MALAWI

DETERMINANTS OF GIRLS' PARTICIPATION AND PERSISTENCE IN SCHOOL

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CURRENCY EQUIVALENTS

Currency Units = Malawi Kwacha (MK)
100 tambala = 1 MK
US $1.00 = MK3.20
MK 1.00 = US$0.31

ACRONYMS

CCAM  Chitukuko Cha Amayi M'Malawi
FHH   Female Headed Household
GOM   Government of Malawi
JC    Junior Certificate
MCE   Malawi Certificate of Education
MCDE  Malawi College of Distance Education
MOCS  Ministry of Community Services (now the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs and Community Services)
MOEC  Ministry of Education and Culture
NALP  National Adult Literacy Program
NCWID National Commission on Women in Development
NGO   Non-Governmental Organization
PS    Principal Secretary
PSLC  Primary School Leaver's Certificate
UNDP  United Nations Development Program
UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund
WID   Women in Development

FISCAL YEAR

April 1 to March 31
ABSTRACT

(i) This is a study of parental attitudes to schooling for girls (compared to boys) at the primary and secondary level. The study was limited to three districts in Malawi: Mulanje, Mangochi, and Lilongwe. Three villages were randomly selected from area maps of the districts. The study focused on 38 mothers and fathers who were randomly selected.

(ii) The study examined the economic and social and cultural factors that influence girls' participation and persistence in school. Parents were interviewed about their opinions and attitudes toward educating girls in contrast to boys. They were asked about the educational choices they had made for their children of both sexes, their perceptions of gender differences in academic ability, their educational and career aspirations for their children and the reasons for daughters having left school. There were questions to explore differences in claims on the time of girls and boys, particularly of domestic chores.

(iii) The study finds that initiations play an important role. Although low female primary enrollments (59% vs 73% for males in 1988) and high dropout rates are due to many factors, there is evidence that initiations contribute significantly. The importance attached to initiation is illustrated by the parents' willingness to pay more for initiation of their daughters than for regular schooling. Parents think that formal schooling is expensive, though annual fees and related costs are less than one-quarter of the estimated cost for an initiation ceremony. The academic curriculum is felt to have little relevance to daily life, whereas the traditional education is seen as necessary. This traditional form of schooling provides sexual education which is lacking in the formal school curriculum, and prepares girls for marriage and full participation in community activities.

(iv) There is little that the education system can do about the large and thorny problems that make the cost/benefit ratio of educating girls unattractive for parents. This study points to some key policy implications that follow from the findings, that are likely to be novel to most readers, and that could be acted upon by donors and the Government. (1) Communities should be given more information about the benefits of education for girls, in particular, the impact this can have on the health and welfare of their children. Policy makers should use local information meetings to promote the awareness of the importance and benefits of education. Parents should be encouraged to give their pre-pubescent daughters as much education as possible, by enrolling them in school at age six (many children enrol much later). (2) Village chiefs wield considerable influence, and should be encouraged to help improve participation of girls in school, and be given incentives to do so if moral suasion is not enough. (3) The support of fathers (and other men) needs to be enlisted more, since they seem to play a crucial role in decisions about their children's participation in school. (4) The school uniform for girls is much more expensive than for boys (a dress costs about MK12.00, a boy's shirt about MK4.00). A school uniform subsidy for girls might affect the decision of some parents, at the margin. (5) If indeed children themselves decide whether to stay on in school or leave, then it is important to target children themselves to improve their motivation to stay on at school. This could be done, for example, through group and peer counseling, asking and training teachers to give plenty of encouragement and positive feedback to girls especially; and exposing girls and young women to positive role models of educated and successful women. (6) The MOE should consider working with guardians and initiation teachers, accepting and showing a positive attitude to their role as "traditional family life" teachers, and enlisting their support and help in finding ways to ensure that girls continue their formal education after initiation.
MALAWI

DETERMINANTS OF GIRLS' PARTICIPATION AND PERSISTENCE IN SCHOOL

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This Study was conducted with the cooperation of Ministry of Community Services (now the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs and Community Services), Chiefs and Party chairmen of Mpalw village in Mangochi, Sapua village in Mulanje and Chimutu Village in Lilongwe District. The author is indebted to them for their assistance. In addition she would like to extend her gratitude to the parents who were the focus of this study. Her thanks also go to Dr. Bruce Fuller and Susan Holloway, Dr. Nhawangwa Shields, Dr. Joy de Beyer (who edited the paper), Dr. Steve Heyman, Professor Reynolds Ferrante and Professor Joe Greenberg, Chifuniro and Yembeka Kapakasa, and Elizabeth Crayford, and to Mrs. E. Kalyati, who gave unfailing support in Malawi and Washington. This research was supported by grants from the World Bank Africa Region Chief Economist's, and the Academy for Educational Development's ABEL project, USAID, and Office. Mr. Roger Grawe is the AF6PH Division Chief and Mr. Stephen Denning is the AF6 Department Director. The findings, interpretations and conclusions in this study are those of the author, and should not be attributed to the World Bank.
DETERMINANTS OF GIRLS' PARTICIPATION AND PERSISTENCE IN SCHOOL IN MALAWI

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 **Country Background** The 1987 census revealed that Malawi's population growth rate is 3.7 percent. The total population was 7.05 million in 1987. Per capita income is US$160. Trade accounts for 13 percent of GDP and manufacturing for 12 percent. The main economic activity is agriculture which accounts for 36 percent of the GDP at factor cost and 90 percent of exports. The population is predominantly rural (85%). Nearly 30 percent of households are headed by women. Most Malawian women in rural areas are subsistence farmers; the main claims on their time and energy are growing enough food for their families and caring for the family. Women bear on average 7.6 children, a quarter die before they are 5. Life expectancy at birth is only 43 years. Over 50 percent of children under 5 years are malnourished. Because of the lack of secondary schools, only 3 percent of girls reach secondary school.

1.2 **Historical Background to the Malawian Educational System** Formal education in Malawi was introduced by Christian missionaries whose main aim was to evangelize. By 1910, nearly 85,000 students were studying in 1,050 schools. By 1964 when Malawi became independent, there was a very small but well established foundation on which to build an education system. Since 1964, primary school enrollment has increased 184 per cent from 360,000 to more than one million. The number of secondary school students increased from nearly 6,000 to over 26,000 and an additional 24,000 study through distance education centers. In 1964, there were only 33 Malawians with a University education, now there are more than 8,000 people with degrees from the University of Malawi and abroad (World Bank Human Development Study, 1990, p.69).

1.3 **Past access to education for girls** Girls had much worse access to education than boys right from the start. Since women could not preach or become preachers, the Missionaries considered education unnecessary for girls. The Colonial government also deliberately ignored women's education because they feared it would destabilize the traditional society. When the World Bank started lending for education in the late sixties, there were clear gender biases and few girls had access to schooling or were being retained in the secondary system.

1.4 **Systematic efforts to increase enrolment for girls** began over twenty years ago and have made good headway, but Malawi is still a long way from equal educational access and achievement for girls. There has been a modest steady increase in girls' enrollment in primary school from 40.5 per cent of total enrollments in 1978/79 to 44.3 per cent in 1987/88 (Ministry of Education Statistics, 1988). In 1972, the Ministry of Education and Culture established a quota policy for the selection of girls into secondary schools and some areas of tertiary education. Despite all this, the gender gap remains in the absolute number of children enrolled in school, and girls continue to drop out of primary school earlier and in greater numbers than boys.

1.5 **Literacy** Despite significant increases in pupil numbers, high drop out rates in the early years of primary school have kept literacy levels low, particularly in rural areas and
among women. Higher drop out rates for girls than for boys, and their much lower enrollment in the past have resulted in higher illiteracy rates among women than men. The national literacy rate of the population group 10 years of age and older has improved from 18 per cent in 1977 to 27 per cent in 1987 (the Ministry of Community Services’ Adult Literacy Program has contributed significantly). However, the majority of women are still illiterate (83 per cent).

1.6 Access to education There are not enough primary schools to meet the need and the schools that are available are not free. The schools that are available may be far away, overcrowded, under equipped, and sometimes irrelevant in the face of overwhelming family poverty. Very few of the poor in Malawi are able to send their children to school. Many children begin work at very early ages and are not enrolled in school at all. They spend their time child minding their siblings, working on estates and farms, in family fields, with herds or on the lake (Bryant 1990).

1.7 Access and gender A report by USAID in 1990 (Constraints to Girls’ Persistence in Primary School and Women’s Employment Opportunities in the Education Service, 1990) states 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 the South and Central Regions.

1.8 Achievement and gender The presence of a great proportion of male repeaters may also distort the distribution of Primary School Leaving Certificate examination Scores, negatively affecting girls’ chances of selection into secondary school. Low academic performance of girls in examinations has been linked elsewhere to gender-biased attitudes and context, 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 there are few educated women in formal sector positions. Many families see school as a place to prepare boys for entry into the modern economy.

1.9 Teachers as Role Models The teaching system is dominated by male teachers, this sends a signal that the school institution is not a place for girls, particularly in rural areas. Overall only 34 per cent of all primary school teachers are female. This proportion will not change in the near future. Only 35 per cent of all students at teacher training colleges are female. Most of the Teacher Training Colleges have twice the number of boarding spaces for males than females.

Structure of the Education System

1.10 The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for all non-private education. The system provides open access to eight years of non-compulsory primary education, ending with the Primary School Leaver’s Certificate (PSLC) examination. Only 4 to 5 per cent of the school age population gains entry to secondary school. Secondary education is made up
of two years of junior secondary schooling after which the Junior Certificate of Education is awarded. There are two more years after J.C. of senior secondary schooling, after which successful graduates receive the Malawi Certificate of Education (MCE). There are 36 government secondary schools, 24 government-aided schools and 16 private schools. The formal secondary system is supplemented by the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE) which offers open admission to students who have been awarded the PSLC.

1.11 At the tertiary level there are two year teacher training programs provided by training colleges, and three, four and five year courses of study leading to diplomas and degrees in a number of fields. The University of Malawi has about 2,000 students enrolled on its four campuses. The Ministry of Community Services run the pre-school and Adult Literacy programs to complement the formal education system. The National adult literacy program (NALP) aims to cover two million adults over the decade, with priority targeting of women, out of work youths and young adults, and farmers (World Bank Human Resource study 1990).

School Situation

1.12 **Classrooms** There is a serious shortage of classrooms, with a ratio of classrooms:pupils of 1:88. In the urban areas the classroom ratios can reach 1:120. As a result schools are often organized by double shifts. The common practice is to have Standards 1 to 4 arriving at 7:30 and leaving at 10:30 and standards 5 to 6 arriving at 10:00 and leaving at 1:30. The senior classes (Standard 7-8) arrive at 7:30 and stay until 1:30 or later. Even with double shifts, many classes meet outside under shaded trees. The teacher:primary pupil ratio is 1:67.

1.13 **Furniture and books** Furniture is very rare in classrooms. Students are fortunate if they have a desk by the time they reach standard 8, most learn to read and write with a book on their lap. Reading materials are limited in schools, and students generally are not allowed to take them home, to prevent wear and tear. In rural areas, reading materials are so rare sometimes even the teachers do not have books. Most homes do not have any reading materials and there are few libraries (USAID Constraints to girls persistence 1990).

1.14 **Rural conditions** Three quarters of Malawian women and girls live in rural areas. Pupils who attend rural schools are less likely to have female teachers as only 27 per cent of the rural teachers are female as compared to 66 per cent in urban areas. Teachers in rural areas tend to be less qualified than those in urban areas and have fewer teaching materials. Rural pupils often do not change to English as the language of instruction until Standard 6 or later, but face Primary Leaving examination in English.

**Extent of the Problem of Dropout by Girls**

1.15 The enrollment of girls in Standard 1 has improved over the years, and in 1988, 48 per cent of all Standard 1 pupils were girls (table 1 and figure 1). While this figure indicates nearly equal initial access of girls and boys to primary education, annual dropouts throughout the primary school system averaged 15 per cent for girls and 11 per cent for boys. The attrition rate between Standards 1 and 2 is substantially higher among girls: 29 per cent compared to 23 per cent for boys (figure 2 and table 2). The higher standards have also
shown improvement in girls representation over the years, but enrollment figures still show marked disparities by gender. In 1988, girls accounted for 44 per cent of total Standard 5 enrollment, but only 32 per cent of the standard 8 pupils (USAID study 1990 p.7).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
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<th>STANDARD 5</th>
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<td>% F</td>
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<td>25601</td>
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<td>110375</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>66617</td>
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<td>43.2</td>
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<td>44.3</td>
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<td>45.2</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
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<td>42.7</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>31.0</td>
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</table>
1.16 There is considerable variation in enrollment rates by gender across the country. Girls made up 49 per cent of all urban primary school students in 1988, while in the rural areas they represented only 43.6 per cent. Proportions under 35 per cent were reported for the rural southern districts of Nsanje and Chikwawa.

1.17 The figures shown above reveal a situation of gender disparity that has shown improvement over time, in part through progressive policy on the part of the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Women & Children's Affairs and Community Services. There is a lot of interest in this subject in Malawi and much research has been conducted or is being conducted with the full cooperation of both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Community Services. The World Bank, USAID and other donors have sponsored several studies. These studies have began to clarify our understanding of the factors implicated in the higher rates of school dropout observed among girls. Some of the explanations given are: lack of school fees, early pregnancy and marriage, low perceptions of the value or usefulness of education for women, conflicting cultural values and traditions. These factors operate in many countries and are not only specific to Malawi. After a brief review of research in Malawi and elsewhere, this report attempts to assess the relative importance of various explanations for a small Malawian sample, and explores the role of traditional socio-religious practices that have been underestimated in other work.

Previous Research on gender and educational persistence

1.18 There has been a considerable amount of research (some of it World Bank sponsored) on gender and education (see bibliography). These studies offer a long list of factors that undermine girls' access to education and their achievement: distance to schools; shortages of school places; income limitations which ration education in each family; adverse cost-benefit calculations by parents especially when educational quality is poor and women have poor access to wage jobs; predominance of male teachers especially in rural areas, therefore few female role models, and schools become very male-dominated; household chores falling disproportionately on girls (except for cattle-minding in Botswana and rural Ethiopia); religious practices and beliefs (for example, the devout practice of several religions requires literacy to read holy books, and there is much more emphasis on men than on women being able to do this; reluctance of parents to allow girls to mix with boys especially after puberty; cultural practices of female seclusion (purdah); parents' attitudes that place low priority on education for girls, especially true of poorly educated parents; poorer academic performance by girls than boys - a vicious cycle where low expectations and low self-esteem lead to poor performance which undermines the chance of girls persisting in school; young marriage age for girls; teenage pregnancy; concern that education will reduce submissive attitudes in women.

1.19 A number of papers have been written about the issue in Malawi, and at least two conferences held in Malawi during the past few years to discuss the reasons for poor persistence in school, and what to do about it. Many of the explanations listed above are thought to be relevant to Malawi. There has been a degree of consensus that school fees and other direct and indirect costs of education are the most important deterrent. This pilot study confirms that family income constraints and the relative benefits/costs weigh heavily in a families' decisions about the education of girls, but suggests that there are a number of factors
operating which were not well understood or much discussed in the past, and which need to be taken into account in designing policy interventions to try and improve girls' enrollment and persistence in school.

II. THE MALAWI PILOT STUDY

2.1 This study looked at the influence of parental attitudes on the access and persistence of girls in Malawi schools. Interviews were conducted with 36 parents (15 fathers and 21 mothers) in Chimutu village in Lilongwe, Sapuwa village in Mulanje and Mpale village in Mangochi.

2.2 The pilot study was conducted under the auspices of the Ministry of Community Services in Malawi, with funding from USAID and the World Bank. Villages were randomly selected from area maps of Malawi, and are all about 20 kilometers from urban centers. Parents who had daughters were interviewed regardless of whether the daughters were in school or not. Interviews were in the local languages, Chichewa (55% of respondents), Chinyanja (36%), and Chiyao (5%). Eighty four percent were Christian and 13% were Muslim. Most were married (73%).

2.3 The instrument contained 64 open ended questions, which encouraged people to talk freely about their children and families (see Annex 1 for the questions). All interviews were recorded on tape, and transcribed and analysed later. Many sensitive social issues cannot be discussed head-on, and the researcher needed to probe gently and sometimes circuitously on some topics. For example, people are reluctant to admit that their daughters have left school because they were pregnant, as this reflects badly on her parents. Instead, one respondent said her daughter had left school because they could not pay school fees, and only later in conversation did the researcher find out that the young children in the house were grandchildren, and the daughter had left school shortly before having the first. Discussions about initiations are also very sensitive.

2.4 The data lacked variability, and the representativeness of such a small pilot sample is questionable. However, the pilot points to some intriguing new findings, which the main study will attempt to explore further (see Annex 2 for questionnaire for the follow-on study), and the final section (IV) for a summary of the findings of the main study.

A. Basic Household Information

2.5 The basic information collected from each parent included gender, age and sex of children, number of foster children living in the house, parents' education and occupation, source of income, patterns of decision making when it came to the children and schooling, and parents' expectations and ideas about initiations and the impact on schooling. Uneducated respondents were not always able to give the ages of their children, or say when the children had started school or dropped out.
2.6 There was little variation in the socio-economic status of parents in the three villages visited. Status was defined by occupation, (most respondents were subsistence farmers who did not have other regular jobs), wealth (ownership of cattle, goats and chickens) and the demands placed on their children's labor. No respondent had a regular formal sector job. Sixty-five percent of the women said they worked in their own garden, the rest said they worked with their husbands. Most (71%) sold produce from their gardens, and 39% did piece-work casual labor, known in Malawi as ganyu. In many households, adults take prime responsibility for the family garden, and send school-age children to do ganyu to feed the family.

2.7 Households comprised 6 to 10 people. Many households included foster children, usually grandchildren but also nieces and nephews, and daughters-in-law. Parents did not draw any distinctions between these children and their biological offspring, and always referred to them as their own children. Girls were more likely than boys to be sent away to go and live with a relative, in order to do domestic work. In households where the children were in school, the foster children in school too. Girls who were staying with relatives in urban areas tended to be staying longer in school than those who had remained in the villages. Two of the girls living with relatives in urban areas were said to be in standard 7 and another in standard 6. This was reported in both Mangochi and Mulanje. The women is the sample of all below the national average.

2.8 The level of schooling was low among the parents: 71% (40%) of women (men) had not attended school, 15% (10%) had one or two years of schooling, 11% (15%) had 3-5. Ther was no answer from the remaining 3% (35%). There were no significant variations across the three villages. The women in the sample fall below the national average: in all Malawi, 64% of adult women have never attended school; 26% have four years of primary school, and less than 2% have any secondary education. Eighty-six per cent of women are illiterate compared to 56% of men. (Women and Development In Malawi: Constraints and Actions, World Bank, AF6PH, 1990 p.20).

2.9 It became clear during the interviews that it is considered shameful for a man not be able to read and write, but not so for women. Women were quite willing to report their own lack of schooling and to discuss it, but were not willing to discuss their husband's lack of schooling. If the husband was around they suggested that he be asked himself and if he wasn't around they said that they thought he was able to read and write even if they had never seen him do so. The men themselves were reluctant to admit that they were not able to read and write. Most admitted that they had not done more than a year of schooling but claimed to be able to read and write. Men are expected to know the ways of the outside world, hence parents believe that their sons, who will have to deal with the outside world, need schooling. Girls are expected to live in their own villages, so parents do not feel a pressing need to

\[1/\] Ganyu is most often weeding other peoples gardens and being paid by the number of ridges weeded, or harvesting maize and being paid per basket harvested. It is practiced in the southern and central regions and is an easy way to make quick cash, and often the only employment available in the village. During the pre-harvest "hungry season", payment is often in kind, in food, and is done by people who have run out of food and have no money. A major disadvantage is that ganyu at this peak labor time means neglecting one's own garden, which results in lower yields, and continued reliance on ganyu the following year.
B. Reasons Children Drop Out of School

"They don't want to go"

2.10 Many parents said their children (boys and girls) left school because of lack of interest, and peer pressure to stay home and hang about, look after the animals, or make some money doing ganyu. Parents seemed to feel that it is not up to them to force their children to go to school. Several parents called the children to tell the investigator themselves why they had left school. The children explained that they wanted to stay home and play with their friends. Parents indicated that their only responsibility in the matter is to provide the school fees if the child wanted to go to school. If the child decided to stay home, they could not force him or her.

2.11 This is quite contrary to most preconceptions about parental responsibility and authority. However, in Malawian culture, a considerable distance develops between parents and their grown up children, especially those who have been formally initiated into adulthood. Initiated girls are considered adults, and are not supposed to live in the parents' house. Young "adults" who may be 8 to 13 years old, live with their peers in single-sex houses. Aunts and grandparents may have more influence than parents since the children are still allowed to be close to them.

2.12 The reason cited most often, and usually as the most compelling factor to account for drop outs in Malawi is inability to pay school fees. In this study, only 21% said their daughters left school because of lack of school fees, less than the 23% who gave reasons other than lack of school fees. This is much less than numerous papers on the subject in Malawi, including Kainja (1990) and Matengo (1989) who found that 80% of the parents interviewed in Zomba district gave school fees as the reason their children dropped out of school. Parents find it easy to say their children are not in school because they cannot afford to pay. But if one probes further, other reasons come up: "she lost interest" or "I did not think she was learning anything her mother could not teach her", or "I did not want her to walk to school alone when her brothers started going to the afternoon school session", "she became pregnant", or "left because she wanted to get married". Some parent may wish to send their children to school and be unable to afford fees and other direct and indirect costs (and indeed many sell livestock and other assets to keep children in school) but many in this sample seem to consider school poor value for money, and allocate cash on higher priorities items.

2.13 Puberty Girls in the sample villages tended to start school very late, and to progress very slowly. The official starting age is six, but many children were said to be starting school at age ten or eleven. Most of the girls who were in school at this time were in standard 1-3, and were ten to twelve years old. Girls in standard one at age twelve are on the brink of puberty, and initiation and marriage are imminent. Teenage pregnancy is a problem. Parents worry about their daughters getting pregnant while still in school and not being able to find a husband. Parents prefer to pull their daughters out of school after puberty and keep them safe at home.
2.14 **Pregnancy** Parents also worry about the money they lose when a girl becomes pregnant. The Ministry of Education and Culture insists that pregnant schoolgirls are permanently expelled from the formal school system. This policy has received much criticism from the main women's organizations in the country, Chitukuko Cha Amal M'Malawi and the National Commission of Women in Development, as being discriminatory and inappropriately punitive. (USAID Report 1990) The policy discourages parents from sending girls to school since they lose all the money they invest in the girl. Some respondents argued that one can rely more on boys staying on in school. If a boy gets a girl pregnant, he can stay in school if he denies responsibility.

2.15 **Achievement and beliefs about aptitude** Parents also argued that boys are naturally more intelligent, and that girls find schoolwork more difficult, do not pass the government examinations as well as boys and are not interested in school. Examination results show that boys out-perform girls in all subjects except housecraft and needlecraft, for which boys are not examined. The gender differences are quite large: two-thirds of a standard deviation for science and the general paper and one-third of a standard deviation for English and arithmetic. Only for Chichewa was the gender difference insignificant in the 1987 Primary School Leaving Examination. (World Bank, Malawi Human Resource Development Study 1990 p. 76) Three mothers compared a boy's determination to persist at doing something to a lion. They said boys were like lions but girls lacked the spirit needed to stay on in school.

2.16 **Household composition and size** seems to have an impact on whether girls attended school. Parents who had sons, especially if the first- and second-born were boys, did not feel they needed to educate the girls who came after the boys. They felt that the boys should go to school, get jobs and look after their sisters. Girls had a better chance of being educated if they did not have brothers. Parents who only had daughters or whose sons were younger than the girls felt that the girls needed to learn to read and write. An exception was a mother in Mulanje who had six children, all of them girls, five of whom were in school, one in standard six. The girls were living with their father on a tea estate. Asked why all her daughters were in school, she reported that she and her husband had tried many times to have a son and had failed, so now her husband had accepted that the girls are the only children they will ever have and decided to bring the girls up as boys, so that they could take care of him in old age.

2.17 Several mothers said they had asked their teenage daughters to leave school to give the younger ones a chance to attend for a few years too. One woman did not see any sense in having all the children in school. All they needed, she said, was one person in the family who could read personal and official (Makalata akuboma) letters for everybody. She said that it was inconvenient to have to send a message to her brother to come and read letters for her, so she would like one of her own children to be able to read and write.

2.18 One mother pointed out that all that her daughter needed to learn she could teach her at home but since the boy wanted to learn to read and write and she herself could not read and write she felt he should go to school and his sister should stay home and learn housekeeping. Mothers also felt that the boys will one day travel far from home and they will need to be able to read and write, but they do not expect their daughters ever to travel far from home.
2.19 **When Decided?** When parents of children who were still in school were asked who decided that the child stay in school, for boys, 21% said the child alone decided to stay, 18% said the father decided and only 3% of the parents said both mother and father decided. In the case of girls, 26% said that the girl was still in school because it was she herself wanted (the other 58% gave no answer or the question did not apply). This is quite different from answers about the decision to enroll children in school, which was said to be the father's decision, or an uncle or a brother. This is more consistent with women's answers about reasons why they themselves had not been to school; several said that their male relatives had not sent them. They would say, my brother did not send me to school or my father did not have the money to send me to school.

**Labor demands**

2.20 Boys are much less in demand to do household chores than girls. Some mothers said they liked to get their sons out of the way ("the boys would demand to be fed if they were home all day") but they needed the help of the girls to prepare food, etc. Some explained that they had decided to pull their daughters from school as a temporary measure; when the demand for their services around the home was reduced, they would be able to go back and continue where they left off. The mothers rotate the children so that they always have some at home to run errands (ndizimutuma nchere).

2.21 All girls - whether attending school or not - spend time doing household tasks: going to the river to draw water, looking for firewood and preparing food. But girls who had dropped out of school did more and worked longer hours. These girls helped with all the household chores, but also spent most of the day with their mothers working in the garden.

**Employment Opportunities**

2.22 The labor market opportunites and implicit or explicit entry barriers are obstacles to education for girls. Boys get part time work and regular jobs more readily than girls. Women in low-wage (entry level) jobs have much higher educational levels than men in similar jobs, and women are clustered in low-paying occupations. This pattern sends a string economic signals to parents, who report that they do not know what education will do for their daughters.

2.23 All of the girls who had left were reported to spend their time working in the garden, drawing water, looking after siblings and cooking. Thirty-six percent of the boys who left school (many with seven years of education) were said to have part time jobs in the city as gardeners or in factories. These boys help their parents financially, and two of them had taken siblings to live with them in the city. This convinces parents that their sons need some education, they can see the benefits of educating boys. Girls need much more than seven years of education for it to make a significant difference to their economic opportunities. The investment in education does not pay off.2/

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2/ It may be a significant investment, adding direct and indirect costs, and taking account of very high repetition rates.
2.24 Parents commented on numerous benefits of education: educated children would take care of their parents in old age, build houses, buy them clothes and educate siblings. One father even said that those who had educated children lived like white people (ndikanakhala mzungu); he reported that children who were educated bought nice gifts for their parents. A mother said that if she had an educated son, she would have been able to visit him in the city like other people do, but because she did not, she could not go to the city. These perceptions do not seem to lead parents to insist that children attend school. There is probably a harsh realism operating, however, as access is poor, with only 10 percent of primary-leavers being accepted into secondary school, and job opportunities scarce even for those who make it through to the end. Parents may feel helpless, that it is an unattainable dream to hope that their children complete secondary school and get well-paid city jobs. Initiation is part of the culture and part of a parents duty to give to their children, but school is a risky lottery that demands cash, and a foreign institution, that a child can do without.

2.25 Few female role models. Some mothers could not think of one reason why their daughters should be in school. They said that they had not met a woman who had benefitted from going to school. Girls in rural areas lack role models. Only 27 percent of teachers in rural schools are women, compared to 66 percent in urban schools. This is so because male teachers can be posted anywhere in the country, whereas female teachers have to be posted where their husbands are working. Rural parents see the male teachers and aspire for their sons to become teachers too. They also see the male bus drivers driving buses into the rural areas and feel that their sons if educated could drive buses too. They do not see women participating in the labor system except to work on farms. They say their daughters do not need to go to school to be able to pick tea. Many rural women who have had a few years of schooling revert to illiteracy because of the dearth of reading materials. Some families have a Bible and church materials but little else to read.

C. The Impact of Initiations

2.26 Initiation marks entry into adulthood. An initiated person becomes a real member of the tribe who becomes fully conversant with all the traditions and customs. Initiation is in conflict with school culture which tends to treat pupils as children. After a girl is initiated she becomes a new person and is supposed to stop certain behaviors, some of which may be part of school life. Mixing with boys in class, sports and games that boys and girls play together or initiated and uninitiated girls play together. As a result of these changes, girls experience role conflicts which may lead to dismissal or truancy or dropping out.

2.27 Initiation ceremonies sometimes clash with school year, despite government having asked chiefs to make sure that they are held during school holidays. The Namkungwis (initiation teachers) have no control over the duration of initiation as they cannot release their pupils until they are all healed from the circumcision. If one of them takes long to heal, they will keep all the pupils until everybody is ready to go home. Initiations were still in session in Zomba area as late as first week of October; schools had opened in September. Girls withdraw from school to attend the traditional initiation classes, and may have difficulty catching up with the content covered during their absence. This leads to frustration, loss of interest, grade failure and dropout.

2.28 Initiation costs. It costs parents MK1.00 to announce to the chief that they would like to initiate their daughter or son. Enrollment at the initiation (Simba or Zoma) costs MK0.30.
Parents are required to make a sacrifice to their ancestral spirits to protect the girl while she is being initiated. They pay MK0.50 to make the first fire at the initiation, having had to buy the fire from the Nankungwi, who are the owners of the fire at the Simba. The person who is put in charge of the girl while she is at the Simba (a kind of godmother), gets MK20-30, and the mask dancers get MK1.00 from each family (there are usually about 80-90 families at a time). During the cooking classes, parents have to buy the food to be cooked, on the day when the girls take a bath, parents pay MK0.20 to the nankungwi.2/ On the last day, the Nankungwi gets a chicken from each family (a chicken cost MK8.00). The day the girls come back to the village, the parents hold a big party, for which they provide a bag of maize (MK33.00), chickens and fish. The girl comes back as a new person and cannot wear her old clothes so they buy her a new dress for about MK17; she also needs a traditional cloth (Chitenje) on top of her dress (MK15.00), shoes for those who can afford them cost MK12.00 (and parents do try their best to get these items since this particular day is remembered for ever like the day of a senior prom). The girl also gets a new mat to use in her new house since she can no longer sleep in her parents house (MK8). This is a total of perhaps MK100-140.

2.29 It has been argued repeatedly that rural subsistence smallholder farmers do not have cash for school fees and other costs of schooling. Given that the costs of initiating one child are greater than the cost of sending five children to school, it is clear that the lack of school fees argument to explain the non-enrollment of girls or the dropout of girls from school masks other factors related to the prioritization of expenditures.

2.30 Parents are willing to spend about MK100.00 on initiations (calculated from the number of chickens parents reported that they have to use, fees to the chief and the Nankungwi (teachers) and phungus (guardians), food, new clothes and a lot of small events which the parents must pay in cash.) Even though they do not see economic benefits from initiations, they still value them and feel obliged to initiate their children whatever the cost. Most respondents (95 percent) had themselves been initiated and expected to or had already initiated all of their children. Fifty five percent said that there were no benefits at all in initiations but did not explain their views. The rest reported that it is custom and tradition so they felt obliged to do it, and would keep on doing so.

2.31 One possible contributor to the apparently strong cultural imperative to have children initiated is that the chief has a financial interest in making sure that every child in his village is initiated since he gets a fee for each. In some villages, the chief actually goes from house to house making sure that every child is initiated in the name of keeping the tribe pure. If these chief had a personal interest in getting girls into school they might also make sure parents send their daughters to school and took an interest in education.

2.32 It should be noted that the Northern Region of Malawi has a different culture from the South and Central regions where the data for the study were collected. The people in the North are patrilineal, in the South and Central regions the system is matrilineal. The differences in net enrollment rates are striking between the Approximately 80 per cent of the

2/ Irrespective of how many days the girls stay in the bush, there is only one day when they are allowed to take a bath. Boys stay longer in the bush, and may be taken to the river to take a bath more than once.
primary age group are enrolled in the northern region, compared to only about 41 and 37 per cent in the central and southern regions respectively. In 1987, five districts enrolled 30 per cent or less of the 6-13 year old age group, four of which were in the Southern region where the data was collected (World Bank: Malawi Human Resource Study, 1990). There are other factors that explain why girls from the north enroll in school and persist through the system more than the rest of the country, but initiations or the lack of them could be one reason.

2.33 Parents do not feel that there is anything negative about initiations, and indeed there is not, a priori, but the impact on schooling needs to be investigated more. Since 95 percent of parents said they were going to initiate their children, the practice is not going to disappear any time soon. Initiation schools form a central part of the education process in the village. The training involves conscious and intensive sex role training. The tuition has two main aims: to prepare girls for the process of childbirth, and to inculcate in them the appropriate social stance of "passive obedience" (Duncan 1989 p.4). The preparation for childbirth involves learning about sexual behavior as well as how to endure pain. Getting rid of initiations altogether could be detrimental to traditional life. In Botswana, the missionaries pressed for changes in the situation of women in line with Christian views and campaigned against many of the traditional customs such as initiation (bojale). Unfortunately since the demise of the initiations no other institution has taken over the important task of sex education. This has been evidenced by a high rate of teenage pregnancies and girls dropping out of school (Kelly 1989).

2.34 The question here is not about the benefits or otherwise of initiations, but why parents would rather spend limited resources on initiation than on formal education. A girl can decide that she does not want to go to school and parents say they will accept that decision, but she cannot decide not to be initiated because there is a lot of social pressure on parents to make sure their children are initiated. Fifty seven percent of the parents interviewed said that initiations did not interfere with schooling, and 68 percent said they would want their children to go back to school after initiation. There is no information on how widespread the practice is, and research is very difficult because of taboos on discussing initiation. However, this may be a neglected reason for poor school attendance of girls - at least in some areas in southern and central Malawi - and needs more careful understanding, if policies and projects are to be devised to increase enrolment of girls at schools. Furthermore, initiation instruction offers a potentially valuable opportunity for reaching large numbers of young women, through credible sources, with information about family planning and preventing HIV infection.
III. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

3.1 Government and donors have long grappled with ways to increase educational enrollment and achievement of girls. The National Commission on Women in Development (NCWID) has taken a particular interest in the education of girls, and Chitukuko Cha Amai M'Malawi is a potentially powerful lobby group and implementation network. The long list of policy recommendations from the 1990 workshop held in Malawi by NCWID, MOEC and USAID are attached as Annex 3. Among the donors, the World Bank and USAID have taken the lead. Female enrolment quotas were set in early Bank projects, and considerable investments have been made in increasing overall access and quality improvements. USAID’s recent project includes studies, scholarships for girls to enable them to complete primary school, and support to the MOEC to develop gender-sensitive learning materials.

3.2 This final section of the paper concentrates on policy implications of the study findings that are likely to be novel to most readers. No attempt is made to discuss policies comprehensively or to prioritize or guess the relative cost-effectiveness of various interventions. There is little that the education system can do about the large and thorny problems that make the cost/benefit ratio of educating girls unattractive for parents. The education system may be able to reduce some of the direct and indirect costs a little (fees, books, transport costs), but cannot reduce the opportunity cost of girls’ labor. Direct benefits can be substantially improved by improving teaching, curricula and learning achievements, but the education system is powerless to affect overall employment prospects, the main determinant of the economic return to education. Several of the findings of this study point to these larger challenges of development; the paragraphs that follow look at the more modest things that can be acted upon.

3.3 Communities should be given more information about the benefits of education for girls, in particular, the impact they can have on the health and welfare of their children. Policy makers could use local information meetings to promote the awareness of the importance and benefits of education. Chitukuko Cha Amai could help with this. These discussions should also try and encourage parents to give their pre-pubescent daughters as much education as possible, by enrolling them in school at age six (many children enrol much later). This would be one small input towards changing parents’ attitudes and encouraging parents to take responsibility for enrolling their children in school and keeping them in school. Previous studies have shown that expanding access by building more schools, relaxing admission policies or instituting quotas for female students may lead to higher levels of female enrolment at the margin, but these strategies are not enough where family demand for girls’ education is low. Increased access needs to be accompanied by demand creation.

3.4 Village chiefs wield considerable influence, and should be encouraged to help improve participation of girls in school. At least in the pilot study villages, chiefs put pressure on parents to initiate their children, perhaps partly motivated by the payment they get for each child who is initiated. The government could consider giving chiefs an incentive to help promote education of girls.

3.5 Enlist the support of fathers (and other men) more, since they seem to play a crucial role in decisions about their children’s participation in school. Respondents reported that fathers or other male relatives had the final say on enrollment their children in school. This makes it important to target men in efforts to enlist parental support. The study also suggests
that parents do little to encourage or insist that girls stay in school when the girls themselves wish to drop out. If this is the case, this is an important issue to discuss with parents, and try to change.

3.6 The school uniform for girls is much more expensive (about MK12.00) than for boys (MK4.00), because boys need only a school shirt, whereas girls must have a regulation dress. A school uniform subsidy for girls might affect the decision of some parents, at the margin.

3.7 If indeed children themselves decide whether to stay on in school or leave, then it is important to target children themselves to improve their motivation to stay on at school.

There are several ways to try and do this: (a) expose girls and young women to positive role models of educated and successful women, enlisting help from the various womens’ organisations in Malawi, arranging visits to schools, and reviewing carefully the people encountered in text books and the school syllabus; (b) improvements in the learning environment will help, and teachers should be trained and asked to give plenty of encouragement and positive feedback to girls especially; and (c) group and peer counseling, including focusing on the benefits of education, might help motivate girls more.

3.8 If, as the study suggests, initiations are widely practiced and parent have a very positive attitude towards them and strong sense of obligation to initiate their daughters, then the MOE should consider working with guardians and initiation teachers (nankumgwil), accepting and showing a positive attitude to their role as “traditional family life” teachers, and enlisting their support and help in finding ways to ensure that girls continue their formal education after initiation.
IV. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF MAIN STUDY

4.1 In the main study, which took place in December 1990 to January 1991, 112 mothers from Mulanje, Mangochi, Zomba, Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu districts were interviewed. The primary language of the respondents was: Yao 50%, Chichewa 26%, Chinambuka 19%, Chinyanja 8% and other 8%. Seventy five percent were Christian, 34% Muslim, and 2% other. Religion did not seem to influence attitudes - there were no significant differences between Muslim and Christian respondents. Most (42%) were married to the first spouse, 21% were divorced and 38% were married to a second spouse. The respondents in the main study sample had a similar educational distribution as those in the pilot study. Twice as many female guardians as male guardians had no education. Many of the mothers who argued that girls did not need an education (but that it was useful for boys to go to school), partly because there were jobs for boys but not girls had not attended school and had never held a wage job themselves.

4.2 The main study confirmed the impression gained during the pilot that the decision to leave school or to stay in school was mainly being made by the children themselves. Parents did not seem to be encouraging their children to stay in school. Several said: "The child decided he did not want to go to school anymore, so what could I do about it?". When parents were asked who decided that the girl would leave school, 24% said the child alone decided, 14% said the mother, 5% said the father, and 3% said the mother and father decided together. (The rest did not answer or the question did not apply). This is quite different from initiations, where child typically are not given a choice; parents are insistent that they participate.

4.3 Parents' views about the ideal educational attainment level differed between their daughters and sons. The same answers as given in the pilot study came up: mothers said that their daughters only needed to stay in school long enough to be able to read bus signs, but their sons would travel far from home to look for jobs and so needed more years of schooling. Mothers said they wanted their sons to go to secondary school, but they thought it was a waste of time for girls to try and attain that standard because they would either get pregnant or fail the standard eight examinations. Parents in both the pilot and the main study also thought boys were more intelligence than girls. As in the pilot, if a girl is the oldest child, and a fortiori, has no brothers, she has a much higher chance of going to school. The mothers felt strongly that every family needs to have one member who is literate so that she or he can read letters from the government for them.

4.4 In both studies, mothers acknowledged making heavier demands on their daughters labor time than sons. Mothers argued that if girls do not learn to do the domestic chores, their husbands' families will reject them and it will reflect badly on them as parents, while they did not have the same pressure when it came to boys. The mothers admitted that they did not hesitate to ask their daughters to stay home and help with the housework but they felt that boys would just get in the way at home. Both studies documented that girls spend more time after school and during the time they should be in school in domestic labor than boys.

4.5 When mothers in Mangochi were asked what they did not like about school and why they preferred initiations to school, they explained that at the initiation the girls are with
women say that it is a happy time for everybody involved. The mothers did not like the punishments given to their children at school, or the non-educational activities students are required to do. They feel that these do not help their children learn. Traditionally, after initiation, children are considered adults and are not given humiliating punishments. Schools persist in treating them as children by administering corporal punishment and beating pupils in front of their peers. This complaint was echoed by parents in the north, some of whom said that their children spent more time in school doing punishments than learning. Mothers in Blantyre also complained that the schools do not allow their daughters to braid hair or pierce their ears. Many schools require students to work on the school's self-help projects - for example, teachers' houses need to be re-thatched every year, and rebuilt from time to time.

4.6 The main study probed more about initiations than the pilot had done. Most parents (80%) said that they had nothing against their daughters going back to school after initiation, but that most girls married very soon after initiation and so do not return to school. Some communities have a very low marriage age, and it is not acceptable for a girl to refuse an offer. Communities differ in such customs, including the type of initiation practiced: the most popular pre-puberty initiations are Chiputu (52%) and Nsondo (40%), the latter being predominant in the Moslem area of Mangochi. A minority 3.5% had been initiated in church. The most popular post-puberty initiation was Litiwo (78%).4/ The attitudes of mothers towards this traditional schooling was confirmed in this second study. They felt that their daughters would not be able to fit in the community if they missed this important part of their education and that their sons would not be men if they were not initiated.

4/ Initiations may be held at three stages in a woman's life: prepuberty, post-puberty, and after the birth of a first child (Litiwo). In the Yao villages around Blantyre, Mulanje, Mangochi and Zomba, women cannot attend childbirths and funerals unless they have been initiated into Litiwo.
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DECEMBER 1989 - PILOT SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Respondents name
2. Respondents sex
3. Date of interview
4. Place of interview

Demographic questions

1. What language do you speak?
2. What other language do you speak?
3. What religion do you belong to?
4. If Christian or Moslem, what group do you belong to?
5. How many people live in your household all year long?
6. Please give the name, age, and sex of each person in your household?
7. Are there other members of the household who live outside the home?
8. Please give their names and ages and say what they do?
9. How do you earn your money?
10. Do you have a regular job or do you go for ganyu?
11. What kind of ganyu or work specify
12. Who in your household goes to the market to sell the produce?
13. What kind of produce do you sale?
14. Who farms the land?
15. Do you own cattle? If so, How many?
16. Do you own goats? If so, How many?
17. Does your house have glass windows?
18. How far is the primary school from your house?
19. How far is the community Center from your house?

20. How far is the Post office from your house?

21. Who is the most important contributor to the household? Please give name and relation to household (e.g. respondent's uncle, respondent's brother).

22. Does anyone else make a financial contribution to the household? If so, who and what is his/her relationship to the household?

23. Which was the highest level of School you attended?

24. Are you able to read? For example, can you read a letter someone has written to you?

25. Are you able to write? can you write a letter?

26. Which was the highest level of School your spouse attended?

27. Is your spouse able to write? For example, can your spouse read a letter someone has written to him/her?

28. Is your spouse able to write? can your Spouse write a letter or read a letter someone has written to him?

DECISION PROCESS REGARDING LEAVING/STAYING

29. For each of your Children please give the following information:

   How old was she/he when he/she started school
   Which grades, if any, did he/she repeat?
   When did he/she leave school

30. Sources of money for School fees for each child (relationship to source)
QUESTIONS ABOUT ONE BOY WHO HAS LEFT AND ONE GIRL WHO HAS LEFT SCHOOL

31. For each child who has left school:
   Why did she/he leave?

32. What are the three most important tasks that consume her or his time?

33. Which household members are involved in making the decision for him/her to leave?

34. What reasons did these people give in favour of leaving? Be sure to get respondents view about what is benefit of leaving

35. Who made the Final decision for her/him to leave?

QUESTIONS ABOUT A GIRL WHO HAS STAYED IN SCHOOL AND A BOY WHO HAS STAYED

36. For each child who has not left school:
   Why has this child not left school?

37. Which household members are involved in making the decision for him/her to stay?

38. what reasons did each of these people give in favor of staying?
   (Be sure to get the respondents views about what is benefit of staying)

39. Who has the most say in deciding how much money should be spent on School fees and supplies?

40. What are the three tasks that take up most of her time?

41. What took up her time the past 3 days?

42. Which household members are involved in making the decision about how much money should be spent on school fees and supplies?

43. Who has the most say in deciding how much money should be spent on school fees and supplies?
44. How much money is spent per child for fees, books, pencils, School uniform, extra money

45. Overall, how important do you think schooling is for your daughters?
46. Overall, how important do you think schooling is for your son?
47. How satisfied are you with your children's amount of education?
48. What obligations do you expect from them when they finish school?

INITIATION

49. Are you initiated?
50. What were the benefits to you?
51. What were the negative aspects of being initiated?
52. What kind of initiation?
53. How much money did you spend?
54. Are you expecting all of your children to be initiated?
55. What are the benefits of initiation for girls these days?
56. How will the girls change after initiation?
57. What are the negative aspects of initiation for girls these days?
58. What are the benefits of initiation for boys these days?
59. What are the negative aspects of initiation for boys these days?
60. Do you want your daughters to go back to school after initiation? Why or Why not?
61. Do you think your daughters will want to go back to school after initiation (or, if they already have been initiated, did they want to return to school afterwards)? Why or Why not?
62. How many books do you have in the house?
63. How do you get your drinking water? Tap, Well or River
### DECEMBER 1990 - MAIN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

#### PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD GIRL'S SCHOOLING IN MALAWI

1. **SEX**
   - [ ] MALE
   - [ ] FEMALE

2. **PLACE OF INTERVIEW**
   - [ ] LILONGWE
   - [ ] MANGOCHE
   - [ ] MULANJE
   - [ ] RUMPHE

3. **WHAT IS YOUR PRIMARY LANGUAGE?**
   - [ ] CHICHEWA
   - [ ] CHINYANJA
   - [ ] CHIYAO
   - [ ] CHITUMBUKA
   - [ ] OTHER

4. **WHAT IS YOUR SECONDARY LANG?**
   - [ ] CHICHEWA
   - [ ] CHINYANJA
   - [ ] CHIYAO
   - [ ] CHITUMBUKA
   - [ ] CHIOMWE
   - [ ] CHIMHUHANI
   - [ ] YAO
   - [ ] NOT APPLICABLE
   - [ ] OTHER

5. **WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION?**
   - [ ] CHRISTIAN
   - [ ] MUSLIM
   - [ ] OTHER

6. **WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION?**
   - [ ] AFRICAN
   - [ ] DUTCH REFORM
   - [ ] CCAP
   - [ ] ROMAN CATHOLIC
   - [ ] ANGLICAN
   - [ ] PIM
   - [ ] NONE
   - [ ] BAPTIST
   - [ ] SUNNI
   - [ ] SHIA
   - [ ] OTHER

6. **WHAT IS YOUR MARITAL STATUS?**
   - [ ] MARRIED TO 1ST SPOUSE
   - [ ] NO APPLICABLE
   - [ ] DIVORCED, LIVING ALONE
   - [ ] MARRIED TO 2ND SPOUSE
PLEASE ANSWER YES OR NO TO ALL QUESTIONS:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>NOT APPLICABLE</th>
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<tr>
<td>7. DOES YOUR HUSBAND DO GANYU?</td>
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<td>8. DOES YOUR HUSBAND WORK IN GARDEN?</td>
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<td>9. DOES YOUR HUSBAND SELL PRODUCE?</td>
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<td>10. DOES YOUR HUSBAND GO FISHING</td>
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<td>11. DOES YOUR HUSBAND HAVE PART TIME JOB?</td>
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<td>12. DOES YOUR WIFE DO GANYU?</td>
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<td>13. DOES YOUR WIFE WORK IN GARDEN</td>
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<td>14. DOES YOUR WIFE SELL PRODUCE</td>
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<td>15. DOES YOUR WIFE SELL FISHING?</td>
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<td>16. DOES YOUR WIFE HAVE PART TIME JOB?</td>
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<td>17. DOES YOUR WIFE SELL KACHASU</td>
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<td>18. WHAT KIND OF GANYU DO YOU DO</td>
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<td>DRAWING WATER</td>
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<td>19. WHO WORKS IN GARDEN?</td>
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<td>20. DOES YOUR HOUSE HAVE GLASS WINDOWS?</td>
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<td>21. WHAT IS YOUR WIFE'S LEVEL OF SCHOOLING?</td>
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<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
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<td>22. WHAT IS YOUR HUSBAND'S LEVEL OF SCHOOLING?</td>
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PLEASE ANSWER ALL INFORMATION THAT APPLIES TO EACH CHILD:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHILD NUMBER</th>
<th>IN SCHOOL AGE WHEN STARTED</th>
<th>HIGHEST STANDARD TIMES ATTENDED</th>
<th>REPEATED</th>
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<td>23. CHILD 1</td>
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<td>26. CHILD 4</td>
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<td>27. CHILD 5</td>
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<td>28. CHILD 6</td>
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QUESTIONS RELATED TO ONE CHILD WHO HAS LEFT SCHOOL. PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS:

STATEMENT: YES NO DO NOT NOT KNOW APPLICABLE

BOY LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE:
29. NOT ABLE TO PAY THE FEES
30. HE IS NOT INTERESTED IN SCHOOL
31. HE IS NEEDED AT HOME
32. HE GOT MARRIED
33. HE SHOULD DO GARDENING AND
34. TAKING CARE OF ANIMALS

WHAT IS BOY'S TASK?
- DO ANYTHING
- HAS PART TIME JOB
- HAS REGULAR JOB

WHO DECIDED THAT THE BOY SHOULD LEAVE SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)
____ CHILD ALONE
____ JUST MOTHER
____ OTHER
____ NOT APPLICABLE

HAS THE BOY BENEFITTED FROM LEAVING SCHOOL?
38. HAS THE BOY BENEFITED BY SAVING MONEY THROUGH LEAVING SCHOOL?
   __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW  __NOT APPLICABLE

39. WHO FINALLY DECIDES FOR THE BOY TO LEAVE SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)
   __CHILD ALONE
   __JUST MOTHER
   __OTHER
   __NOT APPLICABLE

QUESTIONS REGARDING ONE GIRL WHO LEFT SCHOOL?

STATEMENT  YES  NO  DONT KNOW  NOT APPLICABLE

GIRL LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE:
41. NOT ABLE TO PAY FEES
42. SHE IS NOT INTERESTED IN SCHOOL
43. SHE IS NEEDED AT HOME
44. SHE GOT MARRIED

WHAT IS GIRL’S TASK?
45. -DO HOUSEWORK/CLEANING
46. -GARDENING
47. -DRAWING WATER
48. -COOKING
49. -TAKE CARE OF SIBLINGS

50. WHO DECIDED THAT THE GIRL SHOULD LEAVE SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)
   __CHILD ALONE
   __FATHER ALONE
   __FATHER AND MOTHER
   __JUST MOTHER
   __NOT APPLICABLE

51. HAS THE GIRL BENEFITTED FROM LEAVING SCHOOL?
   __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW  __NOT APPLICABLE

52. HAS THE GIRL BENEFITTED BY SAVING MONEY THROUGH LEAVING SCHOOL?
   __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW  __NOT APPLICABLE

53. WHO FINALLY DECIDED THAT THE GIRL LEAVE SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)
   __CHILD ALONE
   __FATHER ALONE
   __FATHER AND MOTHER
   __JUST MOTHER
   __OTHER
QUESTIONS ABOUT ONE BOY AND ONE GIRL WHO HAVE STAYED IN SCHOOL.
PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS:

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<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>YES</th>
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<td>BOY STAYS IN SCHOOL:</td>
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<td>54. FATHER WANTS</td>
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<td>55. TO LEARN READ AND WRITE</td>
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<td>56. TO BECOME WISER</td>
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<td>57. CHILD WANTS</td>
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<td>58. MOTHER WANTS</td>
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<td>59. WHO MADE THE DECISION FOR THE BOY TO STAY IN SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)</td>
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<td>60. WHO HAS THE MOST SAY FOR BOY TO STAY IN SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)</td>
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<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>YES</th>
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<tr>
<td>61. WHAT DOES THE BOY WHO LEFT SCHOOL DO?</td>
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<td>-GARDENING</td>
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<td>-REGULAR JOB</td>
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<td>62. GIRL STAYS IN SCHOOL:</td>
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<td>-MOTHER WANTS</td>
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</table>
63. WHO MADE THE DECISION FOR THE GIRL TO STAY IN SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)  
   __________ CHILD ALONE  
   __________ FATHER ALONE  
   __________ FATHER AND MOTHER  
   __________ JUST MOTHER  
   __________ DO NOT KNOW  
   __________ NOT APPLICABLE  
   __________ OTHER  

64. WHO HAS THE MOST SAY FOR GIRL TO STAY IN SCHOOL? (ANSWER ONE)  
   __________ CHILD  
   __________ FATHER  
   __________ MOTHER  
   __________ BROTHER OF CHILD  
   __________ DO NOT KNOW  
   __________ NOT APPLICABLE  
   __________ OTHER  

WHAT DOES THE GIRL WHO STAYS IN SCHOOL DO?  

65. -HOUSE WORK  
66. -GARDENING  
67. -DRAWING WATER  
68. -COOKING  
69. -TAKING CARE OF SIBLING  

70. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION  
   __________ YES  
   __________ NO  
   __________ DO NOT KNOW  

STATEMENT                YES  NO  DONT KNOW  NOT APPLICABLE  

71. CHILDREN OBLIGATED TO GIVE GIFTS  
72. CHILDREN OBLIGATED TO EDUCATE SIBLINGS  
73. CHILDREN OBLIGATED TO BUILD A HOUSE  
74. CHILDREN OBLIGATED TO BUILD HOUSE  

75. WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF INITIATION
76. INITIATION - BOY LEARN CUSTOM
  __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW

77. BENEFITS OF INITIATION - NONE
  __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW

78. INITIATION/CUSTOM LEARN CUSTOM
  __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW

79. INITIATION - WHAT KIND - FIRST
  __JANDO (MEN)
  __NSONDO
  __ZOMA
  __CHURCH
  __NYAU (MEN)
  __LITIWO
  __CHIPUTU
  __MKANGALI
  __LUPANDA (MEN)

80. INITIATION - WHAT KIND - SECOND
  __NSONDO
  __NYAU
  __LITIWO
  __OTHER

81. HOW MUCH DO YOU SPEND FOR INITIATION?
  CHIEF——— DO NOT KNOW——
  NAMKUNGWI——— NOT APPLICABLE——
  PHUNGU——
  CEREMONIES——
  FOOD——
  CLOTHES——
  FEAST——

TOTAL———

82. DO YOU EXPECT TO INITIATE YOUR CHILDREN?
  __YES  __NO  __DO NOT KNOW

83. INITIATION - NO BENEFIT FOR GIRL (ANSWER ONE)
  __YES, NO BENEFITS—JUST
  ____NO, DID NOT SAY NO BENEFIT
  ____DO NOT KNOW
  ____NOT APPLICABLE

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS:
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<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>YES</th>
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<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
<th>NOT APPLIC</th>
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<tr>
<td>84. INITIATION BENEFIT: GIRL BECOMES MATURE AND POLITE</td>
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<td>85. INITIATION BENEFIT: GIRL LEARN CUSTOM</td>
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<td>86. INITIATION - NO NEGATIVE ASPECT- BENEFIT GIRLS</td>
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<td>87. INITIATION NEGATIVE ASPECT: GIRL BECOMES RUDE</td>
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<td>88. INITIATION NEGATIVE ASPECT: GIRL USES BAD LANGUAGE</td>
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<td>89. INITIATION NEGATIVE ASPECT: GIRL LOOSES INTEREST IN SCHOOL</td>
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<td>90. INITIATION - NO BENEFIT FOR BOYS</td>
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<td>91. INITIATION BENEFIT: BOY BECOMES POLITE/MATURE</td>
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<td>92. INITIATION BENEFIT: BOY LEARNS CUSTOM</td>
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<td>93. INITIATION BENEFIT: BOY LEARNS HARD WORK</td>
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<td>94. INITIATION - NO NEGATIVE ASPECT FOR BOYS</td>
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<td>95. WILL YOUR DAUGHTERS GO BACK TO SCHOOL AFTER INITIATION?</td>
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<td>—YES ___NO ____DO NOT KNOW</td>
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<td>96. HOW MANY BOOKS DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR HOUSE?</td>
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<td>97. WHERE DO YOU GET WATER</td>
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2. WORKSHOP RECOMMENDATIONS.

Various participants from Government Ministries and Departments, the National Commission on Women in Development (NCWID), Malawi Congress Party, Non-Governmental Organisations and donor organisations having attended the workshop on "INCREASING ACCESS OF GIRLS AND WOMEN TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES IN MALAWI" from the 30th July to 3rd August, 1990, after serious and lengthy deliberations, hereby recommend as follows:

EDUCATION FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

(1) Noting that the Malawi population is young and that education is crucial for the young population, and realising that the increasing and improvement of the present education system requires extra resources, it is recommended that the Ministry of Finance should allocate more funds to the education sector. It is further recommended that Ministry of Education and Culture should consider offering free and compulsory education for students up to standard 8. This should be done in two phases beginning 1991/1992 academic year.

(2) Noting that there is need to improve the present curricula so that it enhances the performance of girls, equips students with self-reliant skills and excludes gender biased materials, and further, noting that the Ministry of Education and Culture is currently reviewing the school curricula, it is recommended that in its review the Ministry of Education and Culture should place emphasis on the removal of gender biased school literature and inclusion of subjects which will equip the students in self-reliant skills. The taking of these observations into account should be immediate whilst this reviewing is still in progress.

(3) Noting that the female population is higher than the male population in Malawi, and observing that the girls in the female only institutions produce better results, it is recommended that the Ministry of Education and Culture should increase female only institutions. It is further recommended that the said Ministry should ensure that one female only institutions is built in all the three regions by the year 1995.

(4) Noting that there exists technical wings in all model primary schools and that these are not functional, it is recommended that the Ministry of Education and Culture should ensure that the facilities are functioning by providing the necessary materials and employing the needed teachers. It further recommended that the Ministry should assist in setting up revolving funds in these technical wings.

(5) Noting that in some districts of the country initiation ceremonies take place during the school session, it is recommended that Ministry of Education and Culture should utilize the party machinery,
traditional and religious leaders in educating the public on the need to have these initiation ceremonies during holidays so that the ceremonies do not affect the education of the youth.

(6) Noting that some initiation ceremonies have negative elements, it is recommended that the Family Welfare Council should initiate a forum consisting of traditional birth attendants, church leaders and traditional leaders which should look at the negative elements of some of the initiation ceremonies. The forum should come up with a pilot project. This recommendation should be implemented as soon as the council is established so that it implements the suggestions of this forum on pilot basis.

(7) Noting that there is a high percentage of early marriages and that the mean age of marriage for girls is 17, it is recommended that the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), Mass Media (MBC, Information Department, Daily Times) and religious leaders should disseminate information to the public on the need for education of the youth.

(8) Noting that incidence of female students dropping out of school due to pregnancies is high and also noting that after dismissal these girls have no chance of being re-admitted into the school system as opposed to boys, it is recommended that the Ministry of Education and Culture should review its policy and re-admit these students once during the whole of their education period.

(9) Acknowledging that the Ministry of Community Services co-ordinates the provision of assistance to needy students, it is recommended that the Ministry should increase its outreach for female students.

(10) Noting that there are more illiterate females than males in Malawi, it is recommended that the Ministry of Community Services should intensify Adult Literacy Programmes by recruiting more well qualified teachers. To this end, the Ministry should also consider recruiting retired teachers. It is further recommended that the Ministry should upgrade the Adult Literacy Programmes by including skills training components. Further, the remuneration for the teachers in these schools should be increased.

(11) Noting the need for good co-ordination of the Adult Literacy Programme, it is recommended that the National Advisory Council for Adult Literacy should reinforce co-ordination between the Ministries of Community Services and Education and Culture in that a linkage should be developed between the Adult Literacy Programme and the formal education system so as to enable graduates from the Adult Literacy Programmes to enter the formal education system.

CAREER GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING

(12) Noting that career guidance and counselling in schools at present is not effective, it is recommended that the Ministry of Education and Culture should intensify guidance and counselling services in the schools. The Ministry should also employ and train these counsellors who should be based in schools and their activities should be time-tabled.
It is further recommended that the National Commission on Women in Development should organise a workshop for the mass media, teachers, playgroups, and church organisations, which should focus on gender issues in education and training.

NATIONAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING

Noting that there is a low percentage of female students in technical institutions, it is recommended that the NCWID should, in conjunction with Ministries of Education and Culture and Labour, and Department of Youth and Malawi Young Pioneers approach the said institutions so that these institutions provide quotas for the female student. It is recommended that allocation for female students should start with 10% and increase to 50% within 5 years.

(a) Noting the need to train and rehabilitate girl dropouts and delinquents, it is recommended that the CCAM should set funds to train and rehabilitate these girls. To this end, the CCAM should set up institutions which will equip the said girls with some skills and orientation for self-employment. The experiences of the Tiyende Project in Balaka should be utilised.

(b) In the interim, the Ministry of Community Services, in conjunction with CCAM and Non-Governmental Organisations, for example ZOA Refugee Care, World Vision International etc should draw up a programme for training of trainers in various skills for school drop outs so as to equip girls with survival skills which can also be used in income generating activities.

Noting the problem of the heavy workload on women and the need to disseminate information on appropriate time saving technologies, it is recommended that the NCWID, through its Research and Evaluation Committee should disseminate the available identified appropriate technologies.

EMPLOYMENT AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

Noting that some legal provisions relating to employment hinder girl and women employment, it is recommended that the NCWID, through its Employment and Training Committee, should liaise with Ministries of Labour and Justice examine existing employment laws so that laws which discriminate against women are amended.

Noting that the effective date of service for women on permanent and pensionable terms in respect of those who opted to be on permanent and pensionable terms is 31st April, 1981, it is recommended that the NCWID should approach the Department of Personnel Management and Training on the matter, so that the permanent and pensionable terms should apply to the said category of people with effect from the date of their first appointment.
(19) Noting that some conditions of service for female civil servants are different from those of men, and put women at a disadvantage, for instance, upon marriage women and not men are called upon to make an option whether they want to be employed on temporary or permanent basis. It is recommended that the NCWID should discuss this matter with the Department of Personnel Management and Training and recommend that all female civil servants should be appointed on permanent basis, irrespective of their status. This should be with immediate effect.

(20) Noting that women in the industrial class category in the civil service are not granted paid maternity leave, it is recommended that female industrial class in the civil service should, with immediate effect, be granted 90 days of paid maternity leave.

(21) Noting that female teachers who get pregnant out of wedlock get dismissed, it is recommended that the Ministry of Education and Culture should review this regulation since it only prejudices women.

(22) Noting that the Malawi Public Service Regulations are currently under review, it is recommended that the National Commission on Women in Development should be represented on the reviewing panel with immediate effect, whilst the reviewing is in progress.

GENERAL

(23) Noting that the Malawi population is growing at a fast rate and realising that Malawian men are not heeding to child spacing messages, and further noting that the birth intervals are short which in turn hinders women in using the available education and training opportunities, it is recommended that the Ministry of Health should intensify child spacing messages by involving male nurses in disseminating child spacing information. It is further recommended that the Ministry of Health, through its extension services, should place child spacing messages in places frequented by men such as tarvens, bottle stores, etc, and on utensils frequently used by men such as glasses, match boxes, soap wrappers, etc.

GENERAL PLAN OF ACTION

It was recommended that the Education and Training Committee of the National Commission on Women in Development should hold a meeting with the Executive Board of the National Commission on Women in Development by the end of August, 1990, to present the workshop's recommendations.

Further, noting that plans are underway by the National Commission on Women in Development to hold a symposium on Women in Development issues for policy makers, it was recommended that the workshop's recommendations be one of the items on the agenda at the symposium.