollment figures still exhibit marked disparities by gender (Table 1). In 1988, girls represented 44% of total Std. 5 enrollments; for Std. 8 this figure was only 32%.

Regional differences. There is also considerable regional variation in enrollment rates by gender. While girls made up 49% of all urban primary school students in 1988, they represented only 43.6 % of enrollments in rural districts, with proportions of under 35 % reported for the rural southern districts of Nsanje and Chikwawa (Table 2). These regions of the lower Shire, which also report markedly lower enrollment rates generally, are virtually neglected in the research on educational participation and dropout, although cultural factors and dependence on child labor in agricultural activities are thought to contribute to the phenomenon.

TABLE 1: Primary school enrollments by gender and Standard, 1980-1988 (Assisted and unassisted schools)

YEAR	STANDARD 1		% F	STANDARD 5		% F	STANDARD 8		% F
	Total	Female		Total	Female		Total	Female	
1980	232975	106430	45.7	64144	24645	38.4	65007	16469	25.3
1981	234816	108691	46.3	61041	23910	39.2	70661	18372	26.0
1982	262361	121401	46.3	64515	25601	39.7	76457	20646	27.0
1983	236476	110375	46.7	66617	27383	41.1	79753	22571	28.3
1984	204200	95109	46.6	71545	29513	41.3	84861	24263	28.6
1985	238584	110091	46.1	72832	30325	41.6	86747	25813	29.8
1986	250741	118014	47.1	74956	31596	42.2	90366	27486	30.4
1987	265990	126622	47.6	78090	33572	43.0	97450	30097	30.9
1988	285075	135983	47.7	88139	38745	44.0	100911	32151	31.9

Source: MOEC Education Statistics 1980; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1988.

Access to secondary school. Overall secondary school access is estimated at 4.5% of the relevant age group, a figure that has not changed since 1979 (MOEC, Education Statistics, 1988). With regard to the relative access of girls, MOEC policy has since 1972 required separate secondary school selection criteria by gender, such that girls and boys are selected according to a ratio of roughly 1 to 2. This progressive policy has required a slight overselection of girls as a proportion of Standard 8 candidates over the past decade, with an average of 9% of females selected into Form 1 in recent years (1986-1988), compared with 7.4% of males. Thus in 1988, girls represented 35% of Form 1 students, somewhat higher than the Standard 8 proportion of the previous year (31%). The quota policy is clearly in practice and appears to be accepted as reasonable by MOEC officials and local school heads.²

² Given lower average scores achieved by girls on the PSLC examination and according to discussions with MOEC central and district officials, the policy has in fact required lowering the minimum PSLC selection score for girls below that used for boys (see section on "Low Academic Performance" below).

TABLE 2: Primary school enrollments by district and gender, 1987-1988 (assisted and unassisted schools)

REGION District	TOTAL	Female	Male	% Female
NORTH	214413	96545	117868	45.0
Chitipa	25121	11073	14048	44.1
Karonga	35375	15056	20319	42.6
Rumphu	25438	11864	13574	46.6
Nkhata Bay	27943	12762	15181	45.7
Mzuzu City	13215	6615	6600	50.1
Mzimba	87321	39175	48146	44.9
CENTER	400555	178410	222145	44.5
Kasungu	51062	22333	28729	43.7
Nkhota-Kota	24573	10309	14264	42.0
Ntchisi	15850	7225	8625	45.6
Doma	46380	21061	25319	45.4
Salima	21038	9003	12035	42.8
Lilongwe City	47994	23468	24526	48.9
Lilongwe Rural	79331	35439	43892	44.7
Mchinji	29489	12656	16833	42.9
Dedza	38175	16629	21546	43.6
Ntcheu	46663	20287	26376	43.5
SOUTH	451674	198438	253236	43.9
Mangochi	34161	13622	20539	39.9
Machinga	47279	19911	27368	42.1
Zomba Urban	16861	8129	8732	48.2
Zomba Rural	42184	18784	23400	44.5
Chiradzulu	32747	14994	17753	45.8
Blantyre City	75459	36676	38783	48.6
Blantyre Rural	39574	18006	21568	45.5
Mwanza	13129	5734	7395	43.7
Thyolo	50908	22575	28333	44.3
Chikwawa	22374	7760	14614	34.7
Mulanje	62073	27336	34737	44.0
Nsanje	14925	4911	10014	32.9
TOTAL	1066642	473393	593249	44.4
Urban*	153529	74888	78641	48.8
Rural	913113	398505	514608	43.6

Source: MOEC Education Statistics 1988.

N.B.: Enrollment figures are slightly lower than actual due to non-response of 221 out of 2660 schools, or less than 10%.

* Urban areas include Mzuzu City, Lilongwe City, Zomba Urban, and Blantyre City districts; all other districts are treated as rural.

The restricted enrollment in the conventional secondary school system has also led to the growth of the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE), with residential study centers, night courses, and home study options to prepare for JCE and MSCE examinations. In 1988 enrollments numbered 19,760, of which 29.5% were female.

Patterns of School Dropout

Estimation of the dropout rate. Using total enrollment (E) and repetition (R) figures from 1980 to 1988 (available in MOEC, Education Statistics, 1980-1988) it was possible to estimate primary school dropout by gender and Standard over time. Grade promotion (P) for each gender (g) in a given year (t) and Standard (s) was calculated as total enrollments less repeaters for that gender, year, and standard, or:

$$P_{g,t,s} = E_{g,t,s} - R_{g,t,s}$$

Assuming no attrition due to death or transfer to or from another country (mortality and migration rates by age and gender being unavailable), dropout (D) prior to a given Standard was calculated using the following equation:

$$D_{g,t,s} = E_{g,t-1,s-1} - P_{g,t,s} - R_{g,t,s-1}$$

Results of this exercise, averaged over a three-year period (1986-1988) to reduce random reporting errors in the data for a given year, are presented in Fig. 2.

Results point to substantially higher dropout rates among girls than boys. Annual dropout for girls over all primary Standards averaged 15 % of girls' enrollment in the previous year, while for boys the average was 11 %. According to our estimations, girls' dropout from Standard 1 and from the higher Standards of primary school (after Standards 6 and 7) is particularly high in comparison with that of boys; in recent years nearly 29 % of girls appear to leave school annually after reaching Standard 1, while only 23 % of boys do so; after Standard 6 approximately 23 % of girls leave school, while boys tend to persist through to Standard 8 in greater proportions. The "negative" dropout rate of boys at the end of Standard 7 may be explained by the backup of multiple-repeating boys in the system or the possibility of "drop-ins" returning to school for Standard 8, in preparation for the PSLC examination.

The calculations employed did not correct for multiple repetition, a practice more prevalent among boys than girls (see below); if they did, estimated dropout rates for boys would be lower than those calculated by the present method -- and the difference between male and female dropout rates would be even greater.

INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING GIRLS' SCHOOL PERSISTENCE

The overview of indicators of educational persistence in Malawi presented above reveals a situation of gender disparity that has shown improvement over time, in part through progressive policy efforts, but which is still far from resolution. Discussions with Ministry officials, school officials, and researchers, and a review of research conducted in Malawi have begun to clarify our understanding of the factors implicated in the higher rates of school dropout observed among girls. While many of these explanations -- lack of school fees, early pregnancy and marriage, low perceptions of the value or usefulness of education for women, conflicting cultural values and traditions -- are familiar findings in many countries, their interaction with institutional policies and practices specific to the Malawian context necessitates a context-specific evaluation in the effort to identify institutional solutions.

Direct Costs of Schooling

The "school fees" argument. "Lack of school fees" was one of the most frequent explanations for school dropout given by students and dropouts, parents, and teachers in a number of Malawian survey studies (Davison and Kanyuka, 1990 roundtable discussion; Kainja, 1990; Matengo, 1988). The annual payment of school fees (MK 3.5/year per child, or about \$1.35) and related expenses (estimated to be about MK 20 to 30 per year, for uniform, materials, and incidental fees) requires access to cash, a scarce commodity for rural subsistence smallholders in particular. The phenomenon of high dropout rates in Std.1 in particular is believed to reflect the practice of measuring enrollment prior to the final date for payment of fees (they are due three months into the term) After this point, a family's inability to pay fees may require that they withdraw their children from school.

Prioritization of expenditures. Given that the costs of education for girls are no greater than for boys, it is clear that the "lack of school fees" argument to explain non-enrollment or dropout of girls in particular masks other factors related to the prioritization of expenditures. A household's available resources tend to be distributed according to anticipated returns to investment; when resources are scarce and the returns are perceived to be low (as appears to be the case for educational investments in rural areas, especially for girls), outlays for girls' education may be the first to be foregone. The Primary School Quality Study (1989), for example, found significantly fewer home-purchased exercise books among girls than boys in Stds. 4 and 7.

Kainja and Mkandawire (1990), for example, found fewer parents were willing to take on the burden of sending daughters to school. In the face of financial constraints, 31 % of parents interviewed indicated they would prefer to send their sons to school, but only 10% expressed a preference to send daughters. The remainder (59%) reported that they would try hard to send both boys and girls to school.

Inefficiency of Primary Schooling

Overall rates of grade failure and repetition in an education system may be said to reflect the overall efficiency (or inefficiency) with which the system achieves self-set standards of student performance. For Malawi, an examination of the proportions of at-age (defined as those aged 6 or 7 in Standard 1, roughly the official, though unenforced, age of school entry) and over-age enrollments for Standards 1 through 8 over time (1981-1988) reveals the increasingly heavy burden of inefficiency the system has to support (see Figures 3a and 3b, calculated from MOEC, Education Statistics, 1981-1988). By Std. 8, nearly 51% of girls and 77% of boys are likely to have repeated at least once in their school career, assuming entry at age 7.

Differential consequences of inefficiency. The efficiency of schooling may be at a greater premium for some segments of a student population than others. More specifically, inefficiency in the system is more likely to lead to school dropout in some groups than in others. Those with fewer available material resources, for example, may be hard-pressed to meet the direct and opportunity costs of an additional year of schooling. Grade repetition may constitute a higher social cost depending on expectations regarding the preferred age of marriage and the assumption of other adult responsibilities. Repetition can also have a powerful discouraging effect on those who lack family or social support for schooling, by throwing into doubt the individual's perceived likelihood of school success and eventual access to the rewards of education such as wage sector employment. All of the above factors -- access to resources, timing of the assumption of adult responsibilities, social expectations regarding age of marriage, physical maturation, and access to social support for education -- tend to render the costs of grade repetition higher among girls than boys in many societies.

Gender, age, and multiple repetition. The Ministry of Education and Culture currently has no restriction on the number of grade repetitions permitted in the primary school years. Consequently, as evident in the age distribution of primary school students, a pupil may be well into adolescence even in the lower Standards of primary school (Figure 4). A closer look at gender differences in the distribution suggests divergent responses to the system's inefficiency.

In 1981, Standard 1 girls and boys exhibited equivalent age distributions, with a median age of 7 years for both genders. Assuming that both genders entered school at the same average age (yet to be demonstrated in the absence of statistics on the age of first-time entrants; anecdotal evidence suggests that girls are more likely to enroll in school at a later age than boys), and given evidence that girls and boys are repeating in the same proportions overall in every Standard (Figure 5), we would expect that the shape and range of the age distribution would be roughly equivalent in all standards. By Standard 8, however, such is not the case; nearly 53% of boys were over age 15, as opposed to only 30% of girls.

Responses to inefficiency. If they are not repeating grades as often as boys, how are girls responding to the inefficient system? Unfortunately transition and dropout rates (see above) do not suggest that girls are enjoying higher rates of grade promotion and moving through the system faster than boys. Rather, it appears that girls on average are less likely than boys to persist in school after an episode of grade failure or poor academic performance in a given Standard. In other words, while boys may make several efforts to pass a given grade level (and in fact may even choose to repeat a grade voluntarily, in the hope of improving their chances of success on the PSLC examination and selection into secondary school), Malawian girls are more likely than boys to drop out of school. Given social pressures for early marriage of girls in certain areas of the country, accompanied by the risk of pregnancy with the onset of adolescence, one or two repetitions may seriously undermine a girl's chances of completing primary school.³

Early Pregnancy and MOEC policy

Prevalence. Pregnancy has been cited as a major cause of girls' school dropout by teachers, head teachers, and parents in a number of Malawian survey studies (see Appendix F). Some research suggests however that male guardians and school staff are more likely to offer this explanation than other groups (Kainja and Mkandawire, 1990; Davison and Kanyuka, 1990).

It is difficult to determine the number of cases of school leaving due to pregnancy in a given year, as girls may withdraw "voluntarily" or request to transfer before the cause is known to the school administration, giving other explanations or none at all. When pressed for figures, head teachers and DEOs visited in Blantyre City, Lilongwe City, and rural Zomba suggested that the numbers, while enough to cause concern (for example, about 5 cases per year in one school with about 350 girls in Std. 6 to Std. 8), would not account for much of the observed dropout of girls in those standards.

Institutional policy and practice expels pregnant girls from formal schooling. MOEC policy currently requires that schoolgirls found to be pregnant must be permanently expelled from the formal school system. The policy has received much criticism from CCAM, NCWiD, and other organizations as discriminatory and inappropriately punitive. The policy applies to both primary and secondary levels of education. In practice, school officials suggest that some girls who have left school because of pregnancy do attempt to transfer to other schools after delivery, and head teachers have been known

³ There is also no operant policy which sets a maximum age for school entry, although a minimum age of 6 years is in place. The age distribution in Standard 1 suggests that for both genders, a pupil may be considerably older than 6 years when first entering school. As with grade repetition and the age factor, however, late school entry would appear to be more likely to interfere with the completion of primary school among girls than among boys.

to admit them, as the full school records of transfer students are not routinely traced.

Academic Performance

Results on primary and secondary school examinations in Malawi consistently show poorer performance on average for girls than for boys, especially in science subjects and mathematics. Poor performance in these subjects, in turn, is likely to lead to discouragement, lower chances of passing the PSLC examination and selection into secondary school, and dropout. Evidence suggests that underachievement of girls can be a result of a variety of factors, such as teachers' attitudes and expectations, differential classroom treatment, classroom environment, peer pressure, and gender bias in examinations, and cultural behavior norms.

Primary school performance. Girls' performance on national examinations has been lower on average than that of boys, although disparities in primary school examination pass rates have been shrinking over the past decade. In 1988, 66.8 % of those girls who took the PSLC examination passed, compared with 77.8% of boys. It should be noted, however, that multiple Std. 8 repeaters--the majority of whom are male--have more opportunities to increase their score than first-time test takers. In the absence of data on multiple repetition and its relationship to performance, it is not possible to quantify this phenomenon.

Results of the 1987 Primary School Quality Study (PSQS) run counter to this general pattern, however (Table 3). This suggests the possibility of gender bias in the national examinations. The study tested students prior to Std. 8 in Chichewa, Arithmetic, and Science using specially designed tests.⁴ Girls performed consistently higher regardless of the location of the school (rural or urban) or region with the exception of the Northern region. Rural students of both sexes performed better than urban counterparts in Arithmetic, but urban schools scored higher in Chichewa and Science. Regionally, the Central Region averaged higher scores than the other two.

Secondary school performance. Girls' secondary school performance on national examinations parallels that found at the primary level. On the Junior Certificate (JCE) examination in 1988, the pass rate of female candidates was 84.7 %, compared with 95.3 % for boys.

In a national analysis of MSCE results for 1988, Mwanza (1990a) found gender to be the most significant factor related to MSCE performance in

⁴ Std. 3 and 4 pupils were tested in Arithmetic and Chichewa, while Std. 7 pupils were tested in Arithmetic, Chichewa and Science. Unfortunately, only total achievement scores have thus far been analyzed for gender differences. It is hoped that additional analysis will be done to identify gender differences across subjects.

English, Mathematics, Physical Science and Chichewa, with girls underperforming in all subjects. Additionally, MCDE students performed less well than those in conventional secondary school, while younger students performed better than older students.

TABLE 3: Pupils' Total Achievement in PSQS Tests by School Type/Location, Gender and Standard

School Type/ Location		<u>Std.3</u>	<u>Std.4</u>	<u>Std.7</u>
RURAL	Girls	32.6	59.5	53.8
	Boys	29.3	55.2	49.6
URBAN	Girls	32.1	61.2	54.7
	Boys	30.7	60.7	52.2
ASSISTED	Girls	32.6	60.9	54.5
	Boys	30.7	58.6	51.0
UNASSISTED	Girls	31.0	53.4	44.5
	Boys	24.4	46.0	45.3
NORTHERN REGION	Girls	22.5	47.7	48.6
	Boys	22.9	50.2	44.3
CENTRAL REGION	Girls	34.8	63.5	56.2
	Boys	33.5	61.4	53.4
SOUTHERN REGION	Girls	35.2	63.4	55.5
	Boys	31.3	59.5	53.2
TOTAL SURVEY		31.1	58.9	52.6

Source: Malawi Primary School Quality Study Report, 1989.

In an analysis of MSCE results in five subjects over time, Mwanza (1990b) found several patterns of change in examination results for females and males. He examined proportions of females and males in each of the four grades of results (Distinction, Credit, Pass, and Fail). Results for 1985 and 1989 are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4: MSCE Results By Subject, Grade and Gender, 1985 and 1989

SUBJECT	1985				1989			
	Percentage of students receiving score of:							
	<u>Distinc- tion</u>	<u>Credit</u>	<u>Pass</u>	<u>Fail</u>	<u>Distinc- tion</u>	<u>Credit</u>	<u>Pass</u>	<u>Fail</u>
MATHEMATICS								
Female	0.25	9.21	12.50	78.04	0.52	11.01	19.35	69.11
Male	2.68	22.54	21.80	52.98	3.85	26.58	28.08	41.49
PHYSICAL SCIENCE								
Female	0.81	19.78	37.69	41.72	1.99	18.12	32.61	47.28
Male	2.68	30.38	34.86	32.08	5.66	32.01	32.95	29.38
ENGLISH								
Female	0.91	38.02	55.29	5.79	0.19	38.11	46.02	15.67
Male	0.88	41.02	51.00	7.10	0.52	48.23	43.17	8.08
CHICHEWA								
Female	0.50	41.58	50.87	7.05	10.85	64.18	22.41	2.57
Male	0.45	31.80	53.94	13.81	10.40	61.85	25.71	2.04
GEOGRAPHY								
Female	0.93	9.30	33.26	56.51	1.72	26.09	44.91	27.28
Male	1.21	26.01	40.87	31.91	11.79	42.44	37.06	8.72

Source: S.J. Mwanza (1990). "The Quality of Girls' Education in Malawi Secondary Schools." Mimeo.

In Mathematics, 69% of females failed in 1989 although this was an improvement from 78% in 1985. There has been little improvement in the proportion of females getting Distinctions and Credits (from 9.46% in 1985 to 11.53% in 1989) whereas the rate for males improved from 25.22% to 30.43%. In the sciences, females also performed poorly in comparison with males. Geography scores showed a decline in the proportion of females failing over time but these rates were still much higher than male rates of failure (56.5% vs 32% in 1985 and 27% vs 9% in 1989). Physical Science results showed both females and males improving from 1985 through 1987 (with males always

outperforming females), but the females' failure rate increased again in 1989.⁵ In English, while scores were comparable across gender in 1985, female results declined over time so that in 1989 less than 39% received Distinctions or Credits (as compared to almost 49% of males) and nearly 16% of them failed (compared to 7% of males). Only for Chichewa did results show consistently similar or better performance by girls, with equivalent proportions of Distinctions and Passes by gender, and with females earning a higher proportion of Credits. Over time, a lower proportion of females failed Chichewa.

Performance and classroom environment. A typical primary school classroom has over 80 children, with upwards of 120 in some urban schools. Children are usually seated on bare cement floors; the few desks available are reserved for Std. 8 or a few upper-Standard classes only. There are often fewer classrooms than classes, such that some classes routinely convene under shade trees in the schoolyard. Such conditions deprive pupils of targeted attention from the teacher, and make remedial work virtually impossible. Textbooks are in short supply in most schools, and students are required to share books and activities, particularly in mathematics and science. Given cultural norms which encourage deference and passivity in girls and women, such an atmosphere may be most detrimental to learning for girls. Experienced teachers and school inspectors observed that in mixed-sex classrooms, girls are typically shy, rarely taking risks or carrying out activities on their own.

Coeducational vs. single-sex schools. Other evidence suggests that under certain circumstances girls may perform as well as or better than boys. Girls-only schools in Blantyre city district typically reported higher PSLC pass rates and (more important) selection rates than neighboring boys' schools. Mwanza's (1990b) study on MSCE results over time, revealed no significant difference in performance across single-sex girls' and boys' schools, but girls in mixed schools underperformed.

Teacher behaviors and expectations. Observations by Malawian and foreign researchers and educators indicate a pattern of low teachers' expectations for the performance of girls in math and science coursework. A former inspector of schools described classrooms in which female students were effectively ignored during entire math class sessions, not encouraged to participate, and even ridiculed for attempting to do so. Similar scenes and attitudes have been described in research by Davison and Kanyuka (1990), Malewesi (1988) and others.

⁵ In a study of girls' performance in physical science in secondary school, Kamwendo (1984) concluded that girls performed poorly due to attitudinal factors. Girls more often than boys reported that they would drop physical sciences if given the choice, and were found to participate less in science activities. The study also found teachers both male and female to have lower expectations for girls than boys in Science class performance, and that textbooks were biased against girls, such that girls failed to identify themselves with science.

Limited Career Expectations and Access to Information

Lack of formal career guidance. Malawian primary schools currently have no formal system of personal or career guidance counseling for school children. While teachers are expected to provide informal guidance, they receive no formal training, monitoring or supervision in this activity, and the conditions of teaching and the sheer size of the curriculum restrict the time available for it. In rural areas in particular, where women make up less than 30% of the teaching force (see discussion on teacher deployment below) and an even smaller proportion of other technical and professional positions requiring educational qualifications, girls' career expectations and aspirations may be very restricted. Kainja and Mkandawire (1990) reported need for information on the value of schooling as the most frequent recommendation for improving female persistence offered by female students in a sample of over 300 from 8 districts throughout Malawi; female teachers also cited the need for role models and expanding the advisory role of teachers. In a survey of female dropouts by Nambote & Mkandawire (1989), 25% of respondents cited "lack of guidance" as a reason for their own dropout.

Low parental aspirations. In a study of schooling in rural Zomba district, Davison and Kanyuka (1990) found that parents had limited aspirations for both sons and daughters, although the range of perceived options for girls was smaller. Responding to an open-ended interview question, "nurse" and "clerk" were cited most frequently as the leading career options for girls and boys respectively, followed by "teacher" for both genders; the full range of career options cited for girls was considerably shorter than for boys. Their findings also suggested that the prevalent belief that Muslim families were less likely to encourage girls' schooling is unfounded; equivalent proportions of Christian and Muslim families in their sample showed preference for boys' schooling.

Opportunity Costs and Competing Social Roles

Opportunity costs are often cited as an explanation for low enrollment rates and persistence in school. For Malawian girls, housework responsibilities, agricultural activities, child-minding, preferred age at marriage, and other social factors figure into the calculation of opportunity costs of school participation.

Girls' time use. Few broad-sample empirical studies of time use by school-age girls and boys have been conducted in Malawi; however work by Davison and Kanyuka (1990) suggests that girls spend considerably more time than boys on household chores, and less on schoolwork or relaxation in the first hour after returning from school. The Primary School Quality Study database, soon to be publicly available through the Center for Educational Research, contains nationally-representative data on time use by schoolgoers to which secondary analysis of this issue by gender may be fruitfully applied.

Opportunities for unskilled labor. In some districts of Malawi, particularly along the lake shore, the fishing industry employs school-aged

children. While boys are more often involved in this activity than girls, the visibility of financial rewards obtained from unskilled labor appears to devalue education. Young girls growing up in this environment may have little motivation to enroll and stay in school, since members of the community are self-supporting with no formal education. A study by Kaimila (1988) in Lizulu area using parent interviews and school attendance records, found absenteeism among both boys and girls to vary seasonally with the agricultural calendar.

Initiation. In some districts (e.g., Mangochi, Mulanje, Lilongwe) rites of initiation into adulthood are still practiced and valued more than formal education. Initiation, representing the entry into adulthood (Banda, 1984), lies in conflict with the school culture which tends to treat pupils as children. After a girl is initiated she is expected to stop certain behaviors, some of which may be part of the school culture (such as games and sports). As a result, she may experience role conflict which may lead to dismissal or truancy. In addition, initiation ceremonies sometimes are in conflict with school calendars. In such cases a girl may withdraw from school to attend the traditional schooling. Upon return, she may have difficulty catching up with the content covered during her absence, which in turn may lead to frustration, loss of interest, grade failure and dropout.

Early marriage. The current mean age at first marriage among Malawian women is 17 years (Mphedwa, 1990). Nambote and Mkandawire (1990) reported that about 68 % of females were married between the ages of 15 and 19, as compared with only 20% of men. While marriage should not normally be expected to interfere with primary school completion at the optimal age of 13 or 14, it has been reported as a reason for school dropout in survey studies, and, as we have seen, many girls are still in mid-level Standards well beyond age 14 due to late school entry and grade repetition. As with the pregnancy explanation, however, there is little empirical information available to shed light on the actual prevalence of marriage as a direct reason for school dropout; some research suggests "early marriage" is offered as a proxy for a number of reasons, including academic failure, loss of interest, and pregnancy (Kuthemba-Mwale, 1988).

Distance to school. The problem of access to schooling is pervasive in Malawi, affecting the low participation of both boys and girls. The extent to which availability of schooling creates problems of participation and persistence for girls in particular would appear to lie in the factor of distance to school. As girls' time availability for school activities may be more constrained than boys', an additional hour or two required for the walk to school may be prohibitive. In addition, with adolescence girls' mobility may be restricted in accord with cultural practice. Malewesi (1989) also suggested distance to school as a reason for late school entry of girls.

SUMMARY

The factors affecting Malawian girls' school persistence, as elsewhere, include both institutional policy and practices and social, economic and cultural features. At the broad institutional level, the levying of school fees and other private costs of schooling; policies (or lack of policy) and conditions which produce extreme flow inefficiencies in primary schooling; and the student pregnancy policy have been identified as likely contributors to the school dropout of girls in particular. School-level contributors appear to include the lack of career and personal guidance counseling services, and gender-biased teaching practices and attitudes that may undermine girls' classroom and examination performance in math and science subjects, especially in mixed-gender classrooms. On the demand side, early pregnancy, family and societal expectations, and economic factors combine to determine the opportunity costs and relative priority of education for girls.

The selection of a focus for the design of efficient and effective means of counteracting institutional and noninstitutional constraints to girls' persistence must include recognition of the interaction among these factors. Improvements in educational efficiency, for example, can be expected to reduce direct and opportunity costs to the individual, as well as the likelihood of conflict of educational participation with other roles and responsibilities.

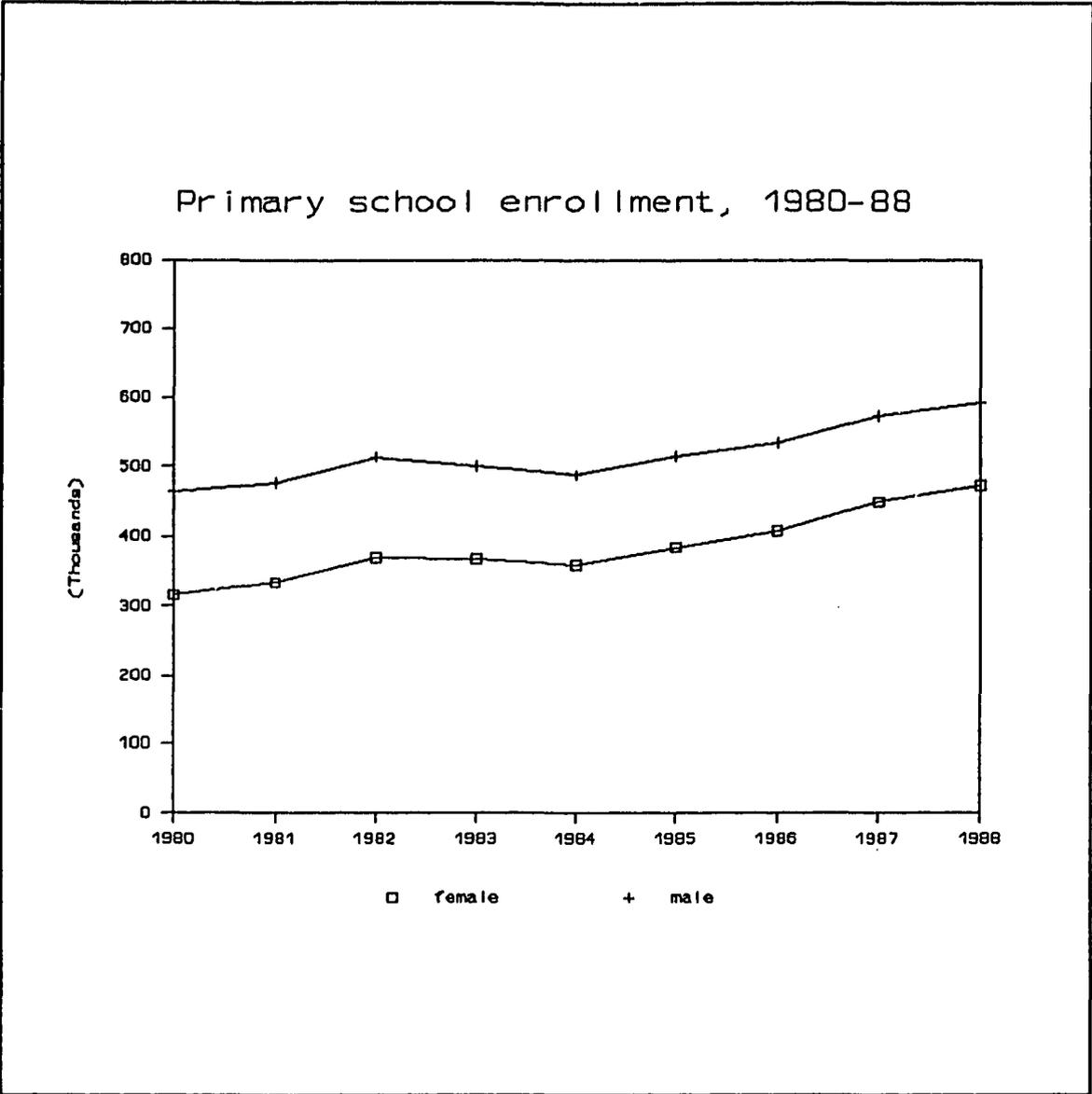


Figure 1
Primary School Enrollment Rates by Gender, 1980-1988
 (Source: Education Statistics, MOEC, 1980-1988)

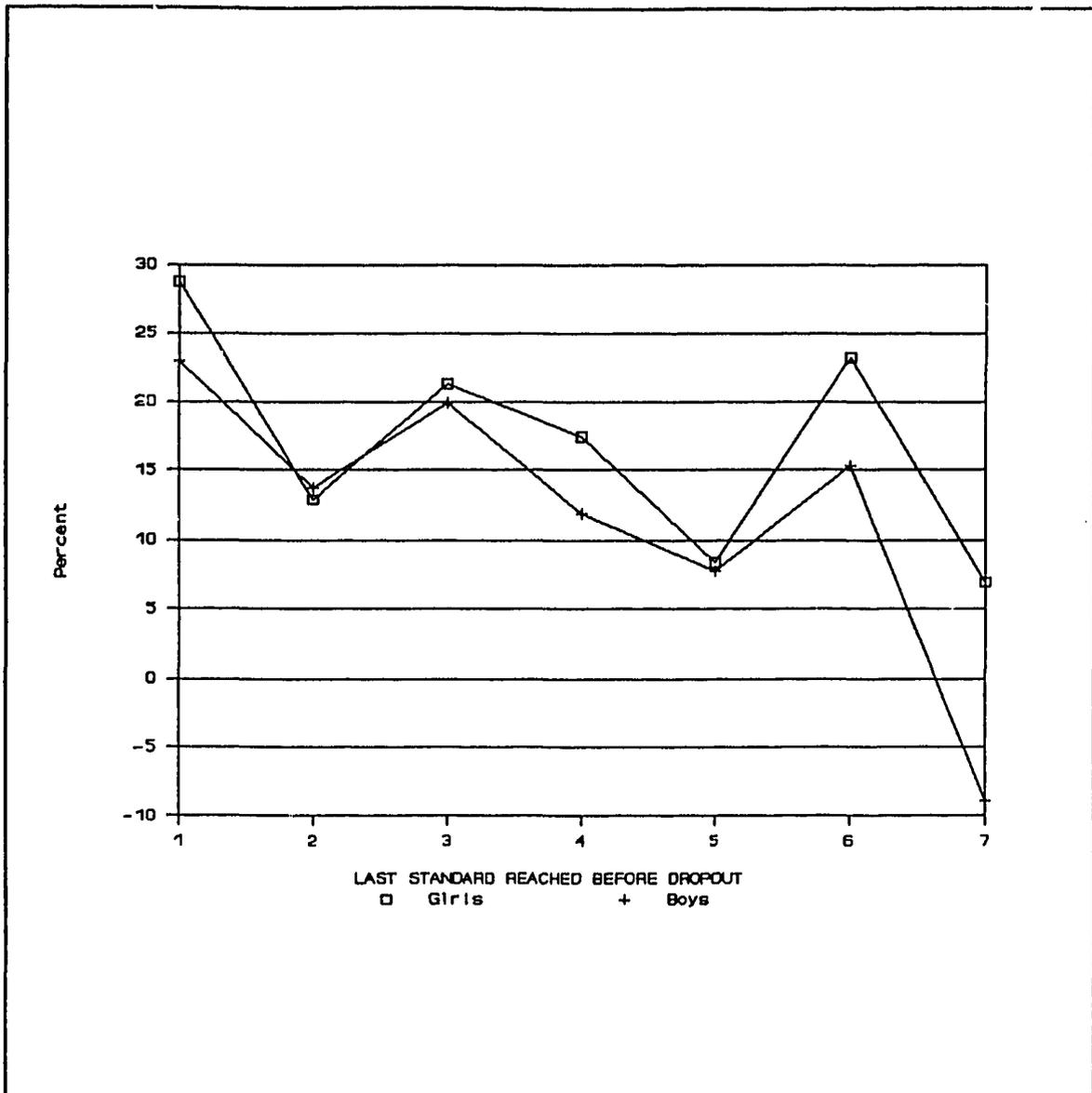


Figure 2
Estimated Dropout Rates by Standard and by Gender,
1981-1988
 (Source: Education Statistics, MOEC, 1980-1988)

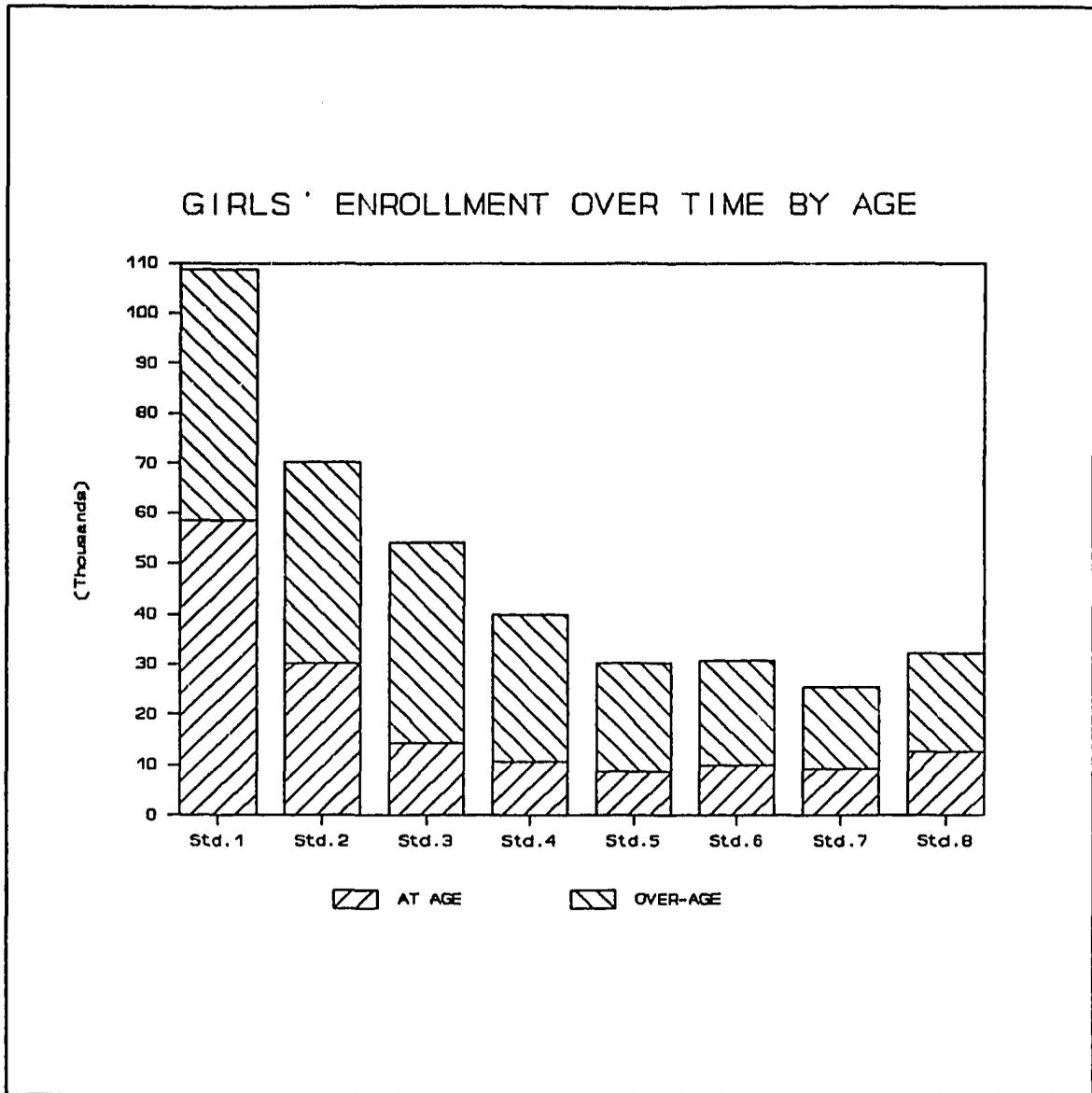


Figure 3a
Proportions of Primary Girls, at age, and over-age
1981-1988
Education Statistics, MOEC, 1981-1988



Figure 3b
Proportions of Primary Boys, at age, and over-age

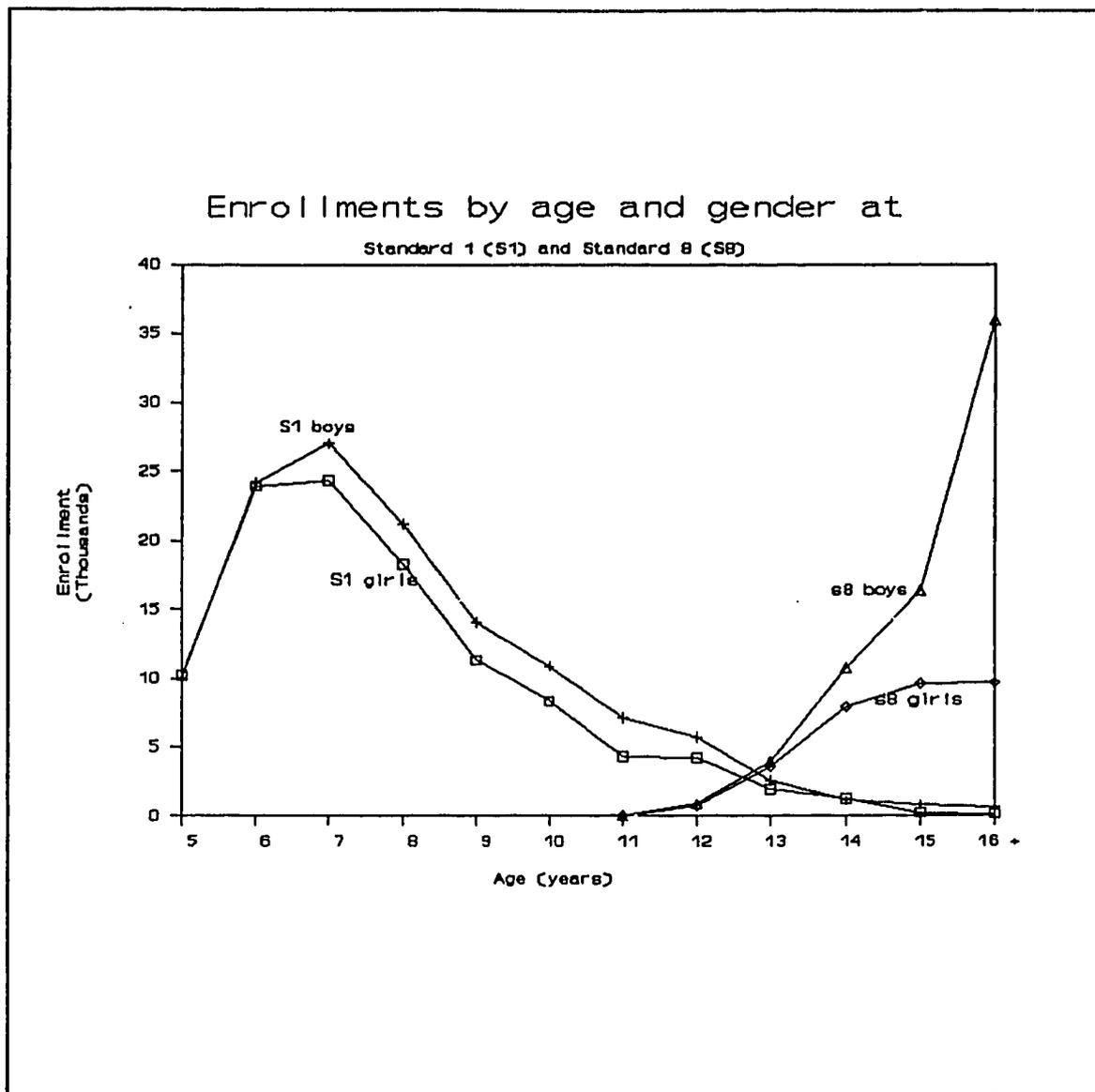


Figure 4
Age Distribution of Students by Gender,
in Standard 1 (1981) and Standard 8 (1988)
 Source: Education Statistics, MOEC, 1981, 1988

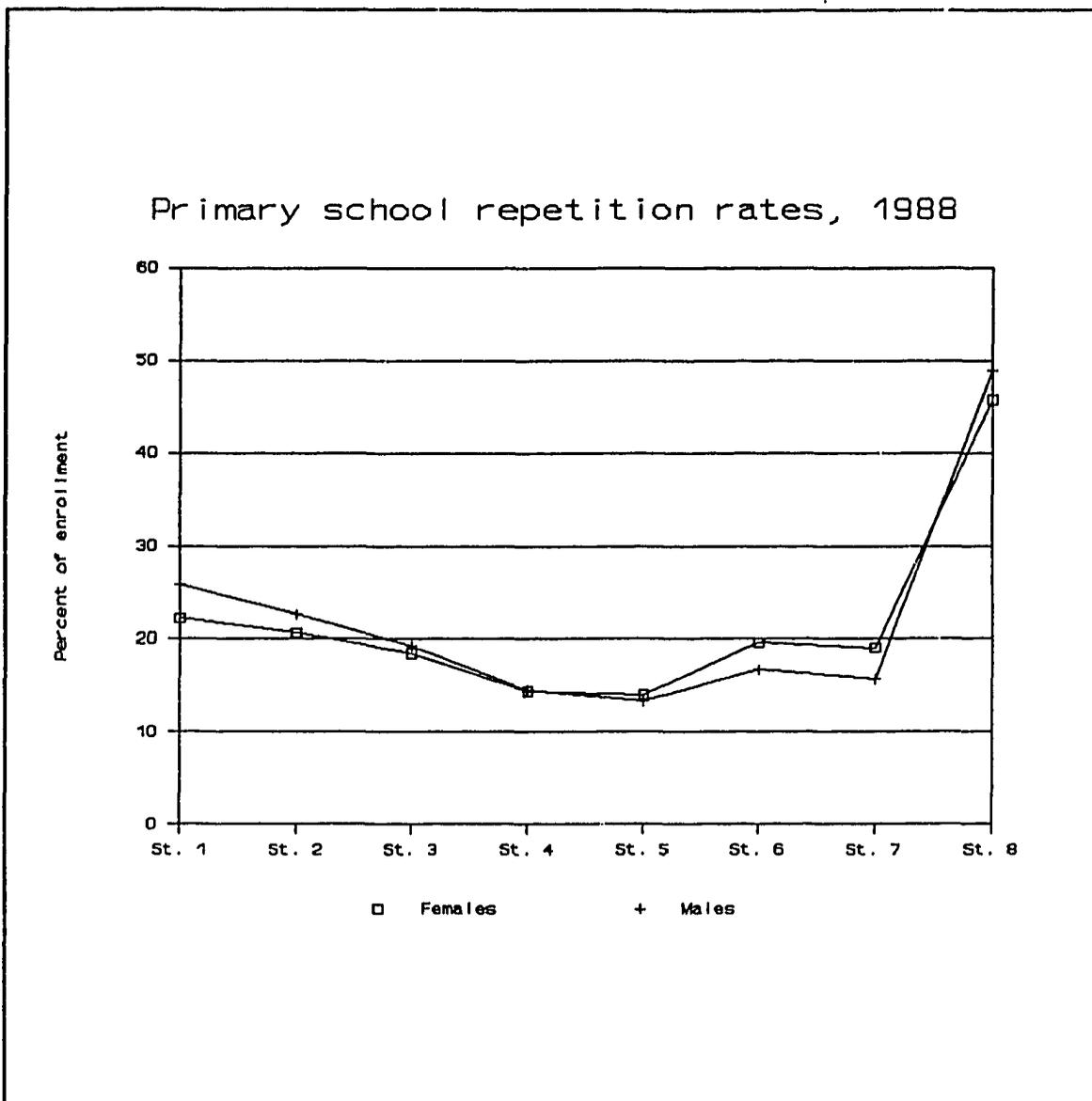


Figure 5
Primary School Repetition Rates, by Gender and Standard, 1988
 Source: Education Statistics, MOEC, 1988

CONSTRAINTS TO WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE EDUCATION SERVICE

OVERVIEW: LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN MALAWI

In 1987, Malawi's population of nearly 8 million included approximately 4 million individuals of working age (defined as 10 years or older). Over 80 percent of these 4 million (3.3 million) participate in the labor force (Table 5). Labor force projections indicate that in less than 25 years this figure should nearly double to 6.3 million, accommodating approximately 188,000 new labor force entrants each year.⁶ Most of the workforce (80 percent in 1977) is employed on smallholder farms.

Table 5: Population Age 10 and Older in the Labor Force, 1987.
(in '000's)

	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Female as % of Total</u>
Total Population	2,098	1,881	3,979	52.7%
Economically Active	1,701	1,599	3,300	51.5%
Participation Rate (%)	81.1%	85.0%	82.9%	
Number Employed	1,600	1,520	3,120	51.3%
Employment Rate for Participants	94.1%	95.1%	94.5%	

Source: Ministry of Labor, 1983 Household Survey. Unpublished tables.

Formal sector employment, which was 12 percent of the total in 1977, (Table 6) has only been growing at 3.7 percent annually since then. This has been sufficient to maintain the share of employment at 12 percent, but not to increase it. Economic constraints have forced government to adopt a policy that has essentially frozen civil service expansion (with the exception of teachers and nurses). While higher private sector investment may lead to growth in some industries such as textiles and food processing, and macroeconomic policies may lead to increasing diversification and growth in

⁶These projections are by the World Bank: "Malawi Human Resource Development Study," April, 1990, p. 106.

this sector, the current size of the formal private sector is too small to absorb significant numbers of new labor force entrants. Women constitute a very small share of the paid employment sector now (15 percent). From an equity standpoint, there are opportunities for women to increase their share.

Informal sector employment opportunities appear limited as well. In 1977, only 3.3 percent of employment was in this sector. The removal of current constraints on small-scale informal sector activity should help the sector grow. For example, the removal of restrictions on operating businesses in residential areas, government regulation of product quality and size, and limitations on the operation of transport should contribute to an expansion of this sector.

Table XX: Formal, Informal, and Agricultural
Sector Employment, 1986
(in 1,000's)

Formal Sector Employment	427.8
Percent of Total	(12.1)
Informal Sector Employment	116.7
Percent of Total	(3.3)
Agriculture Sector Employment	2,812.6
Percent of Total	(79.3)
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	3,548.7
	(100.0)

Source: The World Bank, Human Resources Development
Study, 1990

The vast number of new labor force entrants will nonetheless have to seek agricultural work in lieu of wage or informal sector employment. Unfortunately the smallholder sector will increasingly be unable to accommodate the growth of new workers. Projections indicate that increasing numbers of these new entrants will be women, many of whom will be seeking full-time jobs.⁷

⁷"Malawi Human Resource Development Study," The World Bank, April, 1990.

The Status of Women in the Labor Market

Most men and women are employed in agriculture (See appendix Table A1, showing the occupational distribution of women and men in Malawi). Among the working population, the overwhelming majority of women (93 percent) and a large majority of men (76 percent) were engaged in agricultural activities in 1983. Except for sales (2.3 percent), production (1.6 percent), and the services (1.4 percent), few women work outside of agriculture. Table 7

Table 7: Employed Population by Occupational Category, and by Gender Excluding Agricultural Employment
(percent of column beneath population figure)

Occupation (Excluding Agriculture)	Female	Male	Females as percent of	
			Total	total
Professional, Technical, and Related Workers	10,549 9.6	19,864 6.0	30,413 6.9	34.7%
Administrative and Managerial	170 0.2	3,385 ..0	3,555 0.8	0.0%
Clerical and Related	8,269 7.6	33,599 10.1	41,868 9.5	19.8%
Sales Workers	37,473 34.3	57,915 17.4	95,388 21.6	39.3%
Service Workers	23,185 21.2	60,201 18.1	83,386 18.9	27.8%
Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	29,254 26.7	157,510 47.4	186,764 42.3	15.7%
TOTAL _{/1}	109,408 100.0	332,474 100.0	441,374 100.0	24.8%

Source: 1983 Labor Force Survey, Malawi, National Statistics Office
(unpublished tabulations)

_{/1} Total for females does not include 508 workers in unspecified occupations

approximates formal sector employment by gender in Malawi.⁸ The table shows that the largest share of women working in the formal sector are in sales (34.3 percent), followed by production work (26.7 percent), and then the services (21.2 percent). Nearly 10 percent of all working women are in the professional, technical and related worker category (which includes teachers). In the entire country, only 170 women are working in the capacity of managers or administrators. In comparison, men tend to be somewhat more evenly distributed across the occupational categories, although nearly half are concentrated in the production, transport, operators, and laborers category.

Factors Affecting the Position of Women in the Labor Market

For a number of reasons, women entering the labor market these labor market may face more severe constraints on their employment and earnings prospects than men.

Women tend to have less education and training than men. Unfortunately for women, employment opportunities and the earnings associated with working depend upon education. The 1983 national labor force survey revealed that 58 percent of women in the population and 64 percent of employed women have never attended primary school. In contrast, only 29 percent of men, and 31 percent of employed men have no formal education (Table 8). In addition, the data show that only 20 percent of employed women attended at least 4 years of primary school in 1983, compared with 45 percent of employed men.

Women have many more non-labor market responsibilities than men. Besides lower levels of education, another disadvantage for women seeking work in the labor market is their heavy burden of household responsibilities--including childbearing and childcare.⁹ Even women working in jobs with significant demands are expected to run the household and care for its members.

Employers are skeptical of women's commitment to their jobs. A third factor affecting women's opportunities in the labor market is negative perceptions of women as employees which appear prevalent in Malawian society. These perceptions may be based on experience, but appear to have evolved into stereotypes. For example, the perception that women tend to be less educated than men is correct. However, it is inappropriate for employers to assume that each woman seeking employment is poorly educated. Women are considered less stable and committed to their jobs than men because it is common for them to follow their husbands when they are relocated and to resist relocation for their own jobs. Frequent pregnancies are considered disruptive to the work environment, particularly when they are followed by maternity leave.

⁸Table 7 was derived from Appendix Table 1 by eliminating the row for agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting.

⁹This section is derived from discussions with World Bank economists. A World Bank report on women and development in Malawi is expected to be released in late 1990 or early 1991.

Table 8: Employed Population by Education and Highest Level of Educational Attainment (percent of column in parentheses)

	Female	Male	Total	Females as percent of Total
No Education	1,017,532 (63.6)	476,831 (31.4)	1,494,363 (47.9)	68.1
Standards 1 - 3	267,237 (16.7)	352,618 (23.2)	619,855 (19.9)	43.1
Standards 4 - 8	289,788 (18.1)	590,214 (38.8)	880,002 (28.2)	32.9
Form 1 - 2	11,484 (0.7)	51,344 (3.4)	62,828 (2.0)	18.3
Form 3 - 4 _{/1}	10,011 (0.6)	35,759 (2.4)	45,770 (1.5)	21.9
University	2,354 (0.1)	7,299 (0.5)	9,653 (0.3)	24.4
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT _{/2}	1,600,155 (100.0)	1,520,780 (100.0)	3,120,935 (100.0)	51.3

Source: 1983 Labor Force Survey, Malawi, National Statistics Office
Unpublished tables

_{/1} Includes Form 5 and 6

_{/2} Totals do not include 1,749 women and 6,715 men who did not report their education level to the interviewer.

Determining the Existence of Gender Discrimination

One way to assess whether gender discrimination exists in the labor market is to compare the occupational distribution of men and women at a given level of educational attainment. First we can focus on the two thirds of the employed population with less than 4 years of education, which includes 80.3 percent of working women and 54.6 percent of working men. Appendix Table 2 suggests that neither men nor women with this level of education appear to have options other than agricultural production (the table shows that only 6 percent of women and 13 percent of men with less than 4 years of primary work worked in occupations other than agriculture in 1983). However, among those who obtain between 4 and 8 years of primary school, only 11 percent of women managed to find work in other occupations, whereas over 25 percent of men with this level of education obtained work in other occupations, in particular as

production or transport workers, operators, or laborers. For those with a university level education, 29 percent of women found professional or technical work, or administrative or managerial work. Nearly 65 percent of men with a university level education found work in these occupations. These differences suggest that some degree of gender discrimination may exist in the formal sector in Malawi.

Gender Discrimination is an Efficiency Loss for Malawi's Economy

For the reasons discussed above, women have less access than men to employment overall and in particular to good jobs. To the extent that differences in employment and earnings are not the result of differences in productivity, then there are significant inefficiency costs associated with gender discrimination in Malawi. When this loss in economic efficiency is compounded by the broader social welfare cost borne by families who lose income as a result of labor market discrimination against women, then it is clear that the entire economy is negatively affected.

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATED WOMEN IN MALAWI

One of the major factors affecting women's labor force participation and career options is the range of advanced training opportunities available. Most of these training programs, including teacher training of course, require relatively high levels of education for entry. This section explores the training alternatives available to young women who have earned either a Junior Certificate of Education (JCE) after two years of secondary education or a Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) after four years.

Table 9: Women Secondary School Graduates in Teaching, 1988

<u>Type of Qualification</u>	<u>Total Number of Women</u>	<u>Primary Teachers</u>	<u>Percent in Teaching</u>
Junior Certificate (2 years Secondary plus pass on JCE)	25,000	4,000	16.0
Malawi School Certificate of Education (4 years Secondary plus pass on MSCE examination)	7,000	1,240	17.7

Source: Estimated from 1977 Census and number of TTC graduates and between 1977 and 1988 taken from MOEC Education Statistics bulletins. Estimations assumed that 45% of women in Form IV passed their MSCE examination.

A large proportion of educated women of all ages are in teaching. Table 9 shows that in 1988 there were approximately 25,000 adult women (all ages) with a JCE in Malawi, and about 7,000 women with an MSCE. In that year there were about 4,000 JCE-level (T3) teachers, representing 16 percent of all female JCE holders in the country; and there were 1,240 MSCE-level (T2) teachers, representing 18 percent of all women with an MSCE.

A large share of new female secondary graduates go into teaching. Table 10 shows the number of women exiting secondary school with JCEs and MSCEs who can qualify for additional training or employment opportunities. 527 women are estimated to have passed their MSCE and may be qualified to enter postsecondary. This is about 30 percent of the total number of all MSCE graduates. There were 3,568 women estimated to have passed their JCE and qualified for training opportunities at that level--about 31 percent of all female entrants to the post-JCE employment and training market.

Table 10: Female Secondary School Graduates Qualified for Additional Training or Employment, 1988

	Females	Males	Total	% Female
Form II				
Enrolled _{/1}	5,472	10,515	15,987	34.2
Earned JCE	2,176	4,416	6,592	33.0
Form IV				
Enrolled	1,919	4,953	6,872	27.9
Entered tertiary _{/2}	527	1,377	1,904	27.7
Potential entrants to post-JCE job market: _{/3}	3,568	7,992	11,560	30.9
Source:	MOEC Education Statistics, 1987; 1988; Mwanza, 1990b.			
_{/1}	"Enrolled" includes both conventional secondary and MCDEs			
_{/2}	1988 figures estimated with 1987 selection rates by gender.			
_{/3}	JCE passed + Form IV enrolled - entered tertiary.			

Men Have Greater Access to Formal Training Opportunities in Malawi

Approximately 1,500 post MSCE places are available to women and men each year (this would include all university positions, most of the Malawi College of Accountancy posts, T2 teacher training slots (see Table 11), and a minority of the slots from other Technical Assistant Level Training). Of these places, currently about 25 percent go to women. Although this proportion is somewhat below the 33 percent female set aside called for in secondary school and teacher training college entrance, it is important to note that women have

Table 11: Estimated Number of Regular Formal Postsecondary Training Places, by Gender (percent of column in parentheses)

	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Female as % of Total</u>
Professional Programs /1				
University of Malawi	160	600	760	21.1%
Percent of Total	(15.2)	(25.9)	(22.6)	
Malawi College of Accountancy	30	70	100	30.0%
Percent of Total	(2.9)	(3.0)	(3.0)	
Technical Assistant Level Training /2				
Primary Teacher Training MSCE Level/3				
T2 Level (Requiring MSCE)	120	400	520	23.1%
Percent of Total	(11.4)	(17.2)	(15.4)	
T3 Level (Requiring JCE)	240	600	840	28.6%
Percent of Total	(22.9)	(25.9)	(24.9)	
Health Training	350	150	500	70.0%
Percent of Total	(33.3)	(6.5)	(14.8)	
Agriculture and Natural Resources	110	280	390	28.2%
Percent of Total	(10.5)	(12.1)	(11.6)	
Technical Colleges	90	390	480	18.8%
Percent of Total	(8.6)	(16.8)	(14.2)	
Board of Governors (Apprenticeship)	40	80	120	33.3%
Percent of Total	(3.8)	(3.4)	(3.6)	
All other training	150	350	500	30.0%
Percent of Total	(14.3)	(15.1)	(14.8)	
TOTAL (All Training)	1,050	2,320	3,370	31.2%
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	

Source: Team estimates

- /1 Individuals in university and professional training are selected from students with the highest MSCE scores.
- /2 Students with a passing JCE or MSCE can qualify for admission.
- /3 Teacher training does not include the current special teacher distance education training

gains in access to higher level training during this last decade. Specifically, the proportion of women receiving advanced training in 1981 and 1982 was approximately 20 percent.

Women are especially underrepresented in university-level training. University training is only available to those who have scored very high on the MSCE. The application process is fairly simple for prospective students. Those sitting the MSCE examination indicate on a form which faculty they would like to enter if they are selected. University committees then review the student scores, subject by subject, and choose which students they will accept into their programs. In 1988, nearly 4 times as many men were admitted to the university as women (Table 11 shows that 600 men compared to 160 women entered the university).

A large share of female secondary school MSCE graduates enter primary teaching. Table 10 (page 33) shows that, of the 527 women estimated to have entered post-MSCE training programs in 1988, the top 190 entered the university or the College of Accountancy. Table 11 reports that 120 were admitted into T2 teacher training positions. These 120, therefore, represent 23 percent of all new female graduates with an MSCE.

A surplus of women with JCEs may be qualified to enter T3 teacher training. Teacher training at the T3 level, which requires only a JCE, admits a higher proportion of women than T2 training. Again combining information from Tables 10 and 11, we find that of the estimated 3,568 women with JCEs in 1988 (Table 10), only 240 (or 7 percent) were admitted into T3 teacher training programs in that year. This implies that there is may be a substantial reserve of women with JCEs who can conceivably qualify for T3 level teacher training.¹⁰

Teaching is Not Considered as Attractive as other Civil Service Jobs

Despite the relatively high representation of primary teacher training among all training opportunities, it is ironic that it is the least attractive of the alternatives. Obviously, the training considered the most valuable is university training. Second priority for graduating secondary students in agriculture and natural resources training. The third most attractive career is in the health services. In fact, one of the lowest order career fields is primary teaching. It is ironic that the largest share of civil service training opportunities is in primary teacher training.

¹⁰Not all JCE holders can actually fully qualify for admission into teacher training colleges. Chart 1 indicates the educational entry requirements, showing that the JCE holders need to have passed math and at least one science course, among other prerequisites. Our interviews with teacher training college principals and the MOEC personnel office that conducts TTC entrance interviews suggest that many women cannot qualify because of failing math or science on their JCE.

Although the civil service pay scales for new entrants with a JCE or an MSCE and 2 years of additional training (i.e., in teaching, nursing, clerical work, agriculture and natural resources, etc.) are similar across the different government occupations, there are considerable differences among them in housing, allowances, training, and career promotion opportunities. Since education is a highly centralized and a very large ministry, there are few opportunities for staff (namely, teachers) to obtain recognition from headquarters, and few chances to advance. Opportunities for trained teachers to upgrade their positions or even to brush up or improve teaching skills through inservice training are almost non-existent in education, notwithstanding the MIE/Brandon University effort which includes some headteachers. (There are also two programs for untrained but experienced teachers to become qualified.) In the other, smaller sectors these opportunities are significantly more prevalent. Shortages of teachers results in the assignment of teachers to teach subject areas with which they may not feel competent. Severe shortages of classrooms, furniture, and teaching materials, and negligible maintenance of structures, suggest working conditions for primary teachers can be very unpleasant.¹¹ To make matters worse, teachers in rural areas are provided with "community built" houses, which offer few amenities. Workers in other ministries live in well built government-provided houses. These conditions for teachers, in conjunction with few opportunities for advancement and skills improvement, slow salary growth, and the nonexistent relationship between the teacher and his or her home ministry result in low morale for teachers relative to those employed by other ministries.

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT AND ADVANCEMENT IN THE PRIMARY EDUCATION SUBSECTOR

As discussed above, the primary education subsector is the largest single employer of educated women in Malawi. Of the approximately 25,000 women with a JCE (Table 9), 16 percent in primary teaching. Of the approximately 7,000 women employed with an MSCE in 1988, 18 percent were primary teachers. These statistics appear to suggest that women are not restricted from employment in this subsector. A closer inspection of female employment opportunities in primary education reveals that, despite their access to employment in the sector, women are not advancing in their careers at the same rate as men. Before we examine differences in the status of men and women in the subsector, it is important to understand the career ladder facing those who enter primary education in Malawi.

Opportunities for Advancement in Teaching

In Malawi it is said that the fate befalling new teacher recruits is that they are "posted and forgotten" by their Ministry. It is commonplace to find teachers who were hired more than 10, 20, or even 30 years ago still teaching in the same civil service grade. Given the size of the MOEC, it is not

¹¹The second chapter ("Constraints to Girls' Persistence...") illustrates the conditions found in many Malawian primary schools and classrooms.

surprising that once a teacher is assigned to a school, the Ministry henceforth has little contact with that teacher. Grappling with a teacher shortage, in conjunction with a negligible budget for expenditures other than regular salaries, and a large staff (20,000 established posts and numerous temporary positions), MOEC offers few opportunities for career advancement.

On the other hand, these few opportunities are in high demand within the sector. In particular, there are a few civil service grades in teaching that have higher salaries attached to them. In addition, some teachers find instructing upper primary grades--especially Standard 8, more rewarding than other assignments because they find motivated students working hard to prepare for the all-important Primary School Leaving Examination. Successful Standard 8 teachers (i.e., teachers with high numbers of students selected for secondary school entrance) have a better chance of moving up to head teacher or deputy head teacher positions. Finally, head teachers or recognized primary school teachers (i.e., from Standard 8 classes) may be promoted to District Education Officers or District Inspectors of Schools.

It is important to recognize that positions of responsibility or authority that are available today (as well as those which may be created or upgraded in the future--see below) are nonetheless rare in the primary education subsector. In 1989, there were approximately 18,000 teachers but only about 800 (less than 5 percent) were in the highest civil service grade (T1--see below for a discussion of teaching grades, qualifications, and remuneration). Given that there are approximately 2,500 primary schools in Malawi, there are 2,500 headteacher positions (14 percent of teachers are in the headteacher position). Many schools are large enough to require deputy headteachers. Much rarer are district education officers (DEOs), deputy DEOs, and district inspectors of schools. This is because there are only 28 education districts in the country. Nevertheless, these various leadership posts, from T1 and Standard 8 teacher positions, to Headteacher and DEO positions, are available to those who are fortunate enough to be selected or promoted to fill them. Below we examine the degree to which women have advanced to these leadership positions in the primary education subsector. Before we do that, however, we present a brief overview of differences in qualifications, pay, and responsibilities associated with each of these different positions in primary teaching and administration.

Differences between Teacher Grades. There are currently three teaching grades in primary education: T3, T2, and T1 (See Chart 1). In earlier years an additional grade of T4 was available, but there have been no new recruits to this grade since the early 1970s; 1,480 remain in the grade today. New recruits to the teaching service are T3 grade teachers for those with a JCE and two years of conventional teacher training; or they are T2 grade teachers for those with 4 years of secondary education, a Malawi Certificate of Education (MSCE), and 2 years of conventional teacher training. Because the teacher training colleges' curriculum and instruction is the same for T3 and T2 teachers (the trainees share the same courses, materials, and schedules in the same institution), T3 teachers can now advance to the T2 grade simply by passing the MSCE examination. T3 teachers can prepare for the MSCE through

the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE).¹² The only way a primary teacher can advance to the T1 grade is by means of a merit promotion process. T2 and T3 teachers can qualify for promotion after 4 years of teaching experience. In recent years there have been no new T1 merit promotions. This is in part due to the fact that there are only about 1,000 T1 posts on the establishment. The last promotions became effective in 1987 (following interviews in 1985). During the next several years, however, many of the current stock of T1 teachers are going to retire, making new T1 posts available.

Chart 1: Training Alternatives for Primary School Teachers			
Requirements	Type of Program	Teacher Grade	
		T3	T2
Educational Requirements	Traditional 2 year training program	JCE with passes in Math, one science, and in 3 primary school subject areas	MSCE with passes in Math, one science, and in 3 primary school subject areas
	3 year "off-peak" training program	does not apply	Attempted MSCE with 4 subject passes
	1 year "crash" program for unqualified teachers	JCE only, no subject requirements	MSCE only, no subject requirements
Teaching Experience Requirements	Traditional 2 year training program	None necessary	None necessary
	3 year "off-peak" training program	None necessary	None necessary
	1 year "crash" program for unqualified teachers	1 year required, more experience desirable	1 year required, more experience desirable

¹²Two other teacher training programs are temporarily in place at present. One is a one year Unicef-funded teacher training program that provides upgrading for unqualified teachers (530 per year, hopefully until all are upgraded). The second is a World Bank/IDA-financed 3 year "off-peak" program designed to train 4,500 teachers by 1992. The 3 year program operates at existing teacher training colleges during the holiday periods.

When T1 slots are available (as they will be even in 1991), MOEC advertises the new positions and qualified T2 and T3 candidates submit applications. Acceptable candidates must respond to a written interview and an evaluation team scores the candidates on experience, educational qualification, and written interview assessment results. Those with the highest scores are selected to fill the T1 slots. There is no female quota or affirmative action program pertaining to these T1 promotions.

T1 Teachers are the Best Paid. T1 teachers earn considerably more than T2 or T3 teachers, whereas T2 teachers earn only marginally more than T3 teachers (See Chart 2). A T1 teacher with 5 years of experience, for example, earns 85 percent more than a T3 teacher with 5 years of experience, and 50 percent more than a T2 teacher with 5 years of teaching experience. Moreover, the T1 teacher's annual salary accelerates 11 percent faster than a T2 teacher's, and 22 percent faster than a T3 teacher's. Compared to T2 and T3 teachers, retiring T1 teachers also benefit from annuity payments commensurate with their greater earnings.

Chart 2: Earnings and Promotion Opportunities for Primary Teachers				
	Teacher Grade			
	T3	T2	T1	T1--Personal to Holder
Requirements for Promotion into this Grade	(does not apply)	From T3, must meet educational entrance requirements for T2	From either T3 or T2, pass a merit interview with the personnel section of HQ	At least 8 years of experience in teaching with a good record (all promoted thus far have had over 18 years of experience)
Annual Earnings at Entry and Annual Step Increases	MK 1,596, MK 108 step; (equivalent to US\$ 615 and US\$ 40)	MK 2,004, MK 120 step; (equivalent to US\$ 770 and US\$ 46)	MK 3,180, MK 144 step; (equivalent to US\$ 1,225 and US\$ 55)	Same as T1 teacher

T1--Personal to Holder promotions reward teachers' commitment. In 1988-1989, many teachers were rewarded with T1--personal to holder promotions. These are honorary promotions offered to very experienced teachers as a reward for their long-term commitment (at least 8 years) to the education service. Most teachers with T1--personal to holder promotions are close to retirement (the majority will probably retire within 5 years). No interviews were held.

Rather, the personnel office awarded the promotions after reviewing teachers' length of service. In theory, merit-promoted T1 teachers are given greater responsibilities and a large jump in salary. T1--personal to holder teachers are given no new responsibilities. The salaries of teachers awarded the T1--personal to holder grade are raised, however, either to the lowest rung on the T1 ladder if they were earning below that level, or to a salary on the T1 scale immediately above their current T2, T3, or T4 salary. Besides the salary increase, T1--personal to holder teachers now receive step increases at the T1 scale, and a retirement annuity rated at their new salary (retirement benefits are a function of the last salary received prior to retirement). These honorary promotions were distributed to women in direct proportion to their participation in the primary teaching force: 34 percent (Table 12).

As mentioned above, T4 teachers are no longer being recruited. These were Standard 8 graduates who took teacher training. All current T4 teachers have been teaching for over 10 years, most of them for more than 20 years. These teachers are being upgraded to T3 or T2 through MCDE, or given T1--personal to holder honorary promotions. Table 12 shows that 770 T4 teachers were awarded the honorary T1 promotion between 1987 and 1990.

Table 12: Promotions to T1--Personal to Holder, 1988 - 1989

<u>Promotions to T1-- Personal to Holder from</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Females as % of total</u>
T2	29	52	35.8
T3	398	1,361	22.6
T4	460	310	59.7
TOTAL	887	1,723	34.0
<u>Primary Teachers, by Level (1988)</u>			
Diploma in Education	14	10	58.3%
T1	49	293	14.3%
T2	1,191	1,743	40.6%
T3	3,142	6,407	32.9%
T4	791	793	49.9%
Unqualified	579	1,873	23.6%
TOTAL	5,766	11,119	34.1%

Source: Promotions calculated from list of names of promoted teachers from all three regions. The distribution of primary teachers by level in 1988 is from "Education Statistics," MOEC, 1988.

Headteachers have tremendous responsibilities with little extra pay. All primary schools are headed by headteachers. When school teachers are upgraded to headteachers through a merit promotion process, they are regraded and retitled as T1 "Chief Primary School Teacher." In most cases, however, headteachers are nominated by the DEO and approved by the REO, who is representing the MOEC. These nominated headteachers may either be T2 or T3 grade teachers. In either case, promoted and nominated headteachers have the same responsibilities.

The headteacher's principal responsibility is school management and staff supervision. Management responsibilities include maintaining school standards, preparing school returns (statistics on enrollment, staffing, supplies, etc.), controlling supplies and pedagogical materials, keeping office records, liaising with the parent organizations and school committees, enrolling, disciplining, promoting, and transferring students, and coordinating school activities. Staff management and supervision responsibilities include assignment of teachers to grade levels, disciplining, and transferring teachers, and conducting performance evaluations of all staff. In addition to these school management and teacher supervision responsibilities, the majority of headteachers are also required to teach classes as well.

For all of these responsibilities, head teachers are rewarded with an annual allowance of about 1 to 5 percent of their annual salary. Specifically, headteachers are paid an allowance of MK 30 per year (US\$ 12 per year) if they are running schools with less than 300 pupils, and they are paid an allowance of up to MK 240 (US\$ 95) for schools with 1,200 pupils or more). Deputy headteachers, who are assigned to larger schools, share many of the headteachers' responsibilities. Their compensation is exactly half that of the headteacher (but deputy headteachers in schools with less than 300 pupils receive no additional allowance).

The number of advanced posts, and the grade of these posts may improve in the future.¹³ In particular, headteachers and deputy headteachers could be eligible (depending upon responsibilities and school size) for regrading into one of three newly established posts: Executive Officer (EO) Headteacher, Senior Executive Officer (SEO) Headteacher, and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Headteacher, with salary scales equivalent to EO, SEO, and CEO scales in the executive and technical services. Additional posts and upgrading is also slated to occur in the district education offices. Another important change is a broad regrading of primary teachers, resulting in an improvement in primary teacher salaries and step increases. These changes, which include

¹³The "Report on Organization and Staffing of the Ministry of Education and Culture," produced by the Management Services Division in the Department of Personnel Management and Training (DPMT), September, 1989, is currently in draft stage. The proposal has been accepted in principle by the MOEC and is supposed to be implemented in phases over the next five years with the transitional assistance of donors--most notably the World Bank. The implementation plan is not likely to be approved before mid-1991.

decentralization of administrative responsibility in the sector, are part of a global reorganization of the MOEC which has been mandated by the Government as part of its effort to improve the operational efficiency the public sector.

With regard to this reorganization, headteachers may look forward to a substantial upgrading of their civil service grade in order to better compensate them for their current responsibilities and for several additional ones. In particular, the upgraded position of headteacher will include the responsibility for the pedagogical supervision of the teaching staff (similar to the role of a school principal in the U.S.). The reorganization plan suggests that headteachers would receive inservice training for these new responsibilities. These inservice programs may be provided through the MIE/Brandon University program which started in 1984 (see below, "What's Being Done").

Distribution of Women in the Primary Education Sector

Table 13 shows that whereas 34 percent of primary teachers are women, considerable variation exists in the distribution by teacher civil service grade level. For instance, the proportion of female T3 teachers is 33.3 percent, while the proportion of women who are T2 teachers is 39.5 percent. The larger proportion of women in T2 positions may reflect the limited number of options available to women MSCE holders, in contrast to the substantially greater number of training opportunities for men with this qualification. In particular, the technical colleges, the polytechnic, and the university offer programs that accept nearly 3 times as many male than female Form IV graduates (see discussion of advanced training opportunities in previous section).

A low proportion of women are T1 Teachers. Given the substantial benefits that accrue to teachers promoted to the T1 grade, it is unfortunate that women were mostly overlooked when these merit promotions were awarded. Table 13 shows that 8 times as many men are T1 teachers than women (only 14.3 percent of T1 teachers are women). In contrast, the proportion of women promoted to T1-personal to holder positions is equivalent to their proportionate representation in teaching overall. (We should recall that the majority of the teachers who were recently awarded the T1-personal to holder grade will be retiring within 5 years.)

Table 13: 1990 Employment in Primary Education, by Gender

Primary Teachers, by Level (1990)	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Females as % of Total</u>
Diploma in Education	17	13	30	56.7
T1 Personal to Holder	886	1632	2518	35.2
T1	86	680	766	11.2
T2	1135	1736	2871	39.5
T3	3281	6564	9845	33.3
T4	756	724	1480	51.1
Unqualified (estimated) _{/1}	130	709	839	15.5
TOTAL	6291	12058	18349	34.3

Primary Headteachers (1990)				
T1	6	350	356	1.7%
T2	10	192	202	5.0%
T3	14	912	926	1.5%
T4	20	99	119	16.8%
Total Headteachers	50	1553	1603	3.1%
Deputy Headteachers	31	647	678	4.6%

District Education Offices				
District Education Officers	1	26	27	3.7%
District Inspectors of Schools	6	91	97	6.2%
Home Economics Coordinators	49	0	49	100.0%
Other District Administrators	0	13	13	0.0%

Source: MOEC Headquarters Personnel office, Lilongwe

_{/1}: Figures on unqualified teaching staff were calculated by subtracting the number of graduates of the one-year teacher education program between 1987 and 1989 from the number of unqualified teachers in 1987.

Few women appear to teach upper primary classes. Technically and by design, a primary teacher is trained to teach any subject to any Standard. In fact, visits to schools and discussions with headteachers, district education officers, district inspectors of schools, and regional education officers reveal that there is considerable variation by gender in the assignment of teachers across the primary school Standards.¹⁴ The assignment of teachers to Standards and subjects is solely at the discretion of the school headmaster or headmistress. Available evidence strongly suggests that female teachers are disproportionately assigned to teach the lower Standards. Even in urban schools, where two-thirds of teachers are women, nearly all of those assigned to teach Standard 8 appear to be men. Moreover, men appear to be disproportionately represented in Standards 6 and 7 as well.

Few women rise to level of headteachers. Table 13 also shows that few women are being promoted to leadership positions in the schools. We already pointed out that headteachers reap few financial benefits for the work they are expected to do (see page 41).¹⁵ However, from the point of view of women's level of authority, their participation in decision making processes in education and their visibility as role models for students and communities we suggest that many more women should be promoted or appointed as primary school headmistresses.

Women are by and large excluded from senior education management. In district education offices, regional education offices, and in MOEC headquarters, women in senior positions are a rare sight--with the one exception being Home Economics Organizers (discussed below). The most senior officer at the district level is the District Education Officer (DEO). Table 13 shows that there are only two female District Education Officers (DEO) in the entire country. Of the 97 District Inspectors of Schools, only 6 (6.2 percent) are women. In Ministry headquarters, none of the 7 top slots (Principals, Secretaries, and Chiefs) are women. Of the 79 principals, heads, and inspectors at headquarters, only 16 (20 percent) are women.

Home economics organizers: the only female presence in most district education offices. Home economics for girls has an unusually important position in Malawi's education system. School girls of all ages are expected to learn needlecraft, housecraft, cooking, and other home crafts. A structured home economics syllabus is included in the curriculum of primary schools, secondary schools, and teacher training colleges.

¹⁴School returns and other statistics reports prepared by the headteacher for the district education office do not currently include information on which teachers (by grade--T1, T2, T3, or by gender) teach in which Standard. Consequently, we have had to rely upon our interviews with headteachers and district education office staff.

¹⁵The financial benefits to women of a headteacher appointment is expected to improve substantially when the reorganization plan is put in effect (see Footnote 13).

Each of the 28 education districts has at least one or two Home Economics Organizers (HEOs) who are placed in the DEO's office to work in collaboration with their counterparts, the District Inspectors of School. However, in addition to inspection or supervisory responsibilities regarding home economics instruction in primary schools in their district (although most schools do not in fact have functioning home economic programs today), they are expected to look after girls' education in their districts.

Unfortunately, the HEO cannot easily perform her responsibilities because of a lack of transportation, a lack of training, and lack of training materials--especially with regard to girls' education outside of housecrafts and cooking. Moreover, the HEO position is not an established post in the ministry. This means HEOs' have the responsibilities of inspectors but not the status, pay, or job security.

An Analysis of the Constraints to Women's Career Progress in Education

Three main factors appear to constrain women's opportunities for advancement in the education sector in Malawi: the availability of enough qualified women to promote, the large number of demands on women's time in Malawi that conflict with their chances of advancing in their careers, and cultural and historical perceptions of women's ability that interfere with their ability to move up the career ladder.

There are disproportionately fewer women than men in the pipeline for skilled careers. Certainly one of the key problems affecting women's career progress in the sector is that there are proportionately fewer to promote. Given that only one third of primary teachers are women, headteachers and District Education Officers have a smaller pool of candidates to consider for promotion opportunities. If female teachers are as capable as men, we would expect the proportion of female headteachers and DEOs to at least equal the proportion of women in the classroom. As noted above, and in Table 13, this is not the case today.

Multiple demands on women suggest a lack of commitment. Women in Malawi, even the few well educated ones, have many responsibilities that are perceived to interfere with their commitment to their jobs and careers. Their most characteristic responsibilities are child bearing and nurturing. Given the high fertility rate in Malawi, pregnancy is a common condition. Since married female teachers of child-bearing ages take maternity leave, headteachers must shuffle staff around to cover their absence (there are no "substitute teachers" to call on when a teacher takes the 3-month maternity leave). All of the headteachers we interviewed reported that during any given month, one or more of the school's female teachers were out on maternity leave. In urban schools, which mostly have many women teachers, headteachers report that several women are often simultaneously out on leave. Headteachers also report that women teachers are more frequently absent on sick leave than men teachers. According to the headteachers we spoke with, a female teacher takes leave not only when she herself is sick, but when any of her children are sick, and even when her husband is sick.

Cultural behaviors and attitudes also inhibit women's ability to climb the career ladder in education. Besides maternity leave and sick leave, headteachers say that female teachers are less able to teach at the school after regular school hours. Although most teachers do not teach after school hours, those who prepare students for the PSLC examination taken at the end of Standard 8 are expected to put in extra time coaching students for this important test. Because women are believed to be frequently absent or likely to take maternity leave, headteachers and others in education leadership consider female teachers as less reliable than male teachers.

Women are perceived as being more mobile since they may follow their husbands on job transfers. Another factor inhibiting women's access to more responsible positions in education is the fact that it is common for women to follow their husbands when they move to another location due to a job transfer. Moreover, it is a specific regulation in the education service that female teachers who follow their husbands must be assigned a teaching position in their new location. According to District Education Officers, this is a very frequent occurrence. So much so, in fact, that it is cited as the main reason for the disproportionately high number of female teachers in urban areas (66 percent of urban teachers are women, compared to 27.6 percent of rural teachers, Appendix Table 4). One consequence of these transfers is that female teachers are thought to be less stable than male teachers.

For all of these reasons, whether perceived or real, headteachers are reluctant to assign women to teach the upper Standards--especially Std. 8. Since one of the only ways in which teachers can prove themselves is by teaching a Standard 8 class and having a high proportion of students are selected for secondary school,¹⁶ female teachers not teaching Standard 8 have little opportunity to demonstrate their abilities (at least with regard to this particular measure).

District Education Officers (DEOs) tend to recruit headteachers from those primary teachers who are successful at teaching Standard 8. As discussed above, the fact that women are rarely assigned to this level, or even to Standards 6 or 7, means that they are less likely to be in the candidate pool from which the DEOs make their selections. Moreover, to the degree that DEOs' perceptions of women are in accord with the headteachers' (as discussed above, women are often perceived as lacking commitment, reliability, and stability), they are less likely to promote or select women for headteacher positions. The fact that all DEOs are men (with one exception) suggests that as a group they are unlikely to be particularly sensitive to women's interest in advancing their own careers. Finally, interviews with headteachers and DEOs revealed that some administrators believe that women are less effective leaders than men, and that they may find it difficult to direct, supervise, and discipline male teachers.

¹⁶Since so few students are selected from those who pass the PSLC, the phrase "high proportion" should be understood as a relative concept.

The Importance of Improving Women's Career Prospects in Education

There are three important reasons for why women should be afforded the same opportunities as men to advance to leadership positions in the education sector. First, from an economic efficiency standpoint, women should not be excluded from planning and policymaking in the sector. To the degree that women and men have equal potential, then a system that impedes women's educational attainment or their opportunities to achieve their potential in their careers is wasteful of Malawi's resources.

Second, women deserve to be given authority and responsibility commensurate with their qualifications and abilities. The availability of senior positions to which women can reasonably aspire would improve the morale and help motivate women in the teaching profession.

Third, there is a considerable body of research suggesting that the presence of positive role models helps motivate children, who tend to emulate those they look up to. The presence of women in leadership positions in schools and districts throughout the country, for example, may encourage more girls to complete primary school and to perform better at all levels of education.

Appendix Table 1: Employed Population by Occupational Category,
and by Gender
(percent of column beneath population figure)

Occupation	Female	Male	Total	Females as percent of total
Professional, Technical, and Related Workers	10,549 0.7	19,864 1.3	30,413 1.0	34.7%
Administrative and Managerial	170 0.0	3,385 0.2	3,555 0.1	0.0%
Clerical and Related	8,269 0.5	33,599 2.2	41,868 1.3	19.8%
Sales Workers	37,473 2.3	57,915 3.8	95,388 3.1	39.3%
Service Workers	23,185 1.4	60,201 4.0	83,386 2.7	27.8%
Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	1,490,747 93.2	1,188,306 78.1	2,679,053 85.9	55.6%
Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	29,254 1.8	157,510 10.4	186,764 6.0	15.7%
TOTAL _{/1}	1,600,155 100.0	1,520,780 100.0	3,120,427 100.0	51.3%

Source: 1983 Labor Force Survey, Malawi, National Statistics Office
(unpublished tabulations)

_{/1} Total for females does not include 508 workers in unspecified
occupations

Appendix Table 2: Employed Population by Occupation and Highest Level of Educational Attainment (percent of column in parentheses)

		Female	Male	Total	Female as % of Total
No Education	Professional, Technical and Related Workers	0 0.0	298 0.1	298 0.0	0.0%
	Administrative and Managerial	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	0.0%
	Clerical and Related	0 0.0	103 0.0	103 0.0	0.0%
	Sales Workers	13,928 1.4	11,749 2.5	25,677 1.7	54.2%
	Service Workers	11,786 1.2	12,586 2.6	24,372 1.6	48.4%
	Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	975,391 95.9	422,286 88.6	1,397,677 93.5	69.8%
	Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	16,130 1.6	29,809 6.3	45,939 3.1	35.1%
TOTAL _/1	1,017,532 100.0	476,831 100.0	1,494,066 100.0	68.1%	
Standard 1-3	Professional, Technical and Related Workers	228 0.1	702 0.2	930 0.2	24.5%
	Administrative and Managerial	0 0.0	40 0.0	40 0.0	0.0%
	Clerical and Related	78 0.0	515 0.1	593 0.1	13.2%
	Sales Workers	7,640 2.9	10,996 3.1	18,636 3.0	41.0%
	Service Workers	4,896 1.8	12,619 3.6	17,515 2.8	28.0%
	Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	249,744 93.5	302,553 85.8	552,297 89.1	45.2%
	Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	4,568 1.7	25,193 7.1	29,761 4.8	15.3%
TOTAL _/1	267,237 100.0	352,618 100.0	619,772 100.0	43.1%	

Appendix Table 2 Employed Population by Occupation and Highest Level of Educational Attainment (percent of column in parentheses)

Standard 4-8	Professional, Technical and Related Workers	2,478 0.9	1,848 0.3	4,326 0.5	57.3%
	Administrative and Managerial	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	ERR
	Clerical and Related	1,210 0.4	8,344 1.4	9,554 1.1	12.7%
	Sales Workers	13,902 4.8	28,844 4.9	42,746 4.9	32.5%
	Service Workers	5,509 1.9	30,351 5.1	35,860 4.1	15.4%
	Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	258,499 89.2	437,663 74.2	696,162 79.1	37.1%
	Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	8,190 2.8	83,164 14.1	91,354 10.4	9.0%
	TOTAL _/1	289,788 100.0	590,214 100.0	880,002 100.0	32.9%
Forms 1-2	Professional, Technical and Related Workers	3,374 29.4	7,422 14.5	10,796 17.2	31.3%
	Administrative and Managerial	48 0.4	538 1.0	586 0.9	8.2%
	Clerical and Related	2,230 19.4	8,537 16.6	10,767 17.2	20.7%
	Sales Workers	1,242 10.8	3,246 6.3	4,488 7.2	27.7%
	Service Workers	813 7.1	2,799 5.5	3,612 5.8	22.5%
	Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	3,365 29.3	16,479 32.1	19,844 31.0	17.0%
	Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	284 2.5	12,323 24.0	12,607 20.1	2.3%
	TOTAL _/1	11,484 100.0	51,344 100.0	62,700 100.0	18.3%

Appendix Table 2: Employed Population by Occupation and Highest Level of Educational Attainment (percent of column in parentheses)

Forms 3-4					
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	3,874 38.7	6,527 18.3	10,401 22.7		37.2%
Administrative and Managerial	0 0.0	1,879 5.3	1,879 4.1		0.0%
Clerical and Related	4,321 43.2	14,720 41.2	19,041 41.6		22.7%
Sales Workers	580 5.8	2,144 6.0	2,724 6.0		21.3%
Service Workers	181 1.8	881 2.5	1,062 2.3		17.0%
Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	973 9.7	4,094 11.4	5,067 11.1		19.2%
Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	82 0.8	5,514 15.4	5,596 12.2		1.5%
TOTAL _/1	10,011 100.0	35,759 100.0	45,770 100.0		21.9%

University					
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	559 23.7	2,983 40.9	3,542 36.7		15.8%
Administrative and Managerial	122 5.2	928 12.7	1,050 10.9		11.6%
Clerical and Related	430 18.3	1,069 14.6	1,499 15.5		28.7%
Sales Workers	0 0.0	295 4.0	295 3.1		0.0%
Service Workers	0 0.0	160 2.2	160 1.7		0.0%
Agricultural, Forestry, Fisherman & Hunters	1,243 52.8	1,341 18.4	2,584 26.8		48.1%
Production, Transport, Operators, Laborers	0 0.0	523 7.2	523 5.4		0.0%
TOTAL _/1	2,354 100.0	7,299 100.0	9,653 100.0		24.4%

Appendix Table 3: Primary school teachers by district and gender, 1987-1988 (assisted and unassisted schools)

REGION District	TOTAL	Females	Males	% Female
NORTH	2783	809	1974	29.1
Chitipa	357	71	286	19.9
Karonga	465	123	342	26.5
Rumphi	341	114	227	33.4
Nkhata Bay	371	93	278	25.1
Mzuzu City	328	181	147	55.2
Mzimba	921	227	694	24.6
CENTER	5352	2026	3326	37.9
Kasungu	580	170	410	29.3
Nkhota-Kota	306	72	234	23.5
Ntchisi	190	40	150	21.1
Doma	507	131	376	25.8
Salima	245	95	150	38.8
Lilongwe City	1018	777	241	76.3
Lilongwe Rural	1046	374	672	35.8
Mchinji	403	113	290	28.0
Dedza	478	130	348	27.2
Ntcheu	579	124	455	21.4
SOUTH	6298	2352	3946	37.3
Mangochi	404	118	286	29.2
Machinga	560	151	409	27.0
Zomba Urban	256	164	92	64.1
Zomba Rural	573	166	407	29.0
Chiradzulu	472	136	336	28.8
Blantyre City	1538	951	587	61.8
Blantyre Rural	482	140	342	29.0
Mwanza	151	37	114	24.5
Thyolo	575	170	405	29.6
Chikwawa	306	68	238	22.2
Mulanje	816	218	598	26.7
Nsanje	165	33	132	20.0
TOTAL	14433	5187	9246	35.9
Urban*	3140	2073	1067	66.0
Rural	11293	3114	8179	27.6

Source: MOEC Education Statistics 1988.

* Urban areas include Mzuzu City, Lilongwe City, Zomba Urban, and Blantyre City districts; all other districts are considered as rural.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED

WHAT'S BEING DONE TO ADDRESS PERSISTENCE OF GIRLS

Since the development of its first Education Development Plan in the early 1970s, the government has placed attention on equity of access to educational services, relevance of curricula, and more efficient use of existing resources. The Second Education Development Plan (1985-1995) continued with a similar set of objectives: the equalization of educational opportunity; the promotion of efficiency in the system; the improvement of physical and human resources; and the judicious use of limited resources. The extent to which this plan, written in 1984/85, continues to guide the work of the MOEC is impressive. Most of the goals for the primary education subsector are receiving attention (such as encouraging pupil entry at 6 years of age and reduction of repetition and dropout) and considerable progress has been made in a number of them, such as re-orienting the curriculum towards the community life most pupils will enter, and addressing the quality of primary education by enhancing teacher quality. It is worth noting that "Improve promotional incentives and prospects for primary school teachers, headmasters and inspectors" is one of the Plan's 15 goals. However, none of the goals are articulated in terms of their gender dimensions.

The following section presents a broad range of strategies currently being considered in the Ministry for addressing access, efficiency, quality, and financing of primary education. We have tried to focus the discussion on the impact such plans would have on female persistence. The strategies include:

Access:

- o Phasing out of school fees for Standards 1-4;
- o Use of bursaries and campaigns to encourage the enrollment and retention of girls;
- o Expansion of physical facilities.

Efficiency:

- o Discouraging repetition by altering selection formula for Form I entry;
- o Establishing a policy that all pupils who pass a given Standard must move on to the next Standard except under special circumstances.

Quality:

- o Increasing both the size and the quality of the teaching force;
- o Greater investment in learning materials and teaching aids;
- o Improvements in the relevance of the curriculum.

Financing:

- o Increasing education's proportion of government recurrent budget from less than 10% to 15% by 1995/96;
- o Increasing the proportion of the education budget going to primary education to 50%.

Phasing Out of School Fees

Persuaded that lack of school fees is the major reason for children dropping out of school, the government is seriously considering abolishing fees for Standards 1-4 over a four year period. This is not a formal conditionality of the Second Sector Credit but rather an informal agreement and there continue to be discussions in the Ministry of the financial implications of such a move. We think that these implications could be quite severe. Under a phased approach, the government is expecting enrollments to increase by one half million children. We estimate the pupil:classroom ratio to be 88:1 with a current shortage of approximately 9,000 classrooms. Approximately 10,000 additional classrooms will be needed for the expected growth in enrollment, bringing the shortage to 19,000. Approximately 200 new rooms will be built with African Development Bank financing. Second, 7,500 new teachers are expected to enter service by 1992 (with a 1,500 annual output from TTC's and 4,500 finishing the World Bank-financed three year course) and all will require housing. Finally, while the abolition of fees at the lower levels is aimed at increasing enrollment, the implementation scheme currently under discussion would increase the financial burden on parents. It is not at all clear that parents can afford the net burden being placed on them by the abolition of fees. They will still be expected to pay the extra fees set by districts (approximately MK1. per annum), supply all exercise books (MK2.40),¹⁷ slates (MK11.), pencils for the year (K1.), uniforms (MK20.), and possibly textbooks as they need replacing (MK9.20 for the basic set of Chichewa, Arithmetic, and English). To compare this total of MK44.60 to the current annual school fee of MK3.50 is misleading because parents at present provide uniforms and often end up purchasing many of the supplies the government is

¹⁷ The Malawi Primary School Quality Study (1990) found that parents are providing more than half the exercise books pupils use in school (2.2 exercise books for Standard 3, 2.3 at Standard 4, and 3.7 at Standard 7). We have used the study's total number of exercise books currently in use for estimates here. These figures still represent an inadequate supply.

expected to supply. What is important to note is that the direct non-tuition costs at present are very high (approximately MK22.) and with the abolition of fees, a considerably larger burden will be placed on parents. Our concern is that while more pupils may enroll in school there will be even fewer instructional materials available because parents will be unable to meet the costs being transferred to them. The quality of the schooling experience will decline even further, despite the substantial additional resources being poured into the system through the two large sector credits. In response to these concerns, we suggest that the role of private costs of schooling be explored through an experimental effort in a few districts before launching a national program. This idea is taken up further in the section on suggested actions.

Use of Bursaries and Campaigns for Female Retention

The Ministry would like to obtain outside assistance in the form of bursaries or scholarships for girls to encourage their enrollment and persistence. At present, UNDP is financing a pilot scholarship program which covers fees, uniform and other associated school costs for two pupils from every primary school in the country (4,804 pupils). The scholarships are awarded at a ratio of 3:1, girls to boys, and are based on academic merit. The first year of the program is being evaluated by an outside consultant and the report, due out in October, should be considered by the Ministry of Education and Culture and USAID for lessons regarding such an effort. It is not clear if financial need was originally part of the design, but it has not been part of the first year's implementation because it proved much too difficult to effect over the entire country. Since there is a strong and widely recognized correlation between academic performance and socio-economic status, we think it unlikely that the pilot will tell us much about the role of school fees in the decision to drop out. Recipients were identified by the head teacher and school committee at each school. It is likely that the recipients on the whole are doing well for a host of reasons, including receiving strong support at home (material as well as psychological/emotional) and being positively perceived by teachers and head. The scholarship is recognition of their achievement but lack of fees may never have been an issue with these students. The scholarship program should be viewed not as a controlled experiment but rather as a way of encouraging high performance, particularly of girls, by publicly recognizing pupil achievement.

The idea of public awareness campaigns for promoting the value of girls' education has been raised in many fora, including the recent NCWID Workshop on Access of Girls and Women to Education and Training Opportunities in Malawi. The team is unaware of any current programs but UNICEF has expressed an interest in joining USAID or UNESCO in support of innovative measures such as using the media to bring about attitudinal changes towards girls' education. Work of Malewezi (1988) has suggested the introduction of the theme of girls' education in radio programs.

Expansion of Physical Facilities

Much of the expansion of educational infrastructure has been financed by the World Bank group. The First Sector Credit is financing the construction

of 1500 primary classrooms, 750 staff houses as well as several secondary schools. The Second IDA will provide roofing sheets for 228 primary classrooms blocks (456 classrooms) and 406 teachers' houses in rural areas. School furniture and equipment for 3000 classrooms will also be financed, much of it through DEMATT. Teachers' houses and district inspectors' houses are also being financed. The African Development Bank (AfDB) is constructing 200 primary school classrooms in urban areas along with secondary schools and offices for regional education administrators. Church groups and NGO's such as World Vision are also assisting communities with building new schools and upgrading existing schools, often with the goal of qualifying for government assisted status. USAID's SHARE project will enhance the capabilities of these groups to assist in education.

Infrastructure development of TTC's is being financed by IDA. The Fifth Education Project built three new TTC's and an extension to another. Under the Second Sector Credit, Montfort College, an all-male teacher's college, will increase its capacity by 360 students. The expansion of secondary educational institutions, both conventional schools and MCDE Study Centers, have been financed through IDA projects and sector credits and AfDB. Finally, it is worth noting that the building for the new Center for Educational Research was financed under the Fifth Education Project and this center is expected to conduct research on gender issues.

Discouraging Repetition at Standard 8

The government is committed to improving the efficiency of the primary system by reducing repetition. The current thinking is to attack repetition by altering the selection formula for Form I entry by reserving 75% of the places for first time takers of the PSLC examination, 20% for second time takers, and 5% for those taking the exam for the second or more time. Towards this end, the government registered all students in Standard 6 and 7 during the 1989/90 academic year. These children will be monitored through Standard 8 examination. The Ministry expects to continue student registration over the next few years at the same time that the government will encourage registration at birth. Eventually all school children will be registered. Progress on this front is a conditionality of the Second Sector Credit. The team supports the principle, particularly if it is accompanied by access to Form one in proportion to representation in Standard 8. With a decline in repetition at Standard 8 we should expect a larger proportion of girls taking the examination, since it is mostly boys who repeat Standard 8 multiple times. We do have a concern, however, that students will find ways to work around the new system. In speaking with school children, we discovered that word has circulated that it will not be possible to repeat at Standard 8. Pupils are already holding themselves back at earlier levels to ensure that they are "stronger" when they reach Standard 8. We met children who were mapping out their strategies as early as Standard 5.

Promotion of All Pupils Who Pass

To complement the Standard 8 strategy for reducing repetition, the government has plans to establish a policy requiring that all pupils who pass

are promoted to the next Standard except under special circumstances. Such cases would require parents to appeal to the school for their child to repeat and the head teacher would have to concur. Such a policy would move children up through the system and the previously discussed policy at Standard 8 would move them out. The two policies together could potentially yield tremendous gains in efficiency. The problem would arise if children started purposefully failing end of year examinations in order to repeat at lower levels and grow "stronger" for Standard 8. Given the resourcefulness of Malawian school children, this possibility should not be ignored.

Increase Both the Size and Quality of the Teaching Force

The government has recognized the need for increasing the number of teachers and improving the quality through improved initial training and upgrading. While little in-service training is offered to qualified primary teachers, great strides have been made in upgrading untrained teachers. Since 1987 UNICEF has supported a one year course for experienced but unqualified primary teachers. The course has been residential and 1613 teachers (28% females) have completed it. There are plans to continue the program and to finance in-service training for graduates of the program and support TTC tutors as supervisors instead of DIS's. This is seen as a more effective mechanism to ensuring that these teachers get supervised and that the colleges get feedback on the usefulness of the course. The Second IDA is continuing the First IDA support for crash training of 4,500 teachers in a three year program. These teachers will complete in 1992. The World Bank has stipulated, as a condition of the Second Sector Credit, that MOEC develop criteria to evaluate the academic and practical performance of these teachers and procedures for dismissing poor performers.

Efforts to improve teacher quality have also been undertaken through support for the Inspectorate. MIE in conjunction with Brandon University (with CIDA funding) has developed an in-service course for Heads, DEO's, DIS's, and District Home Economics Organizers (HEO's). The sandwich course is for three years. There are 240 (35 women) attending the first offering and plans are for 400 to join next year. During the eight weeks' residential section, participants take courses in such topics as inspection and supervision, education management and administration, curriculum studies, and educational psychology. It is hoped that by 1997 all primary heads, DIS's, District HEO's, Regional inspectors, and Regional HEO's will be trained. Other support at the district level is coming through the Second IDA which will cover the recurrent costs of 30 new District Inspectors for two years and the purchase of 60 motorcycles. The Government will hire 45 additional inspectors out of the existing budget.

Increasing investment in instructional materials

Under the First IDA, the MOEC purchased primary level textbooks but has encountered problems with costs rising higher than expected and distribution problems. The Second IDA will finance the development, production and distribution of new teachers guides and textbooks for Std. 1-4. This will involve improvement of MIE's publishing facilities through technical assistance and equipment. Specialists in reading and evaluation will be

provided. The Government has committed itself to allocating MK2. per student for textbook replacement in Standards 1 to 8 from the fees being collected. (If tuition fees are abolished at the lower Standards as being discussed, this would mean Standards 5-8.)

The Second IDA also includes support for radio use in primary schools including procurement of 5000 solar powered radios, the development of a maintenance and replacement system, and technical assistance. The program will start as a pilot.

Improvements in the relevance of the curriculum

Brandon University through CIDA is providing equipment and technical assistance to the Malawi Institute of Education for curriculum development. UNICEF has also supported the revision of the primary curriculum in a number of ways: the inclusion of Child Survival and Development content at all levels; seminars for Std. 1-4 teachers and Heads; the production of science teaching tapes for primary schools; the development of a Chichewa textbook for Std. 1; printing of trial materials for the revised curriculum; production of a teacher's bulletin to keep them aware of curriculum changes (circulated to 5000); and the purchase of readers. In its mid-term review this September, UNICEF indicated intentions to continue to purchase reading materials, encourage the development of books by local authors and expressed interest in assisting USAID and UNESCO to address female education issues.

Attention is also being given to examination reform as a way of improving the relevance of material taught. ODA through the World Bank is assisting MANEB with improving the PSLC, providing a technical advisor in the Research and Evaluation Department. The World Bank through the Second Sector Credit will support technical assistance in testing and measurement to help with the development of a national assessment test. MANEB's computer facilities will also be upgraded.

Increase education's proportion of government recurrent budget

The Ministry of Education and Culture has committed itself to increasing education's share of the recurrent budget from less than 10% to 15% by 1995/96. The education share decreased from 9.6% in 1984/85 to 8.9% in 1985/86 and then increased to 9.2% in 1986/87 and 9.6% in 1987/88 only to decline again to 9.1% in 1988/89.

Increase the primary proportion of the education budget

The hope is to increase the proportion of the education budget going to primary education up to 50%. Cost recovery measures have been implemented including increasing secondary school boarding fees to MK150. per year and making the MK5. book fee non-refundable. Fees at MCDE were raised and boarding fees at MCDE Study Center will be raised this October.

Related assistance with educational finance has taken the form of a long term (twelve years) ODA financial advisor in MOEC.

Other Developments Worth Noting

The World Bank has been pushing for implementation of the recommendations for management and administration in the 1987 Education Sector Review (Price Waterhouse). DPMT has completed its plan and it has been awaiting final editing for a year. A number of steps have to take place before implementation can begin. It is unlikely implementation could be started before mid-year 1991. The Second Sector Credit will support the implementation of the new MOEC structure, including the decentralization of many functions. The Second IDA will finance in-service training of head teachers and principals in school management techniques, workshops to improve the planning process at national, regional, and district levels, cover salaries of 4 planners and one statistician in the Planning Section, and in-service training for 10 statistical assistants. A UNDP/UNESCO planning advisor is now in place to assist with the development of MIS within MOEC and plans for decentralization. The PIU will also be strengthened through funding of staff salaries and the fellowships, and a budget for the school maintenance unit.

The establishment of the Center for Educational Research has been supported under the First Sector Credit and the Second IDA will provide technical assistance for a researcher and research consultancies. The World Bank will continue to finance the ongoing multi-year research on primary school quality and possibly new studies on gender differences in school achievement and absenteeism vis a vis the school calendar. The opening of the Center is behind scheduled and the post for Director was re-advertised in early September.

Communication among the various agencies assisting in the education sector could be improved. The foreign assistance programs in the sector are very complex and there are often multiple donors in an institution (ODA and World Bank in MANEB; CIDA and World Bank in MIE, etc.). USAID may be able to play a coordinating role in this area.

PROPOSED RESEARCH AND SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES: AN INTRODUCTION

The present section offers a selection of options proposed to advance efforts in the removal or reduction of constraints to the full participation of girls in school and to career opportunities for women in education. It is intended as a basis for institutional dialogue, and to contribute to the process of research and project design and policy development. As such, the proposed activities are to be treated as recommendations rather than definitive plans for action.

In the course of this study we have come to understand some of the constraints faced by girls and women in education well enough to identify specific areas for action and to suggest activities directed toward them. Late school entry and inefficiency in the flow of students through school, teaching and classroom practices that may depress girls' academic performance, girls' limited exposure and knowledge regarding educational and life options, and their restricted opportunities for further education after dropout are among the factors that we are convinced impinge on girls' persistence in school. These factors are also amenable to change through institutional activities.

Among our key findings is the fact that while girls enter primary school in about the same proportions as boys, regional disparities exist, and dropout rates are higher among girls than boys, particularly in Standards 1 and in the upper Standards of primary school. Repetition rates are high, and multiple repetition is more prevalent among boys, reducing the efficiency of the entire system. Such inefficiency operates to the greater disadvantage of girls, for whom the onset of adolescence is more likely to bring on competing responsibilities with the risk of early pregnancy, expectations of marriage, and initiation practices in some areas. The presence of a great proportion of male multiple repeaters may also distort the distribution of PSLC scores, thereby affecting girls' chances of selection into secondary school. Low academic performance of girls on examinations has been linked elsewhere to gender-biased attitudes and classroom practices of teachers, which appear to be present in the Malawian context as well, especially in math and science subject areas. The evidence also indicates that girls are more likely than boys to perceive themselves to have limited chances of access to higher levels of education and to its rewards, as well as to have limited knowledge of life options open to them, especially in rural areas where educated women in formal sector positions are few. Finally, once girls leave school, their options for continuing education are limited by a variety of policies and practices and again, a lack of knowledge of these options.

As to patterns of women's training and employment in the education sector, the evidence points to inefficiency in TTC recruitment practices and great underrepresentation in the numbers of women especially in senior and administrative positions and as teachers in rural areas. The practice of recruitment into TTCs (and other training options) on the basis of fixed gender-segregated boarding facilities and with no allowance for day students results in the underutilization of facilities and difficulty in moving the gender ratio and increasing the access of qualified women to teacher training. Second, while women exclusively hold the position of Home Economics Organizer in district offices, it is noteworthy that this position does not enjoy full

established status. Primary education is the largest employer of educated women in Malawi; however women are grossly underrepresented in the promotional grade (T1) and as head teachers, inspectors, and district education officers. Underlying this phenomenon, which cannot be entirely explained by the "pipeline" of qualified women entering the workforce (already narrow), are perceptions on the part of supervisors as well as female teachers themselves that their multiple responsibilities effectively prevent full commitment to the job and stability in their place of work. Reluctance on the part of head teachers to place women teachers in Std. 8 classes, often based on such perceptions, virtually eliminates their chances of recognition and promotion.

Our study has also identified areas in need of further research before informed policy or project actions can be proposed or extended. There is some evidence that the direct costs of schooling may be more detrimental to the participation of girls than boys, given family spending and investment patterns. More research is needed, however, to understand the full system impact of proposed policy changes such as the elimination of school fees in the lower standards. Std.1 dropout (greater for girls, but high for boys as well), for example, may be linked to an inability to pay school fees midway through the school year, but it is unclear that the removal of school fees alone will not shift the burden of other costs of schooling onto parents, or whether other factors are contributing to this phenomenon. The new Std.8/Form 1 transition policy being adopted may also have secondary effects that are as yet unknown and important to monitor through controlled study. Empirical examination of the paths into and out of TTCs can further our ability to increase the efficiency of the teacher training process.

The 2-page "research and activity matrix" below summarizes our proposal for actions to address these points. The matrix is organized according to nine major objectives identified by the study, with proposed research and suggested activities relating to each. More detailed descriptions of the activity options we propose are available in the accompanying suggested activity sheets; these are carefully but briefly sketched ideas only, intended to facilitate the discussion of next steps in this program for girls and women in education.

RESEARCH AND ACTIVITY MATRIX:

MAJOR OBJECTIVES SERVED BY PROPOSED RESEARCH AND SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

MATRIX I OBJECTIVES RELATED TO GIRLS' PERSISTENCE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL	Major Objectives				
	Encourage timely entry of girls into Std. 1	improve girls' performance: Std. 1 to Std. 8	Reduce girls' dropout rate: Std. 1 to Std. 4	Reduce girls' dropout rate: Std. 5 to Std. 8	Increase opportuni- ties for girls to continue education
PROPOSED RESEARCH					
A. Promotion & Repetition Study			X	X	
B. Private Costs of Schooling	X		X	X	
C. Single-Sex School Effects		X		X	X
D. Std. 1 Entry, Repetition, Dropout	X	X	X		
E. Secondary Places for Girls Study				X	X
F. Primary School Qual. Data Analysis		X	X	X	
G. Tracer Study: TTC Recruits					X
H. Tracer Study: TTC Graduates					X
I. Job Transfers & Mobility					
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES					
A. Establish guidance counselling for primary school girls in careers and family life education		indirect		direct	
B. Support school visits by established female role models		indirect	indirect	indirect	
C. Change gender-biased perceptions and practices of primary teachers		direct	indirect	indirect	
D. Establish primary school math and science teaching improvement program		direct	indirect	indirect	indirect
E. Provide educational alternatives to female dropouts					direct
F. Support birth and school registration efforts	direct		indirect	indirect	
G. Increase number of female teachers and TTC efficiency		indirect	indirect	indirect	
H. Increase number of women in rural primary schools and in senior positions in education		indirect	indirect	indirect	

MATRIX II OBJECTIVES RELATED TO WOMENS' ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE EDUCATION SERVICE	Major Objectives			
	Increase the access of qualified women into TTCs	Improve math/science teaching skills of female primary teachers	Increase the proportion of women teaching in rural areas	Increase the number of women promoted to T1, head-teacher, and district office posts
PROPOSED RESEARCH				
A. Promotion & Repetition Study				
B. Private Costs of Schooling				
C. Single-Sex School Effects				
D. Std. 1 Entry, Repetition, Dropout				
E. Secondary Places for Girls Study				
F. Primary School Qual. Data Analysis				
G. Tracer Study: TTC Recruits	X		X	X
H. Tracer Study: TTC Graduates	X		X	X
I. Job Transfers & Mobility	X		X	X
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES				
A. Establish guidance counselling for primary school girls in careers and family life education				
B. Support school visits by established female role models				
C. Change gender-biased perceptions and practices of primary teachers		indirect		
D. Establish primary school math and science teaching improvement program	indirect	direct		indirect
E. Provide educational alternatives to female dropouts				
F. Support birth and school registration efforts				
G. Increase number of female teachers and TTC efficiency	direct		indirect	indirect
H. Increase number of women in rural primary schools and in senior positions in education			direct	direct

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

<p>A. Establish guidance counseling for primary school students in career and family life options, through enhanced role of HEO</p>	<p>Cost: \$\$ Time frame for effect: Long term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Raise girls' awareness of career opportunities</p> <p>(2) Provide family life education to students</p> <p>(3) Expand/enhance the role and status of the DHEO</p> <p>(4) Raise students' perceptions of the value of staying in school</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Establish/formalize position of the DHEO as full permanent District Education Office staff.</p> <hr/> <p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Train HEO's to train teachers and head teachers in career guidance and family life education instruction.</p> <p>(2) Assist in developing in-service training program in guidance for teachers.</p> <p>(3) Assist in developing program and materials addressed to primary students, drawing from experience of MCS and MYP family life education efforts.</p> <p>(4) Procure vehicles for DHEOs to permit regular visits to schools to train teachers and head teachers and to supervise guidance efforts.</p> <p>(5) Budget for materials and other costs of the program.</p>

<p>B. Support school visits by established female role models options</p>	<p>Cost: \$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Long term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Provide access to female role models</p> <p>(2) Provide career counseling</p> <p>(3) Encourage postponement of early marriage and pregnancy</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <hr/> <p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Support CCAM, NGO's, and other groups to organize school visits by career women to talk with girls about the value of schooling and life options.</p>

<p>C. Change gender-biased perceptions and practices of primary teachers, through enhanced role of HEO</p>	<p>Cost: \$\$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Medium term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Change gender-biased classroom practices of current teachers</p> <p>(2) Raise teachers' and school administrators' expectations of girls' academic capabilities</p> <p>(3) Promote bias-free expectations and classroom practices in future teachers</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Establish the position of the HEO as permanent District Education Office staff.</p> <hr/> <p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Train HEOs in techniques of gender awareness training.</p> <p>(2) Develop module on gender awareness in educational practice for pre-service and in-service teacher training and in training of educational administrators, to be used in TTC and MIE/BU curricula and in workshops led by HEOs.</p> <p>(3) Provide budgetary support to HEOs for workshop activities.</p>

<p>D. Establish primary school math & science teaching improvement program</p>	<p>Cost: \$\$\$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Medium term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Improve maths and science teaching in primary school</p> <p>(2) Provide female role models in maths and science to primary school pupils</p> <p>(3) Improve girls' performance in maths and science classes</p> <p>(4) Improve girls' chances of selection into secondary school</p> <p>(5) Increase proportion of female teachers teaching upper primary Standards</p> <p>(6) Increase female teachers' chances of promotion to head teacher</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Institute equal representation of women in all in-service teacher training opportunities</p> <hr/> <p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Assist in the development of in-service MAMSTIP curriculum for primary school teachers, including gender awareness component (see Suggested Activity C)</p> <p>(2) Establish procedure of recruitment of MAMSTIP participants (voluntary or through recommendation by head teacher or DIS); with 1:1 female/male ratio.</p>

<p>E. Provide educational alternatives to female dropouts</p>	<p>Cost: \$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Medium term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Improve literacy levels of female dropouts</p> <p>(2) Increase the number of girls completing primary studies.</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Modify policy to permit females to return to school after dropping out.</p> <p>(2) Lower age of participation in adult literacy program from 15 to 12 years.</p> <p>(3) Offer primary leaving examination preparation at MCDE study centers and MCDE night schools.</p> <hr/> <p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Investigate options for increasing capacity of MCDE programs</p> <p>(2) Conduct publicity campaign encouraging female dropouts to complete primary education through MCDE or by joining MCS literacy programs.</p> <p>(3) Offer bursaries for girls to finish primary schooling through MCDE.</p>

<p>F. Support birth and school registration efforts</p>		<p>Cost: \$\$\$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Medium term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Establish capacity to monitor age of school entry</p> <p>(2) Encourage timely entry into schooling</p> <p>(3) Enhance MOEC capacity to monitor student flow through primary school</p> <p>(4) Promote evaluation of effects of new Std.8/Fm.1 transition policy</p> <p>(5) Improve girls' primary school completion rate</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Mandate birth registration</p> <p>(2) Phased (5-10 years) requirement of birth registration for school entry</p>	
	<p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Technical assistance and skill transfer in establishing information management system for birth and school registration</p> <p>(2) Support institutional development of NSO</p>	

<p>G. Increase the number of female teachers trained and the efficiency of Teacher Training Colleges</p>		<p>Cost: \$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Short term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Increase pool of qualified female teachers</p> <p>(2) Improve efficiency of the teacher training system</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Over-recruit teacher trainees on the basis of projected matriculation in anticipation of no-shows (with attention to existing district level quota formulae)</p> <p>(2) Permit female day students in urban TTCs</p> <p>(3) Change policy so as to permit pregnant TTC students to complete the school term</p>	
	<p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Convert one or more TTC dormitories to accommodate a majority of women</p>	

<p>H. Increase number of women in rural primary teaching and in senior positions in the education sector</p>	<p>Cost: \$</p> <p>Time frame for effect: Long term</p>
<p>OBJECTIVES</p> <p>(1) Improve the attractiveness of the education sector for employment for women.</p> <p>(2) Increase visibility of women in leadership positions.</p> <p>(2) Increase the visibility of women teachers in rural education.</p>	<p>POLICY OPTIONS</p> <p>(1) Institute affirmative action program to promote more women to T1 positions.</p> <p>(2) Develop rural teaching service scheme with "career ladder" rewards for women who teach for a given period of time in rural areas (see MOH promotional incentive program for rural nurses)</p> <p>(3) Provide incentives to districts which promote women to leadership positions in the district. Special advantages should be given to women who taught in rural areas.</p> <p>PROJECT ACTIVITIES</p> <p>(1) Establish fund for incentive program.</p> <p>(2) Set up orientation program for women participating in the rural teaching service.</p>

PROPOSED RESEARCH

Research Title	Description	Rationale
A. Promotion and repetition study	Support local research on: (a) variations in student promotion practices across districts and schools; (b) prevalence of voluntary grade repetition; (c) the impact of repetition and multiple repetition on achievement	Identify promising policy avenues to improve efficiency. Monitor effects of the new Std. 8 to Form I selection policy.
B. Demonstration study on the private costs of schooling	Design and implement a series of controlled school cost subsidy programs (e.g., in upper vs. lower Standards; covering fees alone or fees and other costs) in selected districts to assess the impact of school costs on female persistence.	Inform development of new school fees policy with evidence of the impact of school fees on persistence in schooling.
C. Demonstration study on single-sex schooling	Conduct and evaluate a demonstration of the impact of single sex learning environments on boys' and girls' achievement and persistence.	Explore options for raising achievement within existing facilities.
D. Study of Std. 1 entry and dropout	Conduct a year-long study of Std. 1 students to assess factors implicated in high dropout rates of Std. 1 pupils.	Reduction of high rates of Std. 1 dropout requires research and policy attention.
E. Secondary school places for girls	Conduct feasibility studies on (a) the costs of converting secondary school hostels to allow more places for females; (b) the expansion of day student enrollments in existing secondary schools; (c) expanding MCDE capacity.	Increase capacity/flexibility of existing secondary schools to admit more female students.

<p>F. Further analysis of Primary School Quality Study (PSQS) database</p>	<p>Support exploitation of the PSQS database for analysis of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) students' background characteristics and performance; (b) impact of school distance on performance and attendance; (c) parental involvement in child's schooling; (d) effectiveness of head teachers' supervision of teachers; (e) demands on children's time outside school; (f) family expenditures on education. (g) management of school inputs 	<p>Full exploitation of this nationally representative database is a cost-effective way to obtain baseline responses to important educational research questions.</p>
<p>G-H. Tracer study of TTC recruits and graduates</p>	<p>Support multi-year tracer study of TTC graduates into training and employment activities to examine patterns of placement, attrition, and mobility in the teaching force.</p>	<p>Understanding patterns of movement into and out of primary school teaching are key to improving efficiency of TTCs.</p>
<p>I. Study on female job transfers and mobility.</p>	<p>Conduct a study of the prevalence of female job mobility, absenteeism, and maternity leave.</p>	<p>Based on the perception that married women follow their husbands on job transfers, many women are denied jobs at higher levels.</p>

APPENDICES

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Whitehead, C. 1984. "The Education of Women and Girls: An Aspect of British Colonial Policy." Journal of Educational Administration and History, pp24-33.

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IBRD. A Strategic Framework for Development of Malawi's Human Resources. March 1989.

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IBRD. Financing and Efficiency of Education in Malawi. 1984.

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APPENDIX A.

ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
CCAM	Chitukuko Cha Amayi m'Malawi
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DEO	District Education Officer
DHEO	District Home Economics Organizer
DIS	District Inspector of Schools
DPMT	Department of Personnel Management and Training
EO	Executive Officer
HEO	Home Economics Organizer
HQ	Headquarters
IDA	International Development Association
JCE	Junior Certificate of Education
MANEB	Malawi National Examinations Board
MCA	Malawi College of Accountancy
MCDE	Malawi College of Distance Education
MCS	Ministry of Community Services
MK	Malawi Kwacha
MSCE	Malawi School Certificate of Education
MIE	Malawi Institute of Education
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MOH	Ministry of Health
MYP	Malawi Youth Programmes
NCWID	National Commission for Women in Development
NSO	National Statistics Office
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
PIU	Project Implementation Unit
PSLC	Primary School Leaving Certificate
REO	Regional Education Officer
PSQS	Primary School Quality Study
SEDOM	Small Enterprise Development Organization of Malawi
SEO	Senior Executive Officer
TTC	Teacher Training College
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Figure 2

PRIMARY SCHOOLS ENROLMENT 1987/88

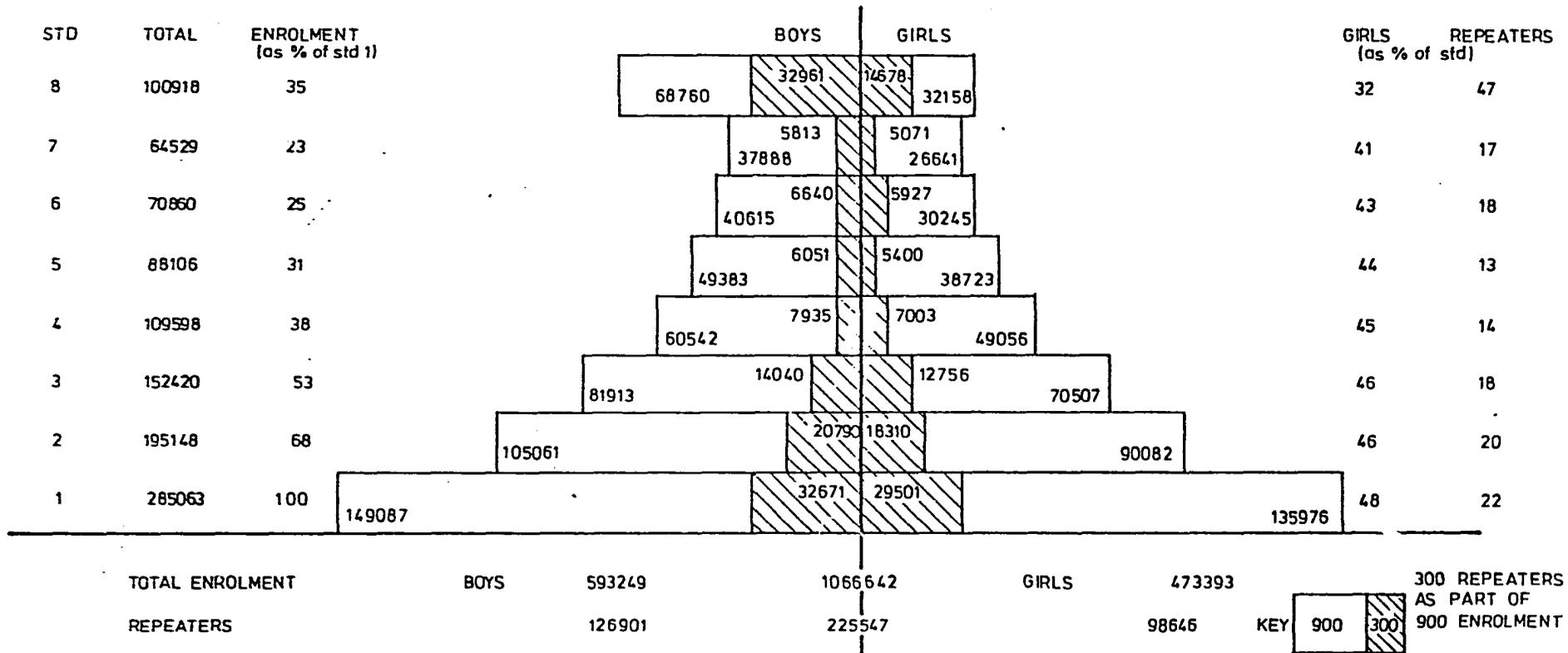
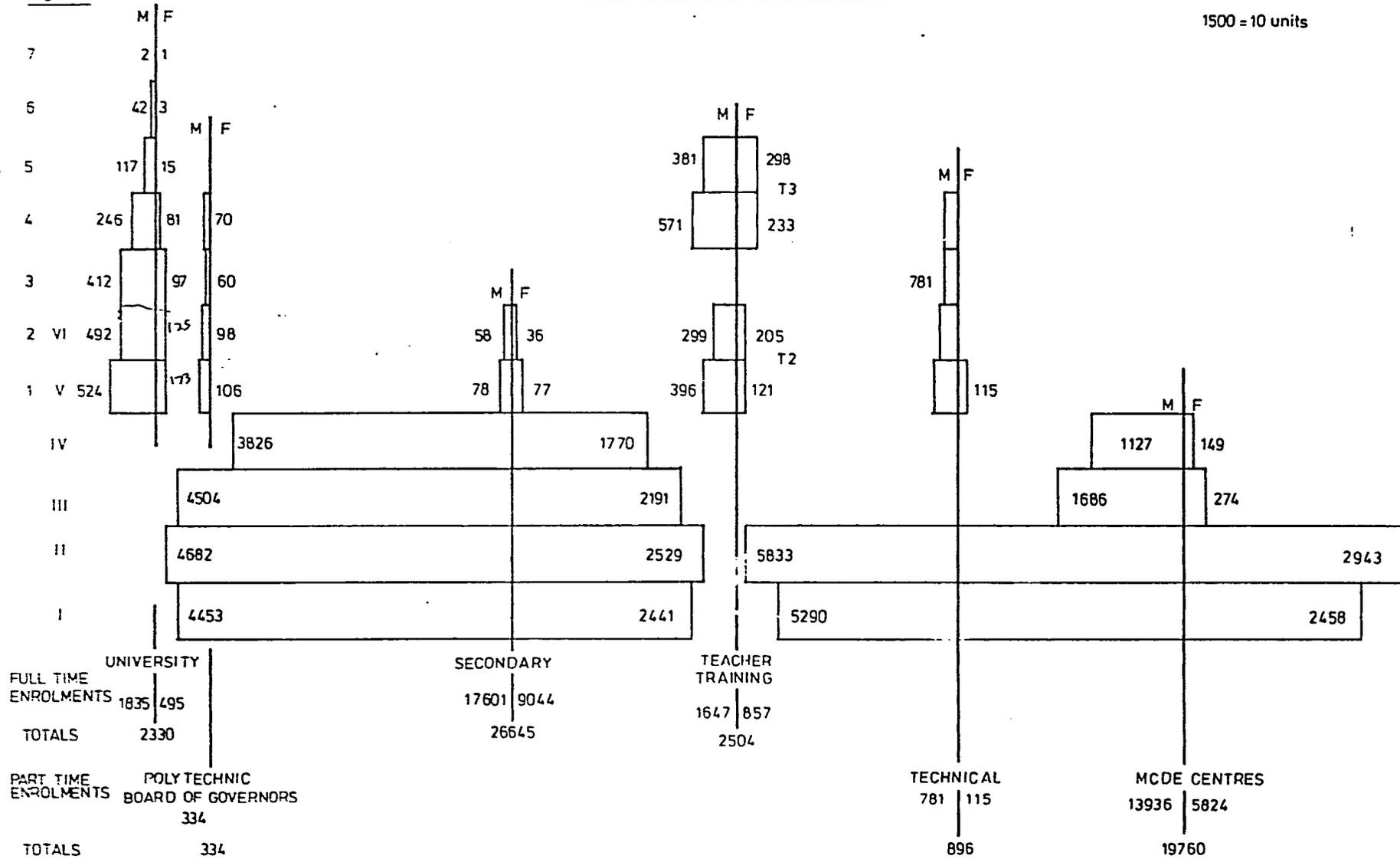


Figure 4

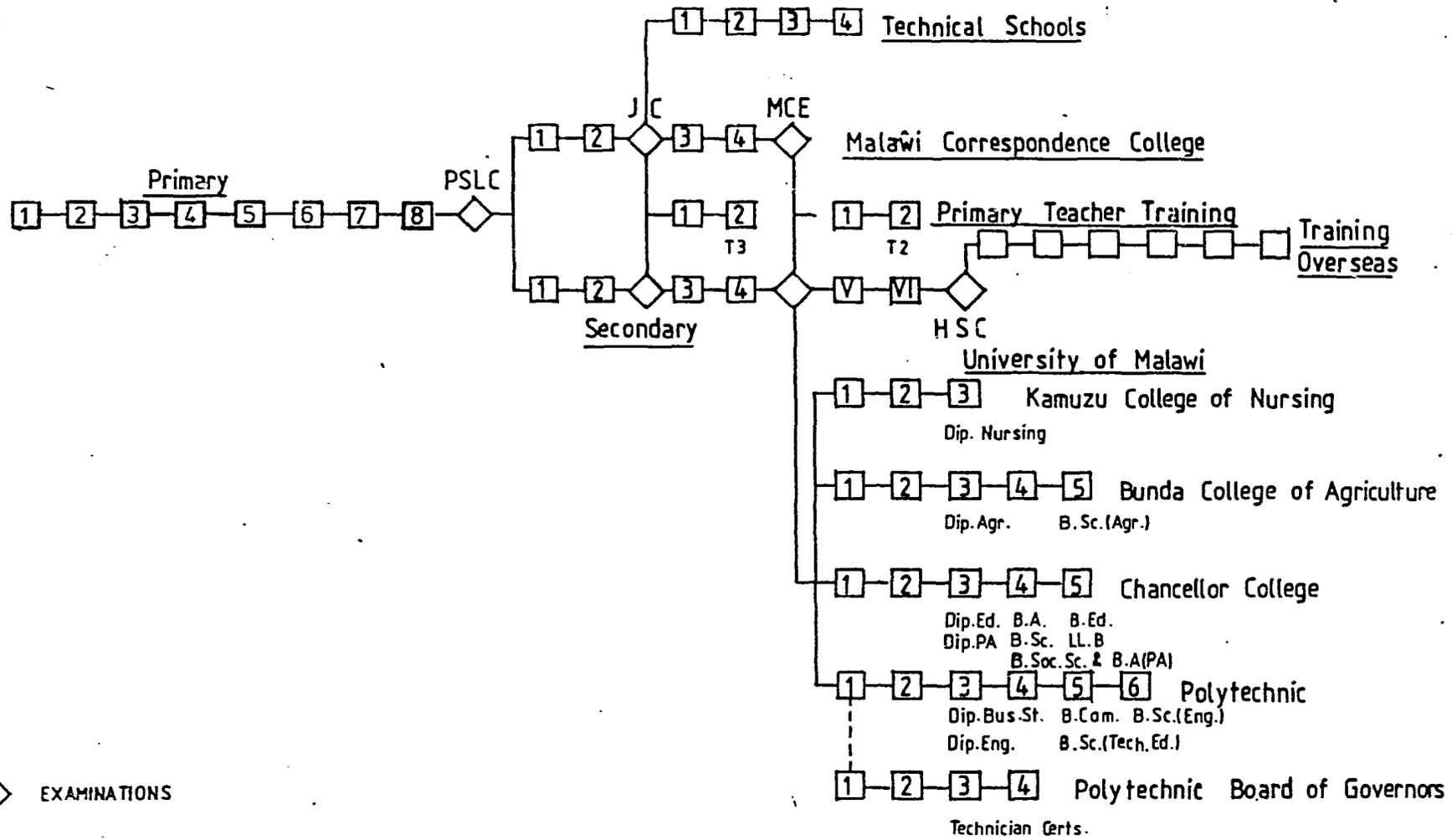
POST PRIMARY ENROLMENTS 1987/88

1500 = 10 units



APPENDIX B.

STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM



APPENDIX C.



APPENDIX D.

LIST OF INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS VISITED

Centre for Social Research

Mr. L.A.H. Msukwa, Director
Mrs. N. Ngwira, Researcher

Chancellor College

Prof. Chipeta, Head, Economics Department
Mr. A. Msiska, Librarian, Malawiana Section
Mrs. C. Nyirenda, Librarian

Department of Personnel Management and Training

Mr. A.M. Msiska,

Economic Planning and Development

Mr. S. Hiwa
Mr. M. Kuntengule

Human Resource and Institutional Development (HRID)

Mr. R. Klaus
Mr. P. Mulawu

Malawi College of Accountancy

Mr. E. Banda, Principal

Malawi Institute of Education

Mr. Nankhuni, Registrar
Mr. Maliakini, Assistant Registrar
Mr. J. Bisika, Lecturer, Education
Mr. R. Hauya, Lecturer, Education
Mr. Mateche, Lecturer, Chichewa

Malawi National Examination Board

Mr. Mulaga, Head of Examinations
Mr. Mwanza, Section Head, Research and Evaluation

Ministry of Community Services

Mrs. E. Kalyati, Principal Secretary
Mrs. L. Kamtengeni, Chief Community Development Officer
Mr. C.R. Mkamanga, Community Development Officer (Functional Literacy)
Mr. A. Nkunika, Principal Community Development Officer
Mrs. C. S'noya, Principal Officer, Women's Programme

Ministry of Education and Culture

Dr. I.C. Lamba, Principal Secretary
Dr. G.G. Momezulu, Deputy Secretary
Mrs. T. Chilambe, Education Officer, MCDE
Mr. Griffin, Accounts Advisor
Mr. M.L. Kabvala
Mr. H.S. Khombe, Chief Education Officer (Secondary Section)
Mr. J. Maganga, Planning Officer
Mr. O.H.C. Mtawali, Undersecretary
Mr. B.A. Mwale
Mr. E.Y. Ngaye, Deputy Secretary
Mr. N. Zingano, Education Officer (Primary Section)

Regional Education Office (Center)

Mr. Somanje, Regional Education Officer
Mrs. C. Chidaya, Assistant Regional Education Officer

District Education Offices

Blantyre

Mr. Kaunjika, District Education Officer
Mrs. M. Hau, District Inspector of Schools
Mrs. C.V. Wonondo, District Home Economics Organizer

Lilongwe

Mr. Chatha, District Education Officer

Zomba

Mr. Kanchokololo, District Education Officer
Mr. Chikokoto, Assistant DEO

Teacher Training Colleges

Blantyre Teachers College

Mr. P. Khomani, Deputy Principal

Domasi Teacher Training College

Mr. L.H. Nyirenda, Principal

Lilongwe Teachers College

Mrs. M. Chaika, Principal

Malawi College of Distance Education

Mr. H.M. Manondo, Principal
Dr. D. Warr, Consultant (ODA)

MOEC Planning and Implementation Unit

Mr. V. Gondwe, Education Planning Officer
Mr. Luwanda, Civil Works
Mr. Masumbu
Mr. Silungwe, Accountant
Mr. F. Tonthola, Procurement Officer

Primary schools

Blantyre Girls, Mr. Chimbwete, Head
Chisamba, Mr.H.M.J.Jaston, Head
Lilongwe C.C.A.P., Head
Lilongwe Girls, Mrs.Mkumba, Head
St.Pius Boys, Head
St.Pius Girls, Sr.E.Nkwalula, Head
Zingwangwa Primary school, Mrs. Juma, Head and Mr. Maposo, Deputy Head

Songani MCDE Central

Teacher-in-charge

Ministry of Labour

Mr.M.W.Chazama
Mr.T.H.Chimpanzi
Mr.J.D.Msanjama
Mr.P.C.Nindi
Mr.A.G.Upindi

Muslim Association Of Malawi

Mr. I. Mulanzi
Mr. Komoto

National Statistics Office

Mr. Mphedwa

Polytechnic

Dr. P.L. Chikhula, Principal
Ms. L. Thawe, Assistant Registrar

Treasury

Mr. A. Gomani, Assistant Chief Economist
Mr. S.J. Sitsi, Deputy Secretary for Revenue and Budget
Mr. R.A.B. Chayenda

UNDP

Dr. D. Worku, Deputy Resident Representative

USAID

Ms. C. Peasley, Director
Mr. K. Rikard, Deputy Director
Ms. R. Maloney, Economist
Mr. St. Norton
Ms. I. Biswas

World Bank

Mr. J. Malone, Resident Representative

World Vision International

Mr. Mponela

APPENDIX E.

SCOPE OF WORK FOR STUDY OF
FEMALE EDUCATIONAL PERSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

1. Rationale

If Malawi is to realize the economic and social benefits of increased levels of female education, improvements in the retention of girls in primary school are needed. This study will identify and analyze existing policy and institutional constraints to such female persistence and suggest points of intervention. Concern with educational employment and advancement arises from a perceived need for female role models in the classroom and school administration as well as for female participation in decision making in the local and central government's administrative, planning, and policy making institutions. Efforts to eliminate constraints would advance the contribution of women to Malawi's national development.

This study explores the government-mediated factors in the supply of education (availability of human and material resources) as well as government policy factors which can stimulate demand (reduced costs to parents, improvements in the curriculum, changes in school schedule). Factors on both sides of this equation will be explored if they can be addressed by government policy. Institutional constraints are defined as the discernible patterns of institutional conditions and practices (for example assigning of subjects on a gender basis in the face of a complex school timetable) which are "de facto" policies but may pose as obstacles to fuller female participation.

2. Methodology

The study will focus on two major topics: female persistence in primary school and female employment in the education sector. In addition, a third paper will be prepared in the United States reviewing existing data sets in Malawi. In all areas of study, the team will recommend potential action or policy/institutional changes to alleviate identified constraints. Understanding that no one factor determines demand for schooling and no single factor can be manipulated to guarantee an improvement in female persistence, the study will attempt to determine the relative importance of the various policy factors identified. Finally, the team will recommend other analytical work which it believes is needed to provide groundwork for a USAID education program.

A. Constraints to Female Persistence in Primary School

In exploring constraints to female persistence in school, the team will build on the presentations and discussions of the recent Workshop on Access of Girls and Women to Education and

Training Opportunities in Malawi. Among the issues which require further exploration is female performance in the Primary School Leaving Examination, particularly girls' subject choices and the effect school organization may have on examination performance (for example co-educational schools with girls' wings and the 26 schools with non-functioning technical wings). Second, as "lack of fees" is cited in most studies as the main reason for girls dropping out, the study will explore the policy towards school uniform and other associated expenses borne by parents. Policies on repetition, examination registration, and absenteeism will be examined. The team will try to identify factors having a differential impact on female participation rather than those affecting students across the board since these are the factors the Mission is interested in affecting.

The team will try to ascertain the relative effect of such institutional factors as the location of schools, use of double shifts, and emergence of a pre-school system in urban areas which might be serving as a screening mechanism.

To ensure that the latest Malawian research is being included in the analysis and to promote greater communication among Malawian researchers on this subject, the study team will organize a meeting for the presentation of preliminary and recent findings on the issue of female persistence in primary schooling.

B. Constraints to Female Employment in Education Sector

The Analysis of policy constraints to employment and advancement in the education sector will cover primary and secondary teachers, headteachers, TTC tutors and principals, the Inspectorate, regional and district education office staff, university and college personnel, staff and officers in the Ministry of Education and Culture central offices and educational statutory bodies such as MIE and MANEB. The team will create an employment profile for the education sector, determining the proportion of teaching and non-teaching positions and then place emphasis on the largest segment. The geographic distribution disaggregated by gender will be identified, if possible, as well as the distribution of women in high level positions in the Ministry of Education and Culture and related statutory bodies. Representation in curriculum development and planning functions is of particular interest. Historical data will be used to the extent available to portray the education employment situation over time.

Policy factors to be considered include the teachers' terms of service (particularly compared to civil service scales and other remunerations such as housing allowance), recruitment policy, promotion policy, posting and reassignment policies and differences based on marital status. Given the Workshop's recommendation of a change in the policy of dismissing single teachers who fall pregnant, the team will try to identify the number of teachers, male and female, who are affected by the

pregnancy policy each year. In addressing the demand for teaching positions, the team will identify the demand for places in teacher training colleges vis a vis their operating capacities. The study will explore the issue of retention of teachers, particularly females, to determine the degree of attrition and if teaching is in fact a transitional occupation.

The analysis of institutional constraints to female employment in the education sector will consider such factors as the availability of boarding facilities in TTCs, the timeliness of salaries, individual disincentives for females entering the teaching profession, and institutional disincentives for hiring female teachers (such as the unavailability of substitute teachers during maternity leave).

A broader concern is the overall labor demand issue. Education sector employment must be considered in the context of Malawi's overall wage sector to determine to what extent education differs from most other sectors, particularly in the availability of wage employment in the rural areas.

C. Date Set Review

A consultant will also prepare a review paper based on a targeted analysis of existing data sets to draw out information on women and children's time use. This paper would relate antecedent labor demand, family structure, and related social factors to females' school attainment. The shape of this last activity will be determined by the team who will explore the feasibility of doing such an analysis of the data sets from Oregon State/MOA Agricultural survey, the Cornell Nutrition survey, and the HIID Household survey. The team will make recommendations on the scope of this review.

3. Approach to Analysis

On analyzing the above, the consultants will be expected to review pertinent existing literature, interview key USAID, Government, University and education sector officials, and carry out limited direct field observations. The team will work with designated Malawian officials.

4. Administration of the Study

A. Level of Effort

The study will be done by a four person team (plus a Ministry of Education and Culture participant): an Educational Economist for 25 days; an Education Policy Analyst for 25 days; an International Education Expert (to be provided through AFR/TR/EHR) for 25 days; and a Malawian social scientist for 18 days.

B. Deliveries

The team will have two days of preliminary orientation meetings in Washington prior to departure for Malawi and one day of de-briefing in Washington following their consultancy. They will be in Malawi for three weeks. Within the first two days, they will have orientation briefings with USAID/Malawi; mid-way through their work, they will present an oral report on their preliminary findings to USAID/Malawi; within five days of their departure they will present a draft report to USAID/Malawi; two days before their departure, they will conduct exit briefings with USAID/Malawi and the Government of Malawi; and prior to departure, they will submit five copies of the final report.

"NEWSCOPE.SGL"

APPENDIX F.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON RESEARCH ON FEMALE EDUCATION IN MALAWI

Bai, C.A.L. and P.Higgs. 1986. "Factors related to Academic Performance and Retention in Selected Malawian Primary Schools. A Pilot Study. MIE. Commissioned by Ministry of education and Culture. Impetus for study from World Bank to find out the impact of textbooks programme. Achievement tests and interviews were given to 913 Standard 6 pupils of 14 primary schools. Achievement tests in English, Maths, and Chichewa were used. In the second run of study the number had shrank to 366. 200 pupils were repeating Std 6, the rest had dropped because of 5-ill health, 57-could not pay school fees, 117-had been transferred, 3-had married, and 165- unknown reason. of the 366 40% were female. Boys did better than girls though whether findings were significant is uncertain. Maths was higher and english lower in rural than urban schools.

L. Gondwe. 1989. "Factors that Limit Girls' Access to Technical and Vocational Education in Malawi." Paper presented at a UNESCO sponsored workshop on Access of Girls and Women to Technical and Vocational Education at the Polytechnic.

Malewezi, Felicity R. 1989. "Towards Sex Equity in Malawi's Educational System." April 1989. Largely impressionistic, no data/sample defined. Reiterates themes of need for the abolition of sex-type technical specialisations, need to sensitize parents to value girls' education. Some discussions of educational statistics. Legal entry is six but distance and open entry policy contribute to entry at a later age. Boys persist more than girls after several failures. She suggests increasing girls boarding facilities, need for media support for attitude change.

Malewezi, Felicity R. 1988. "Some Factors Which Contribute to Girls' Underachievement and Lower Participation in Mathematics in Malawian Secondary School." Diploma in Educational Studies thesis, University of Leeds, 1988. Found that three major factors are responsible for girls' underachievement in mathematics: lower expectations of parents and teachers; the image of mathematics as a male domain (promoting within the curriculum and instructional materials); the restriction on the type of careers girls go into which effects perceptions of the "usefulness" of mathematics. Author makes specific recommendations for a massive awareness campaign to change attitudes, and a lists of suggestions for parents, Ministry of Education and Culture, teachers, career counsellors, and Malawi National Examination Board, many of them innovative.

Mkandawire, Richard and Mike Nambote. 1990. "Youth Employment Opportunities, Perceptions and Preferences in Malawi. Bunda College. Still not cleared for distribution, as of September 11, 1990. Survey found lack of fees as single greatest reason for drop-outs (47% males and 39% females) followed by lack of guidance (37% males and 25% females) and then by pregnancy (25% females).

Associated with drop-outs was low income, large family size, and involvement in subsistence agriculture.

Master's Dissertations at Chancellor College, University of Malawi

Chikhola, A.J., 1988, "A Study of Pre-Service Primary School Teachers' Errors in Arithmetic and Algebra. M.Ed. Dissertation. Mathematics Education. More algebra errors made by male students and T3 (vs. T2) students. Students in single sex colleges made fewer errors than in mixed sex colleges.

Dzama, E.N.N. 1984. "A Study of Factors Affecting Attainment Levels of Students in the Malawi Certificated of Education Physics Science examinations". Thesis (M.Ed.) University of Malawi. The study was prompted by the downward trend in physical science as evidenced in the MSCE results from 1978 onwards. The study concluded that poor exam result in physical science could be a result of shortage of qualified teachers in the secondary schools.

Kaphesi, E.S. "An analysis of teachers' classroom oral questions in geometry lessons in junior secondary school classes in Malawi." 1988 M.Ed. Mathematics Education. Population consisted of all mathematics teachers in 60 government (and assisted) secondary schools in Malawi. random sample of geometry teachers drawn consisting of 51 teachers: 39 qualified, 12 unqualified, 39 experienced and 12 unexperienced, 40 male and 11 female. Form I and II used for observation. Students were in both single sex and coed schools. No significant differences between male and female, qualified and unqualified teachers or single sex versus mixed sex classes on the number of questions asked per minute. No questions on rhetorical and evaluation levels. Female teachers asked most questions of girls in all girls school. (No other differences.)

Liwewe, Solomon, 1987. "An examination of the relationship between teacher variables and pupil academic achievement in MCE English and mathematics in secondary schools in Malawi. M.Ed Management. An analysis of the results reported in the MCE computer printouts and other sources from 1984, 1985, and 1986. Graduate degree teachers significantly more effective than diploma teachers in English and mathematics. Teachers with more than 5 years of experience not significantly better on English results, but significantly better in math results. Male and female teachers not significantly different on English and mathematics results.

Mbilizi, M.J.A. 1987. "Motivation and job satisfaction of secondary school teachers: implications on teacher shortage and wastage in Malawi. M.Ed. Education (Management and Planning). Study of 150 employed and 40 resigned teachers. Motivational potential is low, and teachers are more satisfied with job content factors than job context. Main causes of attrition were lack of promotion opportunities and lack of training opportunities. Other factors

included inadequate salary, lack of appreciation from employers, job not challenging. Teachers not getting adequate feedback about performance, lowering motivational potential of teaching. Also noted, the lack of inspections and supervision visits made teachers skeptical about how the few promotions that occurred were determined. Also teachers felt there should be greater differences between diploma and degree teacher salaries. Besides salary, changes in type of assignments and workload could be considered. More posts should be created: i.e., junior teacher, senior teacher, head of subject, deputy head, and head. Junior could be PO Senior P8, subject head P7, deputy head P6, and headteacher P5. Promotion should be determined by experience, outstanding performance, and qualification.

Nyirenda, Joyce. M. 1987. "The impact of secondary school supervision on pupils; academic achievement in Chichewa, English, and mathematics at Junior Certificate Examination and Malawi School Certificate Examination Levels: 1982-1986." M.Ed. Educational Management and Planning. Six ministry based inspectors, eighteen headteachers, 43 heads of department. and 103 teachers formed the sample. Secondary school supervision is ineffective. Headteachers are the only supervisors who are effective as supervisors.

Bachelor's Dissertations at Chancellor College, University of Malawi

Banda, R.J. 1984. "Western Education: A Corroding Factor on African traditional Life. Thesis. University of Malawi. A study was done among the Tumbuka people of Mzimba District. Results show that there is conflict in the aims of formal and traditional education, and it is suggested that the two types of education should be integrated to motivate parents to send their children to school.

Banda, J.M.S. 1986. "Teacher' Attitudes Towards Single-sex and Co- educational, secondary Schools. Dip. Ed Thesis. University of Malawi. 74 Secondary school teachers interviewed from 1 boys school, 1 girls school, 1 co-ed plus University of Education Certificate students at Chancellor College. 83 of teachers with no experience in all types of schools preferred coeducational secondary schools, 11% preferred girls only, 8% preferred boys only.. Performance was perceived to be better in single-sexed schools for both boys and girls. Discipline was reported to be better in co-ed schools.

Kamangira, Y.T. 1982. The Training of women for careers as agricultural field assistants: the Crisis in recruitment. First choice for girls in Form II Nursing, then Secretarial, then teaching, then air hostess or medicine, then bank teller, then business. Form IV. first nursing, then teaching then secretarial, then bank teller, then business. Agriculture is 6 for form IV and 8 for form II.

Kaimila, G.C. 1988. "The Impact of Lizulu Market on the Educational Achievement of Primary School Pupils in Lizulu Area. Thesis. University of Malawi. Research covering 6 schools, 30 pupils around Lizulu Market in

Ntcheu District.1 school which was far away from the market was used as a control.20 parents were also interviewed.Headmasters, Teachers and Pupils participated in the study.Results show that girls start dropping out in Std 6 to 8 in all schools.Fewest drop out in both girls and boys were in Std 4.There was more absenteeism on wednesday and fridays,non-market days, but during the months of Dec-Feb,peak agricultural months absenteeism was high.

Kamundi,D.A.I.1989. "An Examination of Causes and extent of Primary School Dropouts in Malawi.B.Ed Thesis. University of Malawi. Results showed that in 1978/79 to 1985/86 23% of the students reached Std 8 on time; in 1979/80 to 1986/87 8% of the students reached Std 8 on time; in 1980/81 to 1987/88 18% of the students reached Std 8 on time. There was no examination of gender.

Kamwendo.W.Y.1984."An Investigation of Factors Adversely Affecting the Performance of Malawian Girls as Compared to that of Boys in the Malawian Junior Certificate Physical Science Examination". Thesis (M.Ed)University of Malawi.1984. The study takes into account factors such as attitudes of girls toward the subject,Job relevance,sex bias,teachers expectations,class participation,readability of the textbooks,etc.Results indicate that girls have negative attitude toward science,and textbooks used in class are sex biased against girls.

Lomosi, F.P. 1982. An investigation of extent, pattern, and reasons for dropouts during a school year in four primary schools of chief chiseka traditional authority. Headmasters interviewed. Overwhelmingly, of 316 lack of fees were the reason for dropping out (228). Far behind fees were lack of interest (43) , followed by other social factors (25), distance (15) ill health (5).

Mandere, John 1986. "Primary school pupils: why some fail; A case study of Chiwaliwali primary school. 8/58 dropped for academic and examination reasons, 50/58 dropped due to personal, family, financial and other reasons. Teachers: Lack of interest, difficulties, perseverance to go on in school, lack of teaching and learning materials, and poor teaching. Students: 71 percent reported that laziness contributed to their failure. Absenteeism reported by 34.2 percent. (sell crops, gardening (to pay fees).

Matengo, P.A. 1988. "The Rate and Causes of Dropouts in Zomba Urban Primary Schools from 1980-1988." Using school records, and interviews with head teachers, teachers, parents, and 32 Malawians who dropped out, the author found differences in patterns and reasons given for drop out in the lower standards in comparison with higher levels. Lower classes had much higher rates (74% compared to 26%) with Standard 1 dropout rates the highest (54%). There was a measurable difference between girls (52%) and boys (47%). For lower class students, reasons included long walking distances, lack of

interest, and lack of school fees. Upper class drop out was attributed to indiscipline, pregnancy, marriage, lack of interest, and lack of school fees.

L.J. Maulidi. 1988. "A Comparative Study of Factors Affecting Education Participation of School-Age Children(6-15 year olds) in Mangochi District."

Thaulo, M.P. An investigation into the extent of and causes for high dropout rates between rural and urban primary schools in malawi--with special reference to schools in Zomba. 1981. Lack of school fees in general, and cash for uniforms and school funds and lack of cash due to bad weather main cause. Children must stop attending when parents stop fees. In rural areas, parental migration also a reason. Employees must move. Search for fertile land causes mass movements People are forced out of settlement when development schemes are established where they live. Poor parent health affects harvest and cash availability. Children health, also a factor. Sometimes, when some children in a family enter secondary school, younger children don't have money for school fees. Most parents look at school was the place where children do nothing but play. This is because they are ignorant of what the children will achieve at school. Most of absences it is parents asking child not to go. Parents may have fees but will not use them on school. Besides parental ignorance is their positive interest in marriage. Most marriages, which appears to be the most critical cause for wastage of older students in rural schools, are initiated by parents. Parents not interested in girls education. Particularly interested in training her for marriage. A young girl can go to school but as soon as she matures she is asked to stop schooling immediately.

Tifere, Oscar B. 1982. Parental and societal reaction to girls' education in chewa society in Malawi.

B. Research in Progress

Davidson, Jean and Kanyuka, Martin. "Study of school and family factors influencing educational access, persistence and performance in primary school." Eight schools in rural Zomba are in the sample. Funded by USAID through HRID. Report expected by October 1990.

Kainja, Catherine and F. Mkanwadire. Study of family/community, schooling (particularly teachers' influence), and policy factors influencing primary school retention and repetition. Covers 8 districts in all three regions. Recommendations expected to be addressed to parents, teachers, and Ministry of Education and Culture. Funded by UNESCO. Report expected to be ready by late September 1990.

Kapakasa, Anjimile. Dissertation research for GWU. Study of parental attitudes towards primary schooling for boys and girls. Pilot interviews have suggested that behind "the lack of fees" as reason for pulling girls out of school is the preference of the families to spend funds on initiation instead

of schooling. Explores gender differences in household decision making on education issues. Factors effecting female enrollment are age of girl (and proximity to initiation), distance to school, number and gender of other children in the family , expected benefits of schooling including employment expectations, and household labor needs. December 1989 pilot study included interviews with 15 fathers and 21 mothers. Documents available: Pilot questionnaire, transcripts of 2 interviews of mothers, limited frequency tables and list of responses for some questions, preliminary description (April 1990), paper "The Economics of Initiations and the Impact on Schooling" (10 pages). Pilot study funded in part through USAID/W. Currently receiving World Bank support. Fieldwork expected to start October 1990. Earliest completion date is June 1991.

C. Proposed Research:

Lucy Thawe (Polytechnic), Jessie Sagawa (Chancellor College), and Cynthia Nyirenda (Chancellor College) "Causes of Wastage of Girls in Secondary Schools."

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APPENDIX G.

Research Roundtable on Female Persistence in Schooling

Tuesday, 28 August, 1990

1:00 - 4:30 pm

Learning Resource Center
Chancellor College

A G E N D A

- I. Opening by Chair, Kate Kainja, Chancellor College
- II. Introductions
- III. Presentation and Discussion of Research Findings
 - Martin Kanyuka and Jean Davison
 - Kate Kainja
 - Felicity Malewezi
 - Other research: Anjimile Kapakasa
- IV. Discussion of UNESCO proposal
- V. Unanswered Questions: Suggestions for Future Research
- VI. Closing

Research Roundtable on Female Persistence in Schooling

Tuesday, 28 August, 1990

Learning Resource Center
Chancellor College

List of Participants

Dr. Jean Davison, Chancellor College
Dr. Martin Kanyuka, Chancellor College
Prof. J.M. Kuthemba-Mwale, Chancellor College
Mr. Louis Msukwa, Centre for Social Research
Dr. Pauline Peters, HIID/Centre for Social Research
Mrs. Felicity Malewezi, UNICEF
Mr. V. Gondwe, PIU, Blantyre
Mrs. Monica Chaika, Lilongwe Teacher's College
Mrs. E.J. Mede, Deputy Secretary, CCAM
Mrs. L.R. Kamtengeni, Ministry of Community Services
Mr. Ken Rikard, Deputy Director, USAID
Ms. Lucy Thawe, Polytechnic
Mrs. C.I.D. Nyirenda, University of Malawi
Dr. Pat Hiddleston, Chancellor College
Mr. G. Mpheluka, Chancellor College
Mr. McLloyd Polepole, Chancellor College

MOEC/USAID Education Study Team:

Dr. Sue Grant Lewis
Ms. Kate Kainja
Dr. Robin Horn
Dr. Jennie Spratt
Mr. Saulos Nyirenda

SUMMARIES OF PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

JEAN DAVISON/MARTIN KANYUKA

TITLE OF STUDY: Study of school and family factors influencing educational access and persistence in primary school.

SUMMARY

Objectives

- * To examine attitudes and expectations of students, teachers and parents toward education of girls in comparison with boys at the primary school levels.
- * To collect data on the learning environments in the classroom and home that have an impact on the education of girls
- * To investigate how primary pupils' time is allocated in and out of the classroom to determine the gender differences that influence girls' capacity to succeed in education.

FINDINGS

- * 4 schools participating in the study
- * All four schools headed by men
- * Female teachers teach lower classes only
- * Majority of the teachers had negative comments about girls
- * Some teachers address only boy's side of the class (the MOEC requests separation of seating arrangements for boys and girls)
- * Head teachers and male guardians stated that girls drop out of schools mainly because of early marriage followed by pregnancy while pupils and female guardians reported that lack of school fees and uniforms was the major explanation for girls dropping out of school.
- * Girls spend more time than boys performing domestic duties after school
- * Girls spend less time than boys studying at home
- * Parents had limited expectations for both sons and daughters and the range of career options was small. Nursing followed by teaching was frequently opted for girls and clerk/office worker followed by teaching for boys by parents.

KATE KAINJA/FRANCIS MKANDAWIRE

TITLE OF STUDY: To determine factors that cause girls to drop out of primary schools and the role of female teachers in the access and persistence of girls in primary schools.

SUMMARY

- * 8 districts, 8 DEO's, 40 schools, 40 heads, 140 teachers, 350 pupils, 150 parents/guardians participated in the study.

OBJECTIVES

- * To examine causes of drop out among girls in primary schools
- * To determine role that female teachers currently play and could play to encourage girls' enrollment and persistence in primary school

FINDINGS

- * 58% of the parents reported that they would educate both sons and daughters, 31.5% would educate sons and 10.5% would educate daughters.
- * The incidence of drop out and repetition was considered high by heads and teachers of primary schools.
- * All respondents agreed that the causes of drop out among girls in primary schools were lack of school fees and uniforms, early marriages, pregnancy, parents/teachers attitudes toward girls education, lack of counselling, truancy, and loss of interest. Nevertheless, heads, teachers, pupils and female guardians reported that school fees was number one cause followed by early marriage and pregnancy. Male guardians reported that the major cause was pregnancy followed by early marriage.
- * All sets of respondents agreed that more girls only schools should be erected, counselling services should be provided, sex education should be provided, sensitize parents on the value of education, provide role models, and re-admit young mothers to school after delivery.

ANJIMILE KAPAKASA

TITLE OF STUDY: Initiation and School Participation.

SUMMARY

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Pilot study. 21 mothers and 15 fathers participated in Mulanje, Mangochi and Lilongwe.

OBJECTIVE

- * Study of parents' attitudes towards primary schooling for boys and girls.

ISSUES

- * Initiated girls are discouraged from associating with the uninitiated
- * Traditional initiation is often quickly followed by marriage.

FINDINGS

- * Socio-psychological returns of initiation seem to be greater than economic returns of educational, though initiation requires larger expenditures of money.
- * Lack of fees is the explanation for pulling girls out of school but families spend more funds on initiation
- * There were gendered differences in household decision making on education of children
- * Factors reported by parents as affecting girls education were household labor needs, distance to school, age of girl, expected benefits of schooling, age of girl and proximity to initiation.

UNESCO PROPOSAL

Mrs Malewezi introduced to the participants the UNESCO proposal

"Participatory Survey on the Socio-Cultural Aspects of the School Attendance of Girls at Primary Level in Africa."

She indicated that a number of African countries will be participating in this study and Malawi is included. Therefore, she wanted to know if studies have already been conducted in the areas indicated in the terms of reference.

Terms of reference which were sent to all the participants prior to the meeting were discussed and the following observations were made.

* Some issues indicated in the terms of reference have been researched on by several researchers but what needs to be done is to pull the information together.

* Areas that require field survey are

Uneducated school age girls

Time studies of both school girls and those who do not go to school

Compatibility of school calendar with family calendar

Inequalities between access to schooling and attendance of girls in relation to the professional occupation of the parents.

More work is required on the attitudes of parents to education of children.

In conclusion it was suggested that those who have done some work on the areas discussed should contact Mrs Malewezi at UNICEF as soon as possible since a report is expected to be submitted in January 1991.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

After lengthy discussion on the summaries presented, it was very clear that there were many questions unanswered and, therefore, it was suggested that more research should be conducted to understand the underpinnings for girls access, persistence, and performance in schools. The following areas should be included in future research.

- * Ethnographic studies to identify regional and ethnic differences in constraints to girls access and completion of school.
- * Teacher preparations for various classes, boys only/girls only and mixed.
- * Pupil preferences for female/male teachers.
- * Analysis of PSLC girls' performance in co-ed/girls school.
- * How to develop institutions that allow both solidarity among girls and interactions across the genders? What alternative institutional shapes are possible?
- * Why are there so many pupils repeating at Stds 1 and 8.

- * Educational resources and achievement in primary schools: Rural/Urban, Assisted/Unassisted.
- * More research required in anomalous districts and areas such as the lower Shire, Nchisi, Nchinji, Nkhotakota and Chitipa.
- * Time studies for children in and out of school.
- * 52% of the children not at school--what are they doing?
- * Are there different constraints for girls' schooling in female headed households?
- * The "how" of providing counselling at primary level.

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