

**Globalisation, Education and Gender: Education Provision
for Girls in Zambia**

Name: Pandey Zekeza Syachaba

PhD

The University of Edinburgh

2005



DECLARATION

I declare that *Globalisation, Education and Gender: Education Provision for Girls in Zambia* is my own work, that it has not been presented in whole or part for examination for any degree and that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Pandey Zekeza Syachaba

October 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was made possible by financial support from the University of Edinburgh's Southern African Scholarship Scheme and the School of Education in the College of Humanities and Social Science of the University of Edinburgh. I am highly indebted to Dr. Gari Donn who was instrumental in securing these sources of income for my study.

I would also like to thank my supervisors, Professor Jenny Ozga, Director of the Centre for Educational Sociology, Department of Education and Society, University of Edinburgh and Lyn Tett, Department of Higher and Community Education, both of the Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh for their guidance. I should particularly thank Professor Jenny Ozga who so patiently read through all my drafts, and gave me valuable advice, guidance, support and encouragement, which led to the final completion of this study.

Several people and institutions contributed to the accomplishment of this study, so it is not possible to acknowledge them by name but it suffices to say their contribution is significant and highly appreciated.

Particular gratitude must be extended to Moffat Nkhata and Naison Banda and their families for their hospitality and friendship. I thank all my friends who gave me moral support over the period of my study.

Finally, my thanks go to my family. Special thanks go to my wife Assah for her support throughout my study period. She shared my pain, frustrations and joys. I am also indebted to my children whom I denied fatherly love and care during the course of my study period. I should also thank my mother for her willingness to look after our children when my wife joined me in Edinburgh in the later part of my study.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the nature of globalisation and patriarchy and analyses their consequences for education and in particular the education of women and girls. The importance of educating girls has been recognised by many nations in the world especially those in the third world. Girls' education has become a priority following increased recognition of gender inequalities in education in which girls' education has lagged behind that of boys.

The international community through education conferences such as the Jomtien in 1990 and Dakar in 2000 has sought to address the problem. Progress has been slow and disappointing. In Sub-Saharan Africa the situation has worsened and the gender gap has increased. This thesis argues that a significant contributory factor in the slow progress in addressing gender inequalities in education in developing countries such as Zambia is the lack of attention to the combined effects of globalisation and patriarchy on girls' education. This study argues that globalisation and patriarchy impact negatively on the education of women and girls, and supports that argument with reference to supra-national and transnational policy developments, as well as an analysis of national policy for the education of girls in Zambia, and case studies of girls' experiences of education in two contrasting local settings in Zambia.

Globalisation is associated with an increase in social and economic inequality due to its tendency to obscure equity and social justice issues in its pursuit of establishing markets in almost all spheres of life. Market forms are pre-occupied with profit, hence pushing equality concerns to the fringes. Patriarchy takes advantage of globalisation's tendency to obscure equity and social justice considerations to reassert itself in its uncompromising oppression of women.

Therefore, globalisation and patriarchy play a significant role in perpetuating gender inequalities in education. This study posits that any attempt to resolve gender inequalities in education should take into account the impact of globalisation and patriarchy on girls' education.

Although education alone will not ensure women's empowerment, the study considers it as very important to combine with other factors to bring about an end to women's oppression.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations		vi
List of Tables and Figures		viii
Introduction		1
Chapter One	Globalisation, Education and Gender	5
Chapter Two	Patriarchy and its Role in Perpetuating Gender Inequalities in Education	51
Chapter Three	Girls' Education: Global Concerns	80
Chapter Four	Girls' Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Zambia	113
Chapter Five	Methodology	149
Chapter Six	Fieldwork	181
Chapter Seven	Fieldwork Results	248
Chapter Eight	Conclusion	274
Bibliography		279
Appendix 1		300
Appendix 2		301

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASIP	Agricultural Sector Investment Programme
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAFOD	Catholic Fund for Overseas Development
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DFID	Department for International Development
EAZs	Education Action Zones
EFA	Education for All
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
FAWE	Forum of African Women Educationalists
FAWEZA	Forum of African Women Educationalists in Zambia
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GNP	Gross National Product
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDA	International Development Assistance
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIPILAR	National Institute for Public Interest, Law and Research
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAGE	Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SWAP	Sector Wide Approaches
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCR	Video Cassette Recorder
WEF	World Education Forum
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 3.1	Where the gender gap is 10 or more	104
Table 3.2	Gross Enrolment Ratios in Primary Education by regions, 1990 and 1998	108
Table 3.3	Net Enrolment Ratios in Primary Education by regions, 1990 and 1998	109
Table 3.4	Net Enrolment Ratios by Sex and Gender Parity Index by regions, 1990 and 1998	110
Table 4.1	Gender Gap in 10 Sub-Saharan Africa Countries	119
Table 4.2	Progression by Gender of pupils from Grade 1 to 12	137
Table 4.3	Gross Enrolment Rates, 1990	141
Table 4.4	Gross and Net Enrolment by Sex (1994-1998)	142
Table 4.5	Primary School Dropout rates 1991-1992	143
Table 6.1	2002 Administrative Positions-Basic Schools by Gender	194
Table 6.2	2001 Administrative Positions-Basic Schools by Gender	195
Table 6.3	Enrolment, Grades 1 to 7 by Gender	198
Table 6.4	Gross Enrolment by Grade and by Gender for School S7- 2003	210
Table 6.5	School Administrators for Sinazongwe District- 2003	211
Table 6.6	Gross Enrolment by Grade and by Gender for School S1- 2003	212
Table 6.7	Gross Enrolments by Grade and by Gender for Schools P6, P7, P8, P9- 2003	235
Table 6.8	Gross Enrolments by Grade and by Gender for Schools P10, P11, P12- 2003	235
Table 6.9	Dropout rate by Grade and Gender for Grades 1-7, Petauke District- 2003	236

Table 6.10	School Administrators for Petauke District - 2003	237
Table 6.11	Gross Enrolment for School P1 by Grade and by Gender- 2003	237
Table 6.12	Gross Enrolment by Gender for School P13- 2003	243
Figure 3.1	Gender Gap in school enrolment	102
Figure 6.1	Gross Enrolment Rate, 1999-2002	199
Figure 6.2	Net Enrolment Rate, 1999-2002	199
Figure 6.3	Repetition Rate, 1999-2002	200
Figure 6.4	Drop out Rates, 1999-2002	200
Figure 6.5:	An old classroom block	214
Figure 6.6:	A classroom with potholes	215
Figure 6.7:	A well maintained classroom block	239
Figure 6.8:	A cluster of bicycles for pupils	242
Figure 6.9:	A heap of bricks	246

INTRODUCTION

For a long time now issues related to girls' education have been the concern of many nations in the world. From the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which declared that everyone has the right to education (UNESCO, 2000a) up to the World Conference on EFA, held in Jomtien, Thailand, in March 1990, the nations of the world committed themselves to providing universal basic education. This commitment was renewed at Dakar World Conference on EFA in the year 2000. At the conference in Jomtien, the focus was particularly on improving education provision for girls, which hitherto had lagged behind that of boys. Zambia attended both the Jomtien and Dakar conferences and like many other countries became committed to the proclamation made at these conferences, namely "Meeting Basic Learning Needs" of all children, especially girls (UNESCO, 1990; UNESCO, 2000b). However, despite all these efforts to address gender inequalities in education, the problem has persisted in most developing countries. The persistence of gender inequalities in education is not surprising when one examines the research reports on gender and education in developing countries (see Chapter 4). These reports do not address the impact of globalisation and patriarchy on girls' education.

Therefore, this thesis examines the nature of globalisation and patriarchy and analyses their consequences for education and in particular the education of women and girls. It explores the proposition that globalisation and patriarchy combine to impact negatively on the education of women and girls.

Explanations of girls' underachievement tend to be dominated by research in the developed world where progress in addressing the problem has been significant. However, little research seems to have been done in the developing world. In the little that has been done, little or no attention has been paid to the impact of either patriarchy or globalisation on women's and girls' education. Therefore, in this study I seek to explore the impact of patriarchy and globalisation as they connect with one another in a specific (post colonial) society namely Zambia.

In Zambia there has been no published research on the impact of patriarchy and globalisation on girls' education. It has also been reported that Zambia had the least published research on gender and education among the three countries that Swainson (1995) studied namely Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. Another observation that Swainson made was that Zambia lacked detailed school-based research on the schooling of girls. These concerns are taken into account and helped shape this enquiry.

The statement of the key focus of the study

A central concern throughout this thesis is to look at girls' education in Zambia in order to assess the impact on Zambia and (by extension) other nation states of patriarchy and globalisation, and the capacity of Zambia to mediate or reshape these forces or to be subjected to them.

Aims of the research

- To explore the impact and meanings of globalisation and patriarchy and their interconnection in the developing world.
- To investigate the problems of gender inequalities in schooling, in the context of assumptions, views and experiences of policy makers, practitioners, parents and pupils.
- To contribute to the understanding of gender inequalities in education in the developing world.

The core question that this study investigates is: Why have gender inequalities in education in Zambia persisted in spite of all the effort made to address them? In order to build a complete answer to the core question, there are specific questions that guided the enquiry:

- How do globalisation and patriarchy manifest themselves in the research context (Zambia)?
- What influence do they have on policy-making in the Zambian state/How do they influence policy in education?
- In what ways are these forces supportive of one another or in tension with one another?
- To what extent is the Zambian state able to negotiate an autonomous education policy between the pressures of globalisation and the influence of patriarchy?
- Do attitudes to girls' education differ in different communities?

The organisation of the thesis

The chapters that follow are aimed at addressing the issues raised in the research questions above. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the better understanding of how patriarchy and globalisation affect girls' education in Zambia and (by extension) other nation-states especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Chapter 1 explores the meaning of the term globalisation, considering the features that characterise it. Also considered is the fact that globalisation is riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions. The focus of the chapter is on the impact of globalisation on education with specific reference to Africa's educational development. The role of the World Bank in education development in Africa is examined. Subsequently the focus narrows down to the impact of globalisation on women's education. There is also a discussion of 'travelling policy' that is driven by the neoliberal agenda and how this conflicts with 'embedded policy' driven by local interests.

Chapter 2 examines the role of patriarchy in perpetuating gender inequalities in education. However, to appreciate and understand how patriarchy perpetuates gender inequalities in education it is necessary to explore different feminist theories. It is also important to examine the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism to link up patriarchy with globalisation as discussed in chapter one.

Chapter 3 concentrates on global concerns on girls' education. It documents statistical evidence to build a strong case for girls' education. Highlights of global education conferences such as the Jomtien and Dakar in 1990 and 2000 respectively are given. Barriers to girls' education are also highlighted.

Chapter 4 explores the state of girls' education in Sub-Saharan Africa with specific reference to Zambia. The chapter explores the role of donors in education development in Sub-Saharan Africa. The governments' role in achieving universal primary education and in closing the gender gap is delineated. The chapter ends with the discussion of girls' education in Zambia.

Chapter 5 considers the methodological issues and explains methodological choices made in conducting the empirical research in Zambia. It covers in detail theoretical frameworks that guided the research and the reasons for the choice of such frameworks. The chapter also gives an overview of how the fieldwork was carried out.

Chapter 6 begins with the analysis of policy documents indicating how globalisation and patriarchy influence the policies. The discussion of policy documents centred on the origin and purpose of these policies. This is followed by a fieldwork report, documenting the voices of stakeholders in the Zambian education system namely policy makers, practitioners, parents and pupils. Chapter 7 deals with the analysis of the fieldwork data. The final chapter provides a summary of the study and offers some conclusions.

CHAPTER ONE

GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION AND GENDER

Introduction

The education of women and girls is affected by many factors. Among the factors that affect women's and girls' education is the process of globalisation. Although its effect on education may not be direct, its impact is significant. This chapter examines the impact of globalisation on education especially the education of girls. The discussion takes the following form. First, a brief description of different approaches of explaining and understanding globalisation is offered. The approaches include the hyperglobalist, sceptical and transformationalist. The discussion of these approaches culminates in the choice of a working definition for the term globalisation. The next section is a brief look at the features of globalisation. Following this is a discussion of the inconsistencies and contradictions that surround globalisation along with some relevant statistical information. Then the impact of globalisation on education with specific reference to educational development in Africa is explored. Finally, the discussion focuses on the impact of globalisation on girls' and women's education.

Globalisation is one of the most widely used and least clearly defined of the terms in political and economic discourses today. The statistics below clearly show how widely used the term globalisation is:

In 1996, the publication of 200 books and 213 articles dealing with globalisation were registered by the Library of Congress. And this, it should be stressed, only counts publications that explicitly carry the word in its title. (Busch, 2000:23).

If these were the statistics in 1996, one would imagine that these figures increased tremendously by the turn of the millennium. Busch also explored various definitions of

the term globalisation by different authors and had this to say: "Globalisation therefore means a lot of different things to a lot of different people and has, small wonder, also met fierce criticism"(Busch, 2000: 22). According to Held et al. (1999), the concept of globalisation lacks precise definition. The following statement amplifies their assertion:

Indeed globalisation is in danger of becoming, if it has not already become, the cliché of our time: the big idea which encompasses everything from global financial markets to the Internet but which delivers little substantive insight into the contemporary human condition. (Held et al., 1999:1).

There are many authors who subscribe to the view that globalisation lacks precise definition. These include Rivero, 1999; Tikly, 2001; Stromquist, 2002; Dale & Robertson, 2002; Legrain, 2002.

In spite of the term globalisation lacking precise definition, many authors have variously defined it. However, Held et al. (1999) seem to offer a more detailed account of the term globalisation. Before defining the term, Held et al. identified three broad approaches of the nature and meaning of globalisation, which they refer to as the hyperglobalist, the sceptical, and the transformationalist views. According to Held et al. (p.2), each of these approaches may be said to represent a distinctive account of globalisation-an attempt to understand and explain this social phenomenon. A brief look at each of these approaches will be helpful before looking at how Held and his co-authors define the term globalisation.

The Hyperglobalist Approach

The hyperglobalist approach is based on the idea of the existence of a single global economy transcending the world's major economic regions (Ohmae, 1990). The proponents of this view attribute this state of affairs to the triumph of global capitalism that is marching on swiftly thereby bringing about the demise of the nation state (Ohmae,

1995; Strange, 1996). Indeed, in a borderless economy they argue, states have no option other than to accommodate global market forces. Even if a state wished to chart its own economic course incompatible with the global market, the multilateral institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) will ensure that such dissenters comply with the rules of the global markets. Economic sanctions are imposed on countries that fail to comply. In effect, the hyperglobalists hold, the autonomy and sovereignty of nation states have been eclipsed by the contemporary process of economic globalisation (Held et al., 1999).

The Sceptical Approach

By comparison the sceptical approach is much more cautious about the revolutionary character of globalisation (Hirst & Thomson, 1999). Advocates of this view, whilst generally recognising that recent decades witnessed a considerable intensification of international interdependence, argue that trading blocks are in fact now weaker than in earlier periods of history. According to sceptics, by comparison with the height of European imperialism of 1890-1914, the intensity of contemporary global interdependence is considerably exaggerated (Held et al., 1999). Sceptics refute the claim by hyperglobalists of a unified global economy transcending and integrating the world's major economic regions. They argue that global capitalism has instead led to greater polarisation between the developed and developing countries. They also discount the view by hyperglobalists that the contemporary globalisation has led to the demise of a nation state. They point to the growing centrality of the nation state in the regulation and active promotion of cross-border economic activity (Held et al., 1999). Henry and co-authors hold similar views regarding the position of the nation-state in the global economy, "In contradistinction to those who argue that an emergent post-national and supranational politics has led to the demise of the nation-state, our position is that the nation-state remains very important for policy, but that it has been reconstituted in a number of important ways by globalisation" (Henry et al., 2001:20).

The Transformationalist Approach

Like the hyperglobalists, this approach suggests that at the dawn of the new millennium, we are indeed experiencing unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness (Giddens, 1990; Castells, 1996). However, unlike the hyperglobalists, transformationalists question the idea that we are entering a totally new global age of economic, political and cultural integration. They also hold the view that globalisation has to be understood as a multidimensional process which is not reducible to an economic logic and which has differential impacts across the world's regions and upon individual states (Held et al., 1999). So, although globalisation is resulting in greater integration in some areas of the economy, politics and culture, it is also resulting in greater fragmentation and stratification in which "some states, societies and communities are becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are becoming increasingly marginalised" (Held et al., 1999: 8). Transformationalists do not subscribe to the idea that globalisation is a novel process but rather argue that it has a history and that globalisation represents a partial stage in the development of capitalism.

This is a brief review of the approaches that Held and his colleagues discuss, which describe the nature and meaning of globalisation. Each of these approaches helps us to understand globalisation as a social phenomenon. Admittedly, each of the three approaches has its shortcomings and strengths but it is not the intention of this study to discuss these. However, it is important to note that the transformationalist approach appears to delineate the term globalisation in a more balanced way. It tends to mediate between the two extreme views of the hyperglobalists and the sceptics. Its account of globalisation seems to match with the reality of the phenomenon.

Following this discussion Held et al. define globalisation as follows:

A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions-assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact-generating

transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power. (Held et al., 1999:16).

The authors explain that by 'flows' they refer to 'movement of physical artefacts, people, symbols, tokens and information across space and time' while 'networks' is used to refer to 'regularised or patterned interactions between independent agents, nodes of activities or sites of power' (Held, 1999:16).

When one closely examines this definition, it projects the transformationalist perspective. It is based on an understanding that globalisation is a set of processes rather than a single condition, involving interactions and networks with political, economic and cultural aspects of social life. These interactions and networks involve the labour and migratory movements. In this view power is a cardinal attribute of globalisation, and "patterns of global stratification mediate access to sites of power, while the consequences of globalisation are unevenly experienced. Political and economic elites in the world's major metropolitan areas are much more tightly integrated into, and have much greater control over, global networks than do the subsistence farmers in Burundi" (Held et al., 1999: 28).

While there are substantial differences among these three approaches in their understanding of the concept of globalisation, they seem to share a common ground. Generally they all agree that the world is becoming increasingly intertwined, people and goods move across borders with incredible ease, while information circulates ever faster and in multiple directions.

Features of Globalisation

There are many features of globalisation but in this study, only a few will be considered. As earlier noted by both the sceptics' and the transformationalists' approaches, globalisation is not new. However, this era is different in many respects. The following

excerpt from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report 1999 shows why this era of globalisation is different:

Globalisation is not new, but the present era has distinctive features. Shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders are linking people's lives more deeply, more intensely, more immediately than ever before. (UNDP, 1999:1).

According to the same UNDP report "More than US\$1.5 trillion is now exchanged in the world's currency markets each day, and nearly a fifth of the goods and services produced each year are traded" (UNDP, 1999: 1). The report further notes the following features associated with the current era of globalisation.

- *New markets* - foreign exchange and capital markets linked globally operating 24 hours a day, with dealings at a distance in real time
- *New tools* - Internet links, cellular phones, media networks
- *New actors* – the World Trade Organisation (WTO) with authority over national corporations with more economic power than many states, the global networks of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other groups that transcend national boundaries
- *New rules* – multilateral agreements on trade, services and intellectual property, backed by strong enforcement mechanisms and more binding for national governments reducing the scope for national policy. (UNDP, 1999:1).

The features of globalisation outlined by the UNDP Human Development Report are characteristic of the hyperglobalist approach. As can be noticed from the features, everything is new. New markets are characterised by intensive business transactions. This global market is driven by new efficient tools—not limited by distance or time. The world has been reduced to a mouse click on the computer. A tourist in Cape Town (South Africa) can withdraw a large sum of money from his bank in New York at the blink of an

eye. With the emergence of new actors and new rules, what is the role of the nation state in this new world order, the hyperglobalist may ask? Small wonder, they refer to the current era of globalisation as a novel phenomenon. UK Prime Minister Blair seems to agree with the idea of the novelty of contemporary globalisation. In his speech to the Global Ethics Foundation at Tübingen University, Germany, he said, “I believe it is no exaggeration to say that we are in the middle of the greatest economic, technological and social upheaval the world has seen since the industrial revolution began over two centuries ago” (Blair, 2000:2).

The Inconsistencies and Contradictions at the heart of the current Globalisation

Globalisation is riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions. Some of the inconsistencies and contradictions will be discussed in this section. It will be fitting here to start with the statement by Castells:

Because of (globalisation) a new world, the Fourth World, has emerged, made up of multiple black holes of social exclusion throughout the planet. The Fourth World comprises large areas of the globe, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, and impoverished rural areas of Latin America and Asia. But it is also present in literally every country, and every city, in this new geography of social exclusion. It is formed of American inner-city ghettos, Spanish enclaves of mass youth unemployment, French banlieues warehousing North Africans, Japanese Yoseba quarters, and Asia mega-cities' shanty towns. And it is populated by millions of homeless, incarcerated, prostituted, criminalised, stigmatised, sick, and illiterate persons. They are the majority in some areas, the minority in others, and a tiny minority in a few privileged contexts. But, everywhere, they are growing in number, increasing in visibility, as the selective triage of informational capitalism, and the political breakdown of the welfare state, intensify social exclusion. In the current historical

context, the rise of the Fourth World is inseparable from the rise of informational, global capitalism. (Castells, 1998:164-165).

According to this argument, as long as globalisation maintains its present form, the inequalities will deepen. This has obvious implications for the topic considered here.

Federico Mayor, the former Director General of United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) sheds light on the paradoxes that characterise the current wave of globalisation:

While the current globalisation process offers new opportunities, it is also creating such serious imbalances and inequalities that their continuation would threaten harmony and peace in the world, or even the very survival of the human species. This is a partial globalisation in which-whether in communications or commercial networks-the 'globalised' are much more numerous than the 'globalisers' and the excluded are even more numerous than both combined. (Mayor, 1998:3)¹

The advocates of globalisation through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) continue to project the view that globalisation is the only viable means to economic growth, which ultimately leads to improved standards of living. According to George (1999), the aspirations to material well-being advocated by those in support of globalisation has sometimes proved very powerful to lure many countries to open up their economies to the global markets. Some of them soon realise the realities of global capitalism. Oxfam, one of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) advocating fair trade clearly shows the reality of international trade:

¹ Address by Federico Mayor, former Director General of UNESCO delivered at the occasion of the meeting on 'Africa and Globalisation: the challenges of democracy and governance' (DEMOS AFRICA) held in Mozambique, July 1998

There is a paradox at the heart of International Trade. In the globalised world of the early twenty-first century, trade is one of the most powerful forces linking our lives. It is also a source of unprecedented wealth. Yet millions of the world's poorest people are being left behind. Increased prosperity has gone hand in hand with mass poverty and the widening of already obscene inequalities between rich and poor ... The problem is not that international trade is inherently opposed to the needs of the poor, but that the rules that govern it are rigged in favour of the rich. (Watkins, 2002:5).

Even within the countries of the North, there are contradictions in their systems. For example, UK Prime Minister Blair acknowledged the fact that globalisation produces both positive and negative outcomes:

Globalisation has brought us economic progress and material well-being. But also brings fear in its wake. Children are offered drugs in the school playground; who grow up sexually at a speed I for one find frightening; parents who struggle in the daily grind of earning a living, raising a family, often with both parents working, looking after elderly relatives; a world where one in three marriages end in divorce; where jobs can come and go because of a decision in a boardroom, thousands of miles away; where ties of family, locality and country seem under constant pressure and threat. (Blair, 2000:3).

To understand the magnitude of the inconsistencies globalisation generates, it is important to highlight some statistics of some of the inequalities between the rich and the poor. Only two consequences of globalisation will be discussed, the enlarging gap between rich and poor and increasing marginalisation.

The first thing to note is the enlarging gap between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South, with a particular focus on Africa. Economic prosperity brought about through industrialisation, technological innovations, trade and investment, has not in fact been widely experienced in Africa. Some empirical evidence below demonstrates this fact.

Of the 64 countries ranked as “low income” by the World Bank 2000 report, 38 are in Africa (World Bank, 2000). This ranking is on the basis of strict economic calculations of Gross National Product (GNP) per capita. Of the 35 countries ranked “low human development” by the UNDP 2000 report, 27 are in Africa (UNDP, 2000). This ranking takes account of social calculations such as life expectancy and literacy, revealing the human side of development.

The evidence that the gap has indeed worsened in the age of globalisation is shown in the fact that the average annual rate of growth in GNP per capita in the 43 Sub-Saharan African states between 1990 and 1998 has grown

- by more than 4% in only one country,
- from 3-4% in 3 countries,
- from 0-3% in 20 countries, and
- less than 0% in 19 countries. (UNDP, 2000:81)

The “champagne glass economy”² is now a familiar expression, a picture of the globe emerging from the recent UNDP Human Development Reports that documents that the richest 20% of the world’s population receives 86% of global income, while the poorest 20% receives just 1%. (UNDP, 1999: 3). This is a picture of the globe in which the huge majority occupies only the narrowest stem of the glass while the tiny rich majority enjoys the broad bowl of affluence. In this champagne glass, we can easily tell where the majority of Africans are placed.

² The “champagne glass” figure was introduced on the cover of the 1997 Human Development Report, which had the theme “Human Development to Eradicate Poverty.”

The following figures also show the enlarging gap between rich and poor:

- the assets of the 3 richest people are more than the combined GNP of all the least developed countries
- the assets of the 200 richest people are more than the combined income of 41% of the world's people
- a yearly contribution of 1% of the wealth of the 200 richest people could provide universal access to primary education for all. (UNDP, 1999:38)

Is globalisation good for Africa's future? It is not, one would argue, in its present form that has been contributing to the gap between Africa and the developed world.

Secondly, the current structuring of globalisation creates an increasing marginalisation of Africa in the very process of integrating it into the global economy. For there is a stark disparity between rich and poor in the global opportunities offered in trade, investment and technologies. The figures cited below are from the world at large, but it is important to remember that when the poorest are spoken of, the majority of poor countries are in Africa.

- trade : the shares of the world export markets of goods and services go 82% to the richest 20% of the people living in the highest income countries, the bottom 20% get just 1%
- investments: the shares in foreign direct investment go 68% to richest 20%, just 1% to the poorest 20%
- technology: taking shares of internet users as one example, 93.3% go to the richest 20%, 0.2% to the poorest. (UNDP, 1999:2).

This marginalisation has increased dramatically in recent years; it shows no signs of decreasing. As the UNDP 1999 Report commented:

Some have predicted convergence. Yet the past decade (the decade of the most intense globalisation!) has shown increasing concentration of income, resources and wealth among people, corporations and countries.... All these trends are not the inevitable consequences of global economic integration – but they have run ahead of global governance to share the benefits. (UNDP, 1999:3).

Castells gives a very detailed account of rising inequalities and social exclusion throughout the world in the second chapter of his book entitled 'End of Millennium'. One section of that chapter is on "The De-humanisation of Africa" (Castells, 1998: 82). His detailed analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa with empirical evidence is very informative. The following excerpt gives a glimpse of the state of Sub-Saharan Africa in relation to the global economy:

In the past two decades, while a dynamic, global economy has been constituted in much of the world, Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced a substantial deterioration in its relative position in trade, investment, production, and consumption vis a vis all other areas of the world, while its per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined during the period 1980-95. (Castells, 1998:83).

These are the realities of globalisation. One is persuaded to agree with Federico Mayor's views on globalisation. In his words:

That globalisation will facilitate a more just distribution of goods and services and promote development, is simply not true. What this pitfall does promote, however, are market democracies and a policy devoid of moral principles ... Militarily, economically and commercially, we are reliving the survival of the fittest, a law that leads to the progressive

polarisation of the citizenry culminating in the dispossessed and satiated (1998:5).

He goes on to conclude: “Berlin saw the foundering of a regime which was based on equality but ignored freedom; at present, another system which is based on freedom but excludes equality, is threatening to go under” (Mayor, 1998:5)³.

It is clear from the account above that globalisation thrives on neoliberal ideology. Some proponents of globalisation such as Anthony Giddens would refute this view because they associate neoliberalism with the Reagan-Thatcher era. However, the manifestations of globalisation such as the ones highlighted by Federico Mayor link it to neoliberalism. “Neoliberalism refers to policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise their personal profit” (McChesney, 1999:1). The neoliberal economic approach encourages and supports competition at all levels – between workers, between countries and to some extent between schools (for example, the league tables in England). To enhance competition, privatisation and liberalisation of economies is of paramount importance. Neoliberalism argues that the private sector is the most important force in any economy that guarantees increased profits from which everyone would benefit. “For neoliberals, ‘profit is God’, not the public good” (Hill, 2003:3). According to the neoliberal view, if profits of business increased, they would be reinvested thereby bringing about economic growth and creation of more jobs (World Bank, 1987). This ultimately would lead to economic prosperity. The role of the state in such a scenario should be to promote the profitability of business (Alexander, 1998). The state is neither supposed to participate in the production nor in the delivery of service. Therefore government owned companies and many government utilities must be privatised under neoliberal economic policies (Chossudovsky, 1997).

³ Address by Federico Mayor, former Director General of UNESCO delivered at the 19th Conference of the World Parliamentary Union, held in Namibia, April, 1998.

The third world countries under the tutelage of the IMF and the World Bank have been or are implementing Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Under SAPs the government is supposed to liberalise its economy and privatise all its companies and services. However the liberalisation of the economies and massive privatisation exercise that characterised most countries in the Sub-Saharan region did not yield the intended outcome of economic growth. Instead there was general decline in the economic performance of the region and increased poverty levels (Castells, 1998; Chossudovsky, 1997).

This section concludes with the question, “What does all this mean for education?” The next section attempts to answer this question. Finally the focus will be on the role of the World Bank in educational development in Africa

Impact of Globalisation on Education

The forces associated with globalisation have conditioned the context in which educators operate, and have profoundly altered people’s experience of both formal and informal education. Today education reforms are a common feature in many countries due to these forces. According to Broadfoot (2001), the challenge of a rapidly changing world has prompted governments everywhere to consider how well their existing educational institutions are preparing the citizens of tomorrow to respond effectively to the opportunities provided by globalisation and information and communication technologies.

Reforms in any system are necessitated by inadequacies observed in the existing system. Could this be the case with the current wave of reforms in education? This question yields varied responses. For neoliberals, the answer would be in the affirmative. According to Apple (2000), the global markets have found fault with the education system based on egalitarian norms and values. This type of education is incompatible with the neoliberal values that characterise global markets. Neoliberal values promote competition and diversity. According to Giddens (2001), there is no future for the

'egalitarianism' at all costs that absorbed leftists for so long. Michael Walzer amplifies this point further:

Simple equality of that sort is the bad utopianism of the left ... political conflict and the competition for leadership always make for power inequalities and entrepreneurial activity always makes for economic inequalities ... None of this can be prevented without endless tyrannical interventions in ordinary life. It was an historical mistake of large proportions, for which we (on the left) have paid heavily ... (Walzer, 1998:50)

These are direct attacks on egalitarianism. It is rare though for those opposed to egalitarianism to challenge it as openly as Giddens and Walzer do. The attacks are often couched in the debate of improving competitiveness, jobs, standards and quality in an educational system that is seen to be in crisis.

On the other hand, those opposed to the neoliberal ideology would treat the current wave of educational reforms with scepticism. This scepticism is based on the fact that these educational reforms are being driven by the economic agenda. There is greater emphasis on linking education to the world of work:

...For educators – education does not equal job training. It includes preparing people for jobs but also preparing learners for all aspects of their life – not simply how they are going to become profitable working units for their bosses. The “core business” of education is not job training – it is educating human beings to be fully human - to practice democracy, to be non-racist and non-sexist, to learn to work well with others – to not become perpetrators of super exploitation or violence – either in the streets or in the home. (Pape, 1998:3)²

² A paper presented by John Pape to SADTU Provincial Council – Western Cape in South Africa, 28 June, 1998

There is also fear that the inequalities that globalisation generates will be reflected in the education systems. Globalisation has been found to create greater stratification and more inequalities in society as Rizvi and Lingard put it:

There is an emergent binary divide between those who are able to enjoy the new cultural goods and services exchanged in the global economy and structuring of work induced by new communication technologies and fast footloose nomadic capital ...Against this backdrop the divide between the global rich and the regional and local poor has never been so great. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000:420)

As noted earlier, the neoliberal approach promotes competition. Any competition tends to produce winners and losers. According to this perspective, those who lose should not blame anyone since equal opportunity was made available to all competitors. This is the language of the proponents of globalisation such as Anthony Giddens:

The contemporary left needs to develop a dynamic, life chances approach to equality, placing the prime stress upon equality of opportunity...Equality of opportunity of course, has long been a theme of the left and has been widely enshrined in policy, especially in the field of education. (Giddens, 2001:178).

Giddens, while urging the modernising social democrats to find an approach that reconciles equality with pluralism, was well aware that the two concepts were parallel and it was difficult if not impossible to get them to share a common ground. He admitted that many on the left have found it difficult to accept its correlates – that incentives are necessary to encourage those of talent to progress and that equality of opportunity typically creates greater rather than lower inequalities of outcome (Giddens, 2001: 178). The equality of opportunity that Giddens was stressing, when applied to education, would be the kind that deliberately ignores the backgrounds of the students. To put it in another

way, it ignores the different levels of economic and cultural capital that students bring with them to school. According to Bourdieu (1999), cultural capital are the experiences that a person accumulates through the process of socialisation. These experiences play a cardinal role in learning new things at school or in any organised type of learning. For example, a child who comes from a home with a television set, computer, books, games and others items will be said to have rich cultural capital compared to a child who comes from a home where these items are absent. Equality based on egalitarian values takes into consideration such differences and attempts to moderate them, whereas, equality of opportunity based on market principles does not take into account such differences.

In spite of the different views regarding the current education reforms, the reality is that many governments have found themselves implementing market policies in their education systems as a response to globalisation forces (Whitty, Power & Halpin 1998).

In many developed countries, neoliberal policies characterise the education reforms (Scoppio, 2000; Kamat, 2000). The common feature is the marketisation of education. In the 1980s and early 1990s this was initially carried forward by the rise of managerialism in many 'western' education systems (Gewirtz, 2002; Ball, 1990). Those in authority in education in England were encouraged and trained to see themselves as managers and to reframe the problems of education as exercises in delivering the right outcomes. As Ball puts it:

The need for 'good' management in schools, colleges, and universities provides a point of massive agreement among educational practitioners of all leanings and persuasions. Management is firmly established as 'the one best way' to run educational organisations. Management training is becoming de rigeur for anyone who aspires to high office in educational institutions. The unchallengeable position of management effectively renders discussion of other possibilities for organisation mute. (Ball, 1990:153))

There has been the wholesale strengthening of the market in the education sector. Schools have to compete for students in order to sustain and extend their funding. Schools have become markets with a product called education. As Apple (2000: 60) puts it, "In effect, education is seen as simply one more product like bread, cars and television". So, schools have to market their activities. Schools that are innovative and good at marketing strategies attract consumers or clients who are the students and their parents. Schools that lack marketing abilities will fail to attract clients, thereby rendering themselves irrelevant (Brown & Lauder, 1999). According to the New Right, the route to national salvation in the context of global knowledge wars is through the survival of the fittest, based on an extension of parental choice in a market of competing schools, colleges and universities (Ball, 1993). The result has been a drive towards the achievement of specified outcomes and adoption of standardised teaching models. The emphasis is less on community and equity, and rather more on individual advancement and the need to satisfy investors and influential consumers. Education has come to resemble a private rather than a public good. Smith says, "As might be expected, such marketisation and commodification has led to significant privatisation of education in a number of countries" (2002:4). The privatisation of education has seen new players on the education scene. Private companies are increasingly taking an active role in the management of education (Wrigley, 2003). In the United States for example, over 1000 state schools have been contracted out to private companies (Monbiot, 2001: 336). Similarly, in England Educational Action Zones (EAZs) have had significant corporate involvement (Smith, 2002). Ozga elaborates on the reasons for the creation of the EAZs:

A good example—indeed a harbinger—of direct private sector involvement in education provision, management and governance is the policy for the creation of EAZs, first established in England in late 1998. Their objectives were to raise achievement in disadvantaged areas through a combination of educational and social interventions. Zones consisted of local clusters of around 20 schools, both primary and secondary schools, working in partnership with parents, businesses and other local groups to tackle disadvantage and improve standards ...

It was claimed that zones would work because they would be strongly led by businesses, who were encouraged to bring in new skills, experience, funding and radical ways of working in education. (Ozga, 2002:337)

Another new feature which characterises the education system in the USA and Britain is what the markets call “branding”. As Monbiot (2001:331) put it, there are many ways of making money from formal education, “but the most widespread is the use of the school as advertising medium”. A good example here is Channel One, a television network in USA. According to Apple (2000: 62), in this “reform” schools are offered a “free” satellite dish, two VCRs, and television monitors for each of their classrooms by a private media corporation. They are also offered free news broadcasts for these students. In return for the equipment and the news, all participating schools must sign a three-to-five year contract guaranteeing that their students will watch Channel One every day. The students do not only listen to news but also watch mandatory advertisements for major fast foods, athletic wear, and other corporations that students—by contract—must also watch. According to Apple (2000: 63), “the United States is one of the first nations in the world consciously to allow its youth to be sold as commodities to those corporations willing to pay the high price of advertising on Channel One to get guaranteed (captive) audience.”

There are many changes that have taken place in the education sector of developed countries as a result of globalisation forces. Educators have had to readjust to accommodate these changes. They have to learn new economic language. It is really a big challenge for educators.

Impact of Globalisation on Africa's education development

While these developments in developed countries are important and affect educational policy quite drastically, the changes wrought by globalisation in developing countries are even more significant. Among the most affected by the process of globalisation is Africa. Therefore we will now examine the impact of globalisation on Africa's education systems.

As the continent approached the close of the twentieth century, African countries had not achieved the long aspired to condition of socio-economic and political self-sufficiency. Despite massive national resource investments coupled with donor assistance through aid, there was very little to show by way of development. In many parts of the continent, especially the Sub-Saharan region, the initial gains made following decolonisation had disappeared, resulting in economic and social stagnation, and in a good number of cases, disintegration through civil strife (Castells, 1998; Chossudovsky, 1997).

Education occupied centre stage with intense effort and enthusiasm during the decolonisation process because of the belief that it held the key to unlocking the door to Africa's political and economic development (Makulu, 1971). In the 1950s, for example, P.C. Lloyd initiated scholarly debates over the kind of modernity that a highly educated African elite would bring to politics and society in the independent Africa, while J. Coleman provided regional experts with some theoretical foundations for their studies of the ways in which education and development were interrelated (Boyle, 1999). It was on this basis that there was a rapid growth in certain aspects of education at the time when most African countries achieved their independence. Consequently, a reasonable proportion of the populations enjoyed access to primary education and the benefits of functional literacy. The creation of state-wide systems of education in the region, despite the challenge presented for educators and the burden it presented for state budgets, stands as one of the principal developmental achievements of African governments in the post-independence era (Tenga, 1999). However, among the major repercussions of the SAPs has been a decline in both public and household resources allocated to education. The

World Bank's restrictions on educational expenditure, coupled with the decline in government revenue emanating from economic crisis, have crippled most governments' capacity to expand and provide quality education. This is evident in all levels of education systems in terms of declining enrolments and acute shortages of teaching and learning materials (Tenga, 1999).

The next section will examine the role of the World Bank and IMF in shaping education policy for Africa.

The World Bank and Education Development in Africa

The most visible impact of globalisation on education in developing countries stems from the imposition of structural adjustment policies. Structural adjustment policies are directly linked to globalisation to the extent that all strategies of development are now linked to imperatives of creating stability for foreign capital. In other words, given the insurmountable obstacles to raising sufficient capital internally, there was no other choice for developing countries especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa than to adapt to policies that systematically undercut the capacity of governments to formulate educational policies that enhance educational quality.

Since the early 1980s SAPs, put in place by the World Bank and the IMF in African countries have been the norm. SAPs introduced no-nonsense neoliberal discipline and obliged governments to integrate their national economies into the global one. The nature of these SAPs has been well stated by Chossudovsky who calls them the IMF menu:

The same menu of budgetary austerity, devaluation, trade liberalisation and privatisation is applied simultaneously in 100 indebted countries (one size fits them all). Debtor nations forgo economic sovereignty and control over fiscal and monetary policy, the Central Bank and the Ministry of Finance are reorganised (often with complicity of the local bureaucracies), state institutions are undone and an "economic tutelage"

is established by the international financial institutions (IFIs). Countries which do not conform to the IMF's "performance targets" are blacklisted. (Chossudovsky, 1997:35).

So, most of the countries in Africa have adhered to the SAPs dictates of the World Bank and IMF. Some of these economic measures have affected governments' ability to mobilise resources for real investment in social sectors like education. In some cases the conditionalities of the SAPs have resulted in deep cuts on the educational budgets. As a consequence of the SAPs, most of the national currencies plummeted against the major world currencies. The liberalisation and privatisation of the economies have been accompanied by retrenchments of the workforce and employment prospects have not arisen. The economic changes have affected education investments at the household levels, making it difficult for many families to meet the educational needs of their children. In the face of these harsh economic changes, most governments in Africa have lost credibility with their people.

If the hyperglobalist view of globalisation concerning the demise of the nation-state appears to be true anywhere, it is in these countries which have been implementing SAPs. In Zambia for example, the IMF has attached an officer who is based at the Ministry of Finance headquarters to ensure that its package is implemented according to the prescription. This might be the trend in other countries, which have been implementing the SAPs. There is evidence that African governments tried to resist the SAPs, but because of their vulnerability, their views were not respected. In 1980 for example, the African countries evolved the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) which drew up the Africa's priority Programme for recovery, and the United Nations' (UN) Programme of action for recovery and development. These were aimed at restructuring and transforming African economies towards long-term self-reliance and self-sustaining development. The document was adopted by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and subsequently in 1989, by the UN General Assembly as the African Alternative Framework by a vote of 137 countries, with only the US voting against it (Odora-Hoppers, 1999)

In another effort to counter the socio-economic distortions by the World Bank/United Nations Development Programme report on Africa's Adjustment and Growth in the 1980s which in effect obliged African governments to implement the SAPs, a response was mobilised through the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) which produced a critique of the report, entitled 'African Alternatives to Structural Adjustment Programmes: A framework for Transformation and Recovery' in 1989 (Odora-Hoppers, 1999). The World Bank and the IMF, which continued with business as usual, ignored the two African initiatives, adopting SAPs with their overriding concern with fiscal and financial balances.

As a result of the rejection of the African initiatives, the World Bank and the IMF now virtually define and control development of most African countries, and education is one of the sectors that has fallen under such control. The World Bank has assumed the duty and responsibility to guide and direct policies, projects and programmes in education (Odora-Hoppers, 1999). All the donors, including the Nordic countries, seem to agree to have their policies co-ordinated and decided by the thinking of the World Bank (Brock-Utne, 2000). This has meant an end to all possibilities of any external aid to education in Africa, without the World Bank/IMF's seal of approval. Previously, some bilateral donor organisations, particularly the Nordic countries, had rescued a number of African countries from the tough conditionalities of the Bank and the IMF, like the introduction of school fees, privatisation of secondary schools or cost-sharing in higher education. These conditions were seen to be not only unfavourable for African development, but also to be against the policies of independent bilateral donor organisations (Tenga, 1999).

With an all-encompassing mandate of the Western powers, especially the USA, the World Bank /IMF are now the key players in Africa's educational scene. There are the architects of different policy documents related to education reform. They are very few, if any, education sector policy documents that originate from the Education Ministries of the respective African governments. Such World Bank education sector papers directly influence the education policies of the countries that are recipients of loans from the World Bank or any other bilateral donor of the industrialised countries. The World Bank

has produced many education policy documents. Among them, is one solely dedicated to Sub-Saharan Africa entitled, "Education Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalisation, and Expansion". This document was released in 1987 and gave details of further development of the education sector in Africa. The World Bank and the IMF seemed and still seem to be convinced that the market-economy would solve the economic problems in Sub-Saharan Africa. "As structural adjustment of African economies is achieved and liberalisation is institutionalised, markets will work better" (World Bank, 1987:113).

It is clear here that the World Bank is an agent of the global markets and this contradicts its professed role of poverty reduction. The major emphases of the policy document are:

- privatisation of education
- cost-sharing
- restoration of quality of education

The proposed reforms are a clear articulation of neoliberal views. As Apple (2000) put it, for neoliberals, what is private is necessarily good and what is public is necessarily bad. Unfortunately, applying such a principle in the education systems of the Sub-Saharan region creates a lot of problems for the governments. The governments have wanted to look at education as a social service and a right for all people and have wanted to use education to eliminate regional and class differences instead of creating such differences. However, the World Bank was advocating application of market-economic principles of liberalisation and privatisation also to the social service sectors. In line with this thinking the World Bank advocated the establishment of more private schools at the primary and secondary school level. This policy option creates a dual school-system where the elite have their children in private schools with good salaries for teachers and enough instructional materials while the government-financed schools continue to have major problems and to be poorly financed. According to Brock-Utne (1993), the consequences of such a policy are an elitist school system for the few, and miserable educational

conditions for the masses. Unfortunately, this is what is obtaining in some countries, both in developed and developing countries.

Similarly, the policy of cost-sharing has had undesirable effects. Many children from a poor background either left or could not access school as a result of this policy. A mother of six children from Zambia had this to say:

All my children of school-going age do not go to school because we can't afford to pay for all those things required in school. There was a time they used to go to school but those were better days. Now we have to eat and pay rent. So, instead of going to school, they go round this place doing some piecework. They fetch water for people and are paid K150 or K200 (£1=K3000). (Chigunta et al., 1998:24).

This policy is likely to have disadvantaged more girls than boys, as the following story seems to indicate. Misozi, the oldest among four boys and three girls left school at the age of 11 to help feed the family and here is her experience:

“Everyone in my house has to sell milk and tomatoes on the road to raise money to buy food”, says 16 year-old Misozi, “there is never enough money for anything else, even school; only my brothers go to school, my sisters remain on the road with me”. (Chigunta et al., 1998:26).

The World Bank was aware of the effect that the policy of cost sharing was going to have in as far as equity issues were concerned. They acknowledged this fact in part:

It is probably inevitable that parents' contribution to the costs of primary education, and particularly secondary education, will increase despite very real concerns about the impact of this on overall equity and efficiency. (World Bank, 1987:95).

One would suggest that the privatisation policy and that of cost sharing is likely to lead to an increase in gender inequalities in education. Girls are likely to have been disadvantaged by these policies. We know that when difficult choices have to be made about who to educate in a family in an African setting especially in rural areas, the boys will be educated, not the girls.

The World Bank was again aware of the impact that these policies would have on the education of girls and so made a suggestion about how to cushion such impact:

Governments can reduce the private costs of girls' education relative to boys' by, for example, providing girls with free books and other instructional materials, charging them with lower tuition fees, or recovering less of the boarding and welfare services from girls' family than boys'. (World Bank, 1993:85).

The suggestion made by the Bank is a contradiction of the Bank's policy on removal of all subsidies by governments. In fact the Bank encouraged governments in the third world to reduce funding on social services such as education. Therefore, the suggestion by the bank that governments should subsidise girls' education was a subtle way of shifting responsibility and thus blame governments for girls who failed to access education as a result of user fees. However, the World Bank might be performing its designated role as suggested by Klees:

The Bank is not evil; the people who work there, as I said earlier, are well intentioned. Yet if you see the world as I do, as structured to yield poverty, inequality, and oppression through capitalism, patriarchal, racist, and other structures, the Bank becomes a major player in their reproduction – through its policies, discussed above, and through neglect and pretence. (Klees, 2002:468).

While it might be admitted that the quality of education was becoming poor in the region, due to many factors, the World Bank's emphasis on restoring quality was more of an excuse to implement policies that would integrate Sub-Saharan Africa into the globalised economy.

The repercussions of the World Bank /IMF initiated SAPs in developing countries are now more than obvious. This is evident in the organised demonstrations against its meetings worldwide. The demonstrations seem to have a positive impact on the Bank. For example, it is now advocating the removal of all user fees at primary school level as the following statement shows:

Universal primary completion is a top World Bank priority, expressed in the Bank's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals. The Bank has made it abundantly clear in its policy statements that it does not support user fees for tuition in primary education and has in recent years actively supported fee abolition in countries, mainly in Africa, in which fees appear to represent an obstacle to enrolment. (Kattan & Burnett, 2004:4).

The Bank's restrictions on educational expenditure, coupled with the on-going economic crisis, have crippled African governments' ability to provide education for their people. Many girls fail to access education and if they do, they drop out of school in larger numbers than boys do (UNDP, 1995).

So far, the picture portrayed of the World Bank is negative. The World Bank, however, has a positive aspect regarding its contribution to educational development in Africa. At Independence most African countries needed to expand their education infrastructure to accommodate more students in their schools and tertiary institutions and to meet the demand for the much-needed human resource. The World Bank was willing to help the new nations to expand their education infrastructure. The Bank built many schools and colleges, which helped to increase enrolment figures. These structures will remain a

testimony of the Bank's contribution to Africa's education sector. Among the beneficiaries of the World Bank's early effort in the education sector were women who studied at these institutions built by the World Bank. Even now there are many girls and women who receive education at these institutions. Reminding the Bank of its positive image in Africa could form the basis for new partnership and renegotiations.

Although the World Bank and IMF have been blamed for the stagnation or deterioration of education in Africa, the political leadership on the continent should be blamed too. High levels of corruption among leaders have meant that funds that should have been spent on developmental projects were spent for personal purposes. As has been recently observed, it is a matter of regret, that according to recent estimates, the amount of money held by African political leaders in foreign accounts is said to be equivalent to the size of the African external debt (Mafeje, 1999).

The next section will explore the impact of globalisation on women's education.

Impact of Globalisation on Women's Education

The real wealth of a nation is its people – both women and men. And the purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. This simple truth is too often forgotten in the pursuit of material and financial wealth. (UNDP, 1995:11).

Globalisation has been characterised by rising disparities within nations and between nations. The most persistent of these has been the gender disparity. The world entered the twenty-first century celebrating the triumph of global capitalism but the celebration has been marred by the rise of the fourth world within which women are the most affected (Castells, 1998; Blackmore, 2000). The main features of globalisation, namely liberalisation, privatisation, and deregulation of national economies in order to facilitate the free flow of capital, goods and services, have subjected many people especially

women to untold misery. According to the UNDP 1995 Human Development Report, women still constitute 70% of the world's poor and two-thirds of the world's illiterates.

Globalisation lacks the mechanisms to address issues of social justice. Its pursuance of market oriented policies makes it insensitive to issues of social justice. As Blackmore put it:

What is missing in many analyses of globalisation is a closer analysis of the 'market'... There is no single market to which all have access either as producers or consumers. Markets are based upon inequality, envy, greed, desire, and choice. Not all individuals have the same material capacity to exercise their choices. There is not a level playing field of a global market in which all contenders (individuals and nations) compete equally, but rather a set of interrelated, interlinked markets with little movement between them ... Markets are not neutral, but are social settings with value systems that reward some individual behaviours and not others depending upon their positional goods (such as human capital acquired through education). (Blackmore, 2000a:478).

Unfortunately, markets riddled with such problems and complexities have become major players in education management and policy formulation in both developed and developing countries. Education has been converted to a competitive market place, attracting investors whose top priority is profit generation. In such a situation, issues of equity are overshadowed by obsession with profit. Disadvantaged groups such as women have been left to the mercy of the markets. A good example here is what happened in one of the states in the United States of America:

In California, for instance, a recent binding referendum that prohibited the use of affirmative action policies in state government, in university admission policies, and so forth, was passed overwhelmingly because "reprivatisers" spent an exceptional amount of money on advertising

campaigns that labelled such policies as “out of control” and as improper government intervention into decisions involving “individual merit”. (Apple, 2000:66).

Such decisions benefit those with power and money who can manipulate any system to their advantage. The disadvantaged groups in California without both power and money were unable to have any impact in the referendum. Their interests and hopes, which were addressed by the affirmative action policy, were shattered. They were further pushed on to the fringes of society while global markets continued to gain ground. One would imagine that the majority of these were women.

The gender disparity in education has been compounded by the pressure that globalisation exerts on the nation state. As hyperglobalists claim, globalisation has led to the demise of the nation state or reconstitution of the nation state, as transformationalists would prefer to call it. The weakened position of the nation state has a negative impact on the education of women, more specifically girls. According to Henry (2001), the interests of women are generally served better when the state takes a strong interventionist stance. Blackmore takes a similar view:

...Previously, the welfare state, positioned against the market, was the means by which feminists (and other social movements) made equity claims. Now as the state becomes just another market player, state legitimacy is less dependent upon meeting social democratic claims. At the same time, the state has simultaneously increased control over education policy while dismantling public education systems with the rise of self-management (for example, charter schools and self-governing schools) in market oriented systems. (Blackmore, 2000b:139)

So, the nation state played a major role in the promotion of women’s interests in education and other aspects of social life. However, the advent of the current wave of globalisation has compromised this position of the nation state. The interests of women

especially in education are no longer actively attended to by the nation state. As Blackmore (2000:135) put it, “Yet gender is remarkably absent from mainstream discussions of globalisation, just as it is from the policy texts on educational reform and restructuring”. Due to pressure that globalisation puts on a nation state, women’s interests are thus positioned in most instances as against economic interests (Blackmore, 2000a, 2002; Henry, 2001; Obasi, 1997).

The case of Australia as analysed by Henry shows how gender equity policies have been affected by globalisation. According to Henry (2001), the past two decades saw a vigorous development of gender equity policies in Australia. She believes that most Western countries also paid attention to gender matters in education during this period. However, the situation seems to have changed:

In recent times, however, the impetus for reform appears to have slowed down. For example, in Australia, gender equity infrastructure has been wound back as responsibility for gender reform has become progressively mainstreamed. Thus in many education arenas, separate gender equity units have been integrated into sections dealing more generically with equity issues; in policy terms girls are no longer identified as a specific “equity target group”. (Henry, 2001:88).

This makes it very difficult to account for gender equity as it is now competing with other equity issues. It makes it easier for the nation state to play down the demands for gender equity, as it would be pre-occupied with attending to other equity issues. The changes in Australia might be a common trend in most Western countries. The changes in gender equity policies as a result of globalisation pressure on the nation state (reconstituted nation state) are not in the interest of the education of women.

Some of the problems arising from the weak nation state that affect the education of girls are reduced funding by governments to the education sector and increasing privatisation of education. The reduced funding to education, especially in most developing countries,

led to the introduction of user fees in schools and tertiary institutions, which were hitherto free. This impacted negatively on the education of girls:

Girls and women bear the brunt of the withdrawal of state funds because women are largely responsible for the family and because girls more than boys are withdrawn from school and into domestic labour when the money is short. (Blackmore, 2000a:473).

The problem of user fees in schools mainly affected girls in developing countries where compulsory education for all school-aged children has not yet been achieved. It is girls who are withdrawn from school when families experience financial difficulties and cannot educate all the children. The problem of user fees in developing countries has been attributed to the SAPs of the IMF and World Bank (Brock-utne, 1993, Obasi, 1997, Tenga, 1999, Chigunta et al, 1998). Obasi (1997) conducted research on Structural Adjustment and Gender Access to Education in Nigeria. Her study focused on enrolments in Secondary Grammar Schools in the Imo state of Nigeria. The study covered the period from 1977 to 1990. Her findings were that the participation rate for girls in grammar schools was lower than the rate for boys up to the 1980/81 school year. However, girls' participation rate in Grammar schools dramatically rose in the academic year 1981/82 outstripping that of boys. She attributed this dramatic increase to the nation-wide implementation of a 6-year programme of free and compulsory Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Nigeria from 1976. The policy of free and compulsory UPE saw a huge increase in primary school enrolments of both boys and girls, which resulted in parallel enrolment increases in secondary schools in the 1981/82 school year. This positive trend for girls could not be sustained because Nigeria implemented the World Bank/IMF SAPs in 1986. The implementation of SAPs saw diminished budgetary allocation to the education sector, and re-introduction of user fees. These measures affected the enrolment of girls more than they did for boys. According to Obasi, her findings were consistent with reported findings elsewhere in "adjusting countries". SAPs have become an impediment to girls' education in developing countries.

The policy of privatising education is not in the interests of the poor, especially women who constitute the bulk of the poor. The private education institutions tend to undermine the poorly resourced public institutions. According to Brown and Lauder (1999), the privatisation of education serves to encourage the creation of underfunded sink schools for the poor and havens of excellence for the rich. They further indicate that the school system in both Britain and the United States of America no longer reflects a commitment to open competition, but shows gross inequalities in educational provision, opportunities and life chances. A similar scenario is emerging in developing countries where the World Bank and IMF are promoting the growth of private sector participation in educational provision. The reasons advanced by the Bank for its promotion of private sector participation in educational provision appear to be for the benefit of the poor and the improvement of quality:

Beneficiaries who pay a share might monitor more carefully the quality of services they receive. And in principle, fees and other contributions paid by non-poor beneficiaries could free up public resources for targeting to the poor. (World Bank, 1999:19).

However, as already noted, the main agenda of the Bank in promoting private sector participation in education is not so much its concern for the poor but to open up the education sector to global markets. The reasons advanced by the Bank were only meant to convince the governments in developing countries to open up their education systems to the global markets. The privatisation of education in developing countries like Zambia has worked to the disadvantage of the state run institutions, which cater for the poor (Alexander, 1998; Hill, 2003; Bonal, 2002). The increase in the number of private schools has led to the exodus of qualified teachers from the poorly resourced state run schools to the well resourced private schools, where they also receive more lucrative personal emoluments. In a number of countries, this has led to serious shortage of teachers in state run schools and this has had an adverse effect on the quality of education provided (Lawson & Fry, 2004). All this impacts negatively on the poor whose children receive education from state run schools. It can be argued that such undesirable

consequences of globalisation work against women, who in most cases are in a disadvantaged position (Blackmore, 2000a, 2000b; Clark & Allison, 1989).

The reduction in budgetary allocation to the education sector by governments and the policy of privatisation of education can be blamed on the neoliberal policies of globalisation. The advocates of neoliberal policies in education have great faith in privatisation. They argue that privatisation encourages competition, which leads to desirable outcomes such as efficiency, accountability, transparency, and effective management of the education sector (World Bank, 1987). However, there is concern among teachers about the negative effects of the neoliberal policies on the education of girls. Their concern is that girls are less likely to attend school especially in countries where poverty and cultural differences preclude girls from education (Vongalis, 2002:5).

Globalisation does not only disadvantage girls, but women in general. When the World Bank stopped funding adult education programmes in developing countries in the early 1990s, the majority of those who suffered as a result of this decision were women who constitute two-thirds of illiterates. As Brine (1999: 9) put it, "Globalisation is a gendered, classed and racialised process: a process that systematically subordinates different women in different ways". She proves this by her analysis of training programmes of unemployed working-class women in Britain, funded by the European Commission. Brine argues that these training programmes are not tailored to empower working-class women. In short these programmes are sub-standard, hence the title of her book, "underEducating Women: Globalising Inequality". The training does not generally equip these women with the skills that would enable them to gain access to the competitive high skill labour market. Although a few may do, many would be employed in low-wage jobs. Apple (1986) also found that women were overrepresented in less skilled and low-paid jobs.

According to Brine, there is a political agenda behind benefit-linked training programmes:

Benefit-linked training programmes for unemployed women and men have become a key part of the state discourse on 'the unemployed' and despite in some instances being educationally or economically 'empowering', they represent a punitive state policy towards unemployed people – a policy that enables state surveillance. (Brine, 1999:144).

Globalisation does not only disadvantage girls and unemployed women. It works to undermine and impoverish employed women as well. This is most evident in the teaching profession, which has a large number of female teachers. Most female teachers generally seem to be confined to the classroom while their male counterparts are able to occupy administrative positions, which enable them to get higher pay. For example, in Britain only 18% of primary school teachers are men, yet nearly half the headteachers are men. In secondary schools, there is a 50/50 split of male and female teachers, yet only 20% of headteachers are women (BBC News, 2002). This was noted also by Vongalis (2000) who called it the 'feminisation' of the teaching force. Vongalis observed that this had a negative impact on pay and conditions as well as the lack of female representation at the upper levels of education management and leadership in policy and institutions. Women occupy the lower ranks of the education strata where they earn less. As Apple puts it:

In general, there seems to be a relatively strong relationship between the entry of large numbers of women into an occupation and the slow transformation of the job. Pay is often lowered and the job is regarded as low-skilled so that control is 'needed' from the outside. (Apple, 1986:57)

Apart from the low pay that teachers get, there is a sense in which they have lost control of what is to be taught and how it should be taught (Vongalis & Seddon, 2001). In the past teachers were actively involved in the formulation of the curriculum and how the curriculum was taught. In short the teachers were in control of what was taught and how it was taught (Gewirtz, 2002). Globalisation has altered this arrangement. Teachers

nowadays no longer determine the curriculum; it is passed on to them by those who formulate it. The account of the teacher recorded by Gewirtz amplifies this point:

Good teaching is about teachers being given some autonomy, some opportunity to experiment, to try new things out and there's not very much of that anymore ... I get very cross when somebody publishes a pamphlet saying, you will make sure you've got this, that and the other ... It's become too prescriptive ... you've got to make sure that this, this, this, and this is done and tick this box and fill in this form. It is just like, what am I doing ... do they need me or a robot? (Gewirtz, 2002:77).

Indirectly, the markets influence the contents of the curriculum and, to a large extent, the way it is taught.

The work of teachers has changed significantly in the current era of globalisation. There is what Apple calls intensification of work. "Intensification represents one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educational workers are eroded" (Apple, 1986: 41). This is evident in the work overload of teachers. Teachers do more paper work nowadays than before and this hardly gives them time to relax. As some teachers put it:

There are days when I leave here and I haven't stood still for a second and I haven't had one minute to myself to even go to the toilet or to just think (Gewirtz, 2002:74).

I'm squeezed dry for the working week. I've got these reports to write and these assessments to look through. The paperwork that's been generated by ... the DFE (Department for Education) in terms of monitoring ... achievement, it takes up so much time that people rightly think, 'Well, I've done my whack ... It's interfering with my personal life and time outside the school so hugely that I don't really feel ...

inclined to do ... extra things for the students after school'. (Gewirtz, 2002:81).

The work overload is as a result of the insistence by the markets for more transparency, accountability and efficiency in the education system (World Bank, 1987). To be able to meet these benchmarks, teaching has been modified and is now based on outcomes, which are pre-determined (Beckmann & Cooper, 2004). This has made evaluation procedures complex, requiring a lot more effort from teachers. Ball refers to these procedures as "the terrors of performance and efficiency – performativity" (Ball, 1998:190).

It is due to these changes that the locus of power and control is no longer with teachers but lies elsewhere. According to Apple (1986), these changes are aimed at eroding the privileges of teachers. He further suggests that these changes in education, while perhaps not consciously done, need to be interpreted as part of a longer history of attacks on women's labour, since the vast majority of teachers in the United States as in so many other nations are women.

Michael Apple's account shows that the patriarchal agenda to undermine the interests of women is at the centre of the reforms and restructuring process currently going in the education sector world-wide. Henry (2001:96) holds a similar view, "...One could also add that globalising bureaucrats are overwhelmingly men (certainly this was true of the OECD) and their market liberal agendas are patriarchal".

If the reforms and the restructuring process currently taking place in education are a response to globalisation, whose patriarchal agenda is the marginalisation of women, then there is a danger that girls' education will lose the attention it had generated in the international fora in the previous decades. Otherwise, the discussion of gender equity in international fora may just be rhetoric, as it appears to have been in the latter half of the twentieth-century.

In view of the above, globalisation poses a big challenge for the feminists and those who are empathetic with the plight of women. Considering that the nation state, through which lobbying for gender equity was possible and effective, has been reconfigured to serve the interests of globalisation, there is need to find alternative ways of lobbying. The new ways of lobbying for gender equity must be either at regional or global level.

Globalisation and Education Policy

The ideology associated with globalisation is that of 'market forces' economics (Scoppio, 2000; Kamat, 2000; Stromquist, 2002; Klees, 2002). The dominant actors on the global markets are the transnational corporations. As noted earlier, the focus of transnational corporations is profit, so that they show lack of respect for social justice, notwithstanding their profound impact on social justice through their employment practices, environmental practices, and as a consequence of their economic power, their considerable political influence (Stromquist, 2002).

The process of globalisation has dominated education policy in both developed and developing countries (Alexander, 1998; Bonal, 2001; Maguire, 2002; Silova, 2002). Globalisation produces a particular kind of transnational steering of policy, with enhanced influence to the supranational organisations (Lingard, 2000). Lingard notes that:

Globalisation has seen the creation of some supranational political organisations at the subglobal level, with the European Union being the best example. Other international organisations such as the World Bank, IMF, UN, UNESCO, and OECD are multilateral international organisations also being affected by globalisation, as well as being in some cases (such as the World Bank and IMF) largely "institutionalising mechanisms" for market-liberal versions of global economics. (Lingard, 2000:92).

As Vongalis and Seddon suggest:

The impact of global change on education has heightened awareness of transnational policies that emanate from global agencies, such as the OECD, World Bank and UNESCO. These agencies define broad development agenda for education and training which 'travel' from their source in specific agencies, and exert pressure on national and local education policy and practice. (Vongalis & Seddon, 2001:1).

Bonal makes similar observations:

In the context of globalisation and hegemonic neoliberalism, the state's ability to legitimate the economic system and its own policies cannot be assumed as a positive automatic effect. The economic and political conditions that once framed state action have changed, and it is reasonable to think that the emergence of a new accumulation regime implies also a shift in the traditional strategies used by the national state to legitimate its own policy-making. (Bonal, 2001:2).

Deregulation and privatisation characterise supranational organisations' policy orientation. In the UK as Ozga notes:

The Conservative UK governments of 1979-97 legislated to break up state monopolies of provision and encourage consumer choice, to remove state subsidy and ensure 'pure' competition. The process required simultaneous deregulation and centralisation, as it created the conditions in which markets in education could flourish. (Ozga, 2002:335).

Kamat made similar observations:

From the early 1980s, large scale reforms in K-12 were carried out in England under the Thatcher government. This has been followed by similar set of reforms in Australia, US, and Canada. The reforms usually include the standardisation of the curriculum and assessment procedures making teaching “teacher-proof”, local management schemes, devolution of budgetary responsibilities, and decentralisation of power from central government to local communities and individual schools through vouchers and charter schools, and increased corporate investment in schools. (Kamat, 2000:7)

It is worth noting that in neoliberal terms decentralisation often means turning over tasks but not decision-making or funds to the local level. There is firmer state control and monitoring through the standardisation of the curriculum and assessment procedures.

Public services are incompatible with neoliberal ideology; therefore, supranational organisations promote privatisation of public services as Wrigley states:

The privatisation of essential public services is being vigorously promoted across the world by the lead agencies of finance capital, the World Bank and IMF, and the gulf between rich and poor is deepening. (Wrigley, 2003:9).

Supranational organisations have actually helped to open the education sector to transnational corporations and other business actors to participate in education provision. As Wrigley states:

The business world has been given a direct influence in the development of schooling, particularly in the inner cities, through the Education Action Zones, through direct ownership of city academies or by sponsoring specialist schools. Education development is increasingly

being defined as a source of profit rather than public benefit. (Wrigley, 2003:66)

There is also demand from business for schools to produce students who are suitable for jobs in global markets. The statement below clarifies this point:

There is, of course, a business driven agenda for the creation of the right sort of human capital that has produced various recommendations from employers' groups for the organisation and management of education in order to produce improvement in national systems that better meet employers' needs. The main elements of these improvements are (predictably) testing, benchmarking, competition and choice, lifelong learning and active citizenship, preparation for work, autonomy in school management, improved leadership, and performance related pay for teachers. (Ozga, 2002:33)

The formulation and implementation of education policy is no longer a preserve of governments through their ministries of education as the statement below shows:

Educational policy is no longer, if it ever was, the product of the nation state alone. In Europe, significant policy actors in education are working today face to face and virtually in joint governmental projects and networking, translating, mediating and constructing educational policies. (Lawn & Lingard, 2002:290).

Another manifestation of transnational steering of education policy is that education provision is becoming increasingly hierarchical, both within countries and across nations. Whitty, Power and Halpin (1998) conducted a research project covering five countries, namely Australia, USA, Sweden, New Zealand and UK (England & Wales). Their focus was exploration of the effects of the introduction of quasi-markets into education systems of these countries. They concluded that the introduction of quasi-markets in these

countries' education systems exacerbates racialised school hierarchies. Other authors have made similar observations that marketisation of education exacerbates inequalities (Lauder et al., 1999; Ball et al., 1994; Gillborn & Youdell, 2000). According to Alexander (1998), children of low income and racial or ethnic minority families are "ghettoized in public school systems that underperform their private sector counterparts. According to Hill (2003), due to marketisation of education, poor schools have got poorer in terms of relative education results and in terms of total income. On the other hand, rich schools in the same terms have got richer. Hill further argues:

And at the level of university entry, the (racialised) class based hierarchicalisation of universities is exacerbated by 'top-up' fees for entry to elite universities-pricing the poor out of the system-or at least-into the lower division of higher education. (Hill, 2003:6).

Kenway et al. examined the market and its impact on social justice in Australia. They argue:

Markets are not premised on the assumption of fairness or equality. While their proponents make the claim that there is general benefit from competitiveness self-interest, they also argue that those who play according to the rules and are best at the game deserve the greatest rewards. Ultimately, markets operate according to the logic of profit, only in certain sets of interests and let the 'weak' go to the wall. They work to produce a selfish, individualistic culture in which the main moral imperative is gratification, not the collective good. Of course critical policy analysts have been making this point for sometime, although obviously not to much avail. None the less, the point stands and is supported. However, we are concerned that postmodern markets in education will both generate and obscure forms of injustice that are significantly different from those noted above. We suspect that certain of these injustices will be even more difficult to address precisely

because the global markets which generate them stand outside the state and therefore outside our normal channels of redress. In many senses this is a devil we do not know. (Kenway et al., 1993:120).

The educational reforms and policies described above are driven and perpetuated by the hyperglobalist view that globalisation is an inevitable and uncontrollable phenomenon by nation states (Reich, 1992; Ohmae, 1990). Gewirtz (2001) refers to it as simplistic, deterministic and inevitabilistic constructions of globalisation. According to Gewirtz (2001), this view of globalisation has been used to perpetuate policies of marketisation, privatisation and stratification in the UK. Although this version of globalisation has continued to influence education policy-making in the UK, Gewirtz points out that it has been discredited in the academic literature.

So far the discussion of globalisation's effect on education policy has been restricted to developed countries. However, global policies affect developing countries to an even greater extent than they do with developed countries. According to Kamat (2000:7), "an almost identical set of reforms and discourse on education (referring to education reforms in the 1980s by the Thatcher government on page 43-44 in this study) has been introduced by the IMF and World Bank in various countries of the Southern and Eastern hemisphere as part of a comprehensive restructuring of state and economy in the third world". Kamati further points out that:

This moment in the history of education is also remarkable for the nature of reforms that from one country to the next bear an extraordinary degree of resemblance to one another. (Kamat, 2000:1).

It is no wonder that Jones and Alexiadou (2001) refer to this set of policies as 'travelling' policy. In this sense travelling policy refers to supranational and transnational interventionist strategies in education and their inclination toward convergence (Jones & Alexiadou, 2001).

The way countries respond to travelling policy or transnational steering of education policy varies. Developed countries have the capacity to mediate travelling policy to accommodate local imperatives (Ball, 1998; Ozga, 2003; Lingard, 2000; Bottery, 2001). Developing countries as already noted are limited by their indebtedness to mediate travelling policy effectively. As Klausenitzer puts it:

The countries of the South and the former Soviet Union were dependent on loans and had to accept the conditions for restructuring the state and its public tasks in the IMF framework of structural adjustment programmes. (Klausenitzer, 2001:2).

However, this is not to say that nation states in the developing world have disappeared completely as postulated by the deterministic view of globalisation. There is capacity to “indigenise” policy through drawing on ‘embedded’ policy and practice. According to Jones and Alexiadou (2001), embedded policy is local policy initiatives at either national or regional or local level to recontextualise travelling policy on the basis of existing priorities and practices. Globalisation, as noted earlier, is contradictory in nature. It draws out deep-rooted beliefs and assumptions in resistance to homogenising travelling policy (Ozga, 2003; Ball, 1998). Bottery makes this point clear when he points out that:

By these various processes, states are forced to recognise that their economic policies - and through this, many of their policies –must pay heed to the requirements of forces beyond their borders to an extent not previously seen in their histories. Now such movement may be described in very deterministic terms, nation states being powerless in the face of such forces (e.g. Ohmae, 1995). Yet it is important to recognise that nation state responses are neither totally conditioned by such forces, nor are responses identical. (Bottery, 2001:4).

The question is, “What does all this mean for Zambia in its pursuit of social justice for women in education?” Zambia, being one of the HIPC’s, has been subjected to SAPs whose agenda was to incorporate the country into the global market. The surveillance by both the IMF and World Bank conditioned the country into complying with the dictates of the two institutions (Chigunta, 1998; Situmbeko & Zulu, 2004). This restricted the country’s capacity to act independently in terms of policy-making. The country’s capacity to address social justice concerns was severely restricted. The main focus was how to make the country’s economy competitive in the global market. Travelling policy dominated the country’s policy-making. Travelling policy as it has been argued earlier is in conflict with developing ideas of fairness and justice for women. Travelling policy in its economic manifestations may call forth a response that re-asserts deeply embedded forms of patriarchy to also resist fairness and equity for women and girls in education.

Summary

Due to the complexity of the concept ‘globalisation’, it is not possible to conclusively discuss it. Therefore, only certain aspects of globalisation have been discussed in this chapter. In the first place, an attempt was made to describe briefly the different approaches of explaining and understanding globalisation, namely the hyperglobalist, sceptical and transformationalist approaches. The discussion of these approaches culminated in the choice of the definition for globalisation. A brief look at the key features of globalisation was followed by discussion of the inconsistencies and contradictions that surround globalisation illustrated with some statistical evidence. The statistics showed that there is an enlarging gap between the rich countries of the north and the poor countries of the south. The rise of the fourth world described by Castells (1998) was seen as a contradiction of the process of globalisation. The discussion also explored the impact of globalisation on education with specific reference to education development in Africa as a response to IMF/World Bank’s SAPs. It was observed that, because of the pressure from globalisation forces, the education sector has been opened up to the participation of market forces and this does not seem to augur well for the traditional view of education as a public good. Further, it was observed that the reforms

in education in Africa induced by the SAPs, disadvantaged the children, especially girls, from poor families, who could not afford to pay user fees. The impact of globalisation on the education of women, and girls in particular was explored. Here it was found that globalisation works to the disadvantage of women's education, especially girls in developing countries. The literature available also showed that globalisation serves the patriarchal agenda in the continued marginalisation of women. Finally, travelling policy was examined.

CHAPTER TWO

PATRIARCHY AND ITS ROLE IN PERPETUATING GENDER INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION

Introduction

In the last thirty years women have come a long, long way. Our lives are nobler and richer than they were, but they are also fiendishly difficult...the contradictions women face have never been more bruising than they are now...On every side speechless women endure endless hardship, grief and pain in a world system that creates billions of losers for every handful of winners. It is time to get angry again. (Greer, 1999:3)

Greer's statement is indicative of the effects of globalisation on women's lives. For women in the third world, globalisation is associated with negative consequences. For them, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are institutions whose policies have subjected them to untold misery. Their patriarchal governments in pursuit of foreign investment have collaborated with these institutions to intensify their exploitation and oppression. In this chapter, we will show from the available literature that patriarchy in collusion with capitalism is responsible for the oppression of women. We will also show that patriarchy and capitalism perpetuate gender inequalities in education.

In Chapter One, the concept of globalisation and its impact on education especially that of women was explored. The conclusion drawn was that globalisation serves the patriarchal agenda in the continued marginalisation of women. The literature available also showed that the reforms and the restructuring process that have taken place and are on-going in education tend to exacerbate gender inequalities. It is therefore fitting in this



chapter to examine the concept patriarchy and the role it plays in perpetuating gender inequalities in education.

It will be important first to define the term patriarchy. The definition of the term patriarchy varies according to different strands of feminist theory. In view of this it will be necessary to discuss briefly a range of several feminist theories. This will be followed by the examination of the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. The discussion of the relationship between the two concepts is to strengthen the argument developed in the previous chapter. The discussion will finally focus on the role of patriarchy in perpetuating gender inequalities in education.

Patriarchy is a Greek word meaning 'rule of the father'. Put in another way, it encapsulates the supremacy of the father in a family and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line (COSATU, 2000). Patriarchy has been defined as the system of male domination over women in society (French, 1986; Eisler, 1990; Reeves & Baden, 2000). That domination takes different forms whether through discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, or violence. This can happen in the family, workplace and in broader society (Reeves & Baden, 2000). Since patriarchy is a system, that means it is socially constructed as opposed to patriarchal propaganda that it is natural.

Hartman (1997) defines patriarchy as:

a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women (1997: 103).

Hartman clarifies the terms in her definition as follows:

The material base of patriarchy is men's control over women's labour power. That control is maintained by excluding women from access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting

women's sexuality. Men exercise their control in receiving personal service work from women in not having to do housework or rear children, in having access to women's bodies for sex and in feeling powerful and being powerful. (Hartman, 1997:103-104).

While patriarchy has been defined in several ways, Walby (1990) gives a very concise definition of the concept. She defines patriarchy as:

a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (1990:20).

Although the definition of the term patriarchy varies according to different strands of feminist theory, they all agree on the fact that men dominate and oppress women.

Feminist Theories

Western female thought through the centuries has identified the relationship between patriarchy and gender inequality as crucial to women's subordinate position. In her book 'Theorising Patriarchy', Walby makes a very strong statement regarding the relationship between patriarchy and gender inequality:

During the course of the book I shall argue that the concept of 'patriarchy' is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality ... (1990:1)

For many years, patriarchy precluded women from having a legal or political identity. In UK, it was not until the late 19th and early 20th centuries that the suffrage campaigners succeeded in securing some legal and political rights for women (Bernard, 1989). By the middle of the 20th century, the emphasis had shifted from suffrage to social and economic equality in the public and private spheres and the feminist movement that sprang up

during the 1960s began to argue that women were oppressed by patriarchal structures (Ramazanoglu, 1989). While feminist thoughts about men oppressing women existed long before the 1960s through the works of authors such as Virginia Woolf, the main thrust of the feminist movement took place in the 1960s. The feminist theory that guided the feminist activities was composed of various groups of feminists of different persuasions such as radical, liberal, Marxist etc. However, before exploring feminist theories, a brief description of the term feminism will be given.

Feminism is a critique of the ways in which society through its political structures, economic stratification, internalised social constraints, and other coercive means works to abuse, disenfranchise, and otherwise harm and disempower women in particular and humanity as a whole. (www.treesong.org. 2004).

So, the main aim of the feminist movement is to correct this injustice to women. In the words of French:

Feminists believe that women are human beings, that the two sexes are (at least) equal in all significant ways, and that this equality must be publicly recognised. They believe that qualities traditionally associated with women – the feminine principle – are (at least) equal in value to those traditionally associated with men – the masculine principle – and that this equality must be publicly recognised. (French, 1986:477).

The statements above both indicate that value is placed on men while women are devalued and considered unimportant. The categorisation of the human race into superior (men) and inferior (women) is the patriarchal mindset (ideology). Therefore the essence of patriarchy is a pathological desire by men to control and dominate women and anything associated with them (French, 1986; Eisler, 1990).

It is clear that patriarchy is a violation of the basic dignity and agency of women. The phrase 'agency of women' has its roots in Sen's work. According to Sen (1999), the feminist movement in the past concentrated mainly on women's well-being (i.e. it had welfarist focus). However, Sen believes that the focus has changed to include the agency of women. The following excerpt from Sen's book "Development as Freedom" explains the meaning of the agency of women:

No longer the passive recipients of welfare – enhancing help, women are increasingly seen, by men as well as women, as active agents of change: the dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of both women and men. (Sen, 1999:189).

The agency of women is the essence of women's empowerment. It includes the abilities to make strategic choices and decisions that affect important life outcomes. As pointed out by Sen, it is important that women themselves are active agents rather than recipients of welfare.

Social transformation is at the core of feminism. Feminists view patriarchy as violation of human rights and in many respects harmful to both men and women. Although most men have generally viewed feminism negatively, its struggle is not only beneficial to women alone but to men as well. The vision of the feminist movement is social transformation with more sane, egalitarian societal structures and relationships. Feminists seek to change unequal power relations in society. In 'The Chalice and the Blade' (1990) Eisler emphasised the need for social transformation, the move from domination to partnership between men and women. In essence, Eisler was saying that men have to see that their own best interests are served when they honour the feminine. The ideal situation would be one based on reciprocity, the true masculine honours the true feminine, and vice versa.

Following this brief background on feminism, we can now explore feminist theories. Feminist engagement with theories of patriarchy criticised pre-existing theoretical positions and their ideological use, tracing theoretical progenitors of popular views about

gender, gender roles etc (Cooper, 1995; Raymond, 1980). Developing theories to explain how gender inequalities have their roots in ideologies of gender difference and hierarchical gender order, feminist theoretical concepts of patriarchy are able to explain and challenge gender inequality and the gendered division of labour in the private and social spheres (Seidman, 1994). They have done this by challenging concepts of gender, the family and the unequal division of labour underpinned by a theory of patriarchy that has come to reveal how it operates to subordinate women and privilege men, often at women's expense.

One author who has contributed much to the understanding of how patriarchy operates to achieve and maintain the gender inequalities is Silvia Walby. Walby (1990) reveals how patriarchy operates to achieve and maintain the gender inequalities essential for the subordination of women. She shows how it can operate differently in the private and public domain but toward the same end. She identifies patriarchy as having diverse forms and relationships between its structures in the public and private spheres, and yet still operates in a related fashion.

Walby's explanation sees the household production as being a key site of women's subordination but acknowledges that the domestic area is not the only one in which women participate. She shows how the concept of patriarchy is useful in explaining the relationship between women's subordination in the private and public areas by showing that they work equally to achieve this subordination as well as supporting, reflecting and maintaining patriarchy itself.

The strength of Walby's theory of patriarchy lies in the fact that she shows that the power of patriarchy is asserted in both the private and public sphere simultaneously supporting, reflecting, and maintaining itself regardless of the economic and social framework that prevails.

Walby's description of the relationship between patriarchy and structure demonstrates how inequalities in the public sphere for example the workplace, and inequality in the

home are two sides of the same coin and individual males are involved in the direct and indirect subordination of women simultaneously.

Walby's theory of patriarchy is very crucial to the understanding of gender inequalities in fields such as education. Her argument that the concept of patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality is very important for this thesis.

We will now briefly look at the feminist theories that have guided the feminist movement over the years. There are many feminist theories but the discussion here will be limited to the liberal, radical, Marxist and dual-systems theories.

Liberal feminists perceive a link between social norms of gender difference and male dominance (Seidman, 1994; Ramazanoglu, 1989). However, the weakness of the liberal feminist theory is that it does not identify the relations between the sexes as specific power relations (Weiner, 1994; Ramazanoglu, 1989; Walby; 1990). Their approach is based on demand for an all inclusive education provision and change to legal and legislative barriers to equal opportunity (Seidman, 1994).

Radical feminist theory emerged out of the dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of the liberal approach to address gender inequality in society (Seidman, 1994). "Radical feminists share a commitment to broad institutional changes and cultural changes beyond altering attitudes and laws" (Seidman, 1994:239). The weakness of this strand of feminism is that it assumes that gender oppression is uniform across time and space (Weiner, 1994; Ramazanoglu, 1994). Its critics reject such a universal concept, identifying the need for detailed historical and cultural analysis to understand gender-based oppression (Seidman, 1994).

The Marxist feminist theorists argued that gender inequality is shaped by capitalist development, thereby linking gender inequality with economic needs (Weiner, 1994; Hartman, 1997). Like Marx, they consider class as the most basic form of human conflict but this position was challenged by radical feminists according to whom, inequality does

not mean being like men (Sarup, 1993). The dual-systems feminist theory came into being as a response to the critique of the Marxist feminist theory by radical feminist theorists. Hartman (1997) shows the inadequacies of both the Marxist and radical feminist theories and proposes the need to weave them together in order to address the inadequacies of each theory. Therefore, the dual-systems feminist theory is the synthesis of the Marxist and radical feminist theories. According to Walby (1990), the dual-systems theory does not cover the full range of patriarchal structures. She observes that the theory gives very little space to the analysis of sexuality and violence.

Despite the differences in the feminist theories highlighted above, they complement each other as building blocks in their common cause of dismantling the patriarchal structures in society that are responsible for the oppression of women. They are united in their view that gender identities and roles are socially constructed and therefore can be changed. "If patriarchy had a specific beginning in history, it can also have an end" (Mies, 1986: 38). However, the diverse nature of the feminist theories may be the point of weakness for the feminist movement. Patriarchy being subtle can use gaps created by varying views of the feminist theories to continue in its quest to exploit and oppress women. In the next section, we shall consider the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism.

The relationship between Patriarchy and Capitalism

Mies gives a very good description of patriarchy in her book:

'Patriarchy' literally means the rule of fathers. But today's male dominance goes beyond the 'rule of fathers', it includes the rule of husbands, of male bosses, of ruling men in most societal institutions, in politics and economics, in short, what has been called 'the men's league' or 'men's house'. (Mies, 1986:37).

Mies' description of patriarchy shows that it manifests itself in different forms. In this section, we shall explore patriarchy as it manifests itself in a capitalist form. Again, Mies

(1986) will be helpful to begin the discussion on the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism:

Whereas the concept patriarchy denotes the historical depth of women's exploitation and oppression, the concept capitalism is expressive of the contemporary manifestation, or the latest development of this system. Women's problems today cannot be explained by merely referring to the old forms of patriarchal dominance. Nor can they be explained if one accepts the position that patriarchy is a 'pre-capitalist system of social relations which has been destroyed and superseded, together with feudalism' by capitalist relations, because women's exploitation and oppression cannot be explained by the functioning of capitalism alone, at least not capitalism as it is commonly understood. It is my thesis that capitalism cannot function without patriarchy, that the goal of this system, namely the never-ending process of capital accumulation cannot be achieved unless patriarchal man-woman relations are maintained or newly created. (Mies, 1986:38).

There is some resonance between Mies' views and those of Hartman. They both emphasise the importance of acknowledging the interaction of patriarchy and capitalism in the continued exploitation and oppression of women. The emphasis of one at the expense of the other does not help to address the woman question (Mies, 1986; Hartman, 1997). Mies makes this clear in the statement below:

There is not only the hierarchical division between the sexes; there are also other social and international divisions intrinsically interwoven with dominance relations of men over women. That means the feminist movement cannot ignore the issues of class, or the exploitative international division of labour, and imperialism. (Mies, 1986:1).

This view though expressed differently is similar to Hartman's view as stated below:

We argue, however, that patriarchy as a system of relations between men and women exists in capitalism, and that in capitalist societies a healthy and strong partnership exists between patriarchy and capital. (Hartman, 1997:104).

Mies (1986) and Hartman (1997) have a common view that patriarchy and capitalism are closely related, therefore feminists would do well not to separate them.

Although Mies and Hartman hold similar views in their analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism, there are slight differences in their theories. While Hartman pays very little attention to the analysis of sexuality and violence against women, Mies deals with these issues in detail. However, the strength of Hartman's theory lies in the fact that she acknowledges the tension that exists between patriarchy and capitalism. According to Hartman (1997), patriarchy and capitalism often have conflicting interests over the use of women's labour power. This conflict between the two manifests itself in the following way:

The vast majority of men might want their women at home to personally service them. A smaller number of men, who are capitalists, might want most women (not their own) to work in the wage labour market. (Hartman, 1997:104).

Walby (1990) makes similar analysis on the tension that exists between patriarchy and capitalism:

The main basis of the tension between capitalism and patriarchy is over the exploitation of women's labour. On the one hand, capitalists have interests in recruitment and exploitation of female labour, which is cheaper than that of men because of patriarchal structures. On the other, there is resistance to this by patriarchal strategy, which seeks to

maintain the exploitation of women in the household. (Walby, 1990:185).

According to Hartman (1997), male workers resisted the wholesale entrance of women and children into the labour force, and sought to exclude them from union membership and the labour force as well. While most men found women's entry into the labour force very uncomfortable, capitalists found female labour convenient and cheap as opposed to male labour. Men were always demanding better wages and conditions of service through their well-organised unions.

In the United States of America, this conflict was resolved by a trade off between patriarchy and capitalism through the introduction of the family wage:

Instead of fighting for equal wages for men and women, male workers sought the family wage, wanting to retain their wives' services at home. In the absence of patriarchy a unified working class might have confronted capitalism, but patriarchal social relations divided the working class, allowing one part (men) to be bought off at the expense of the other (women). Both the hierarchy between men and the solidarity among them were crucial in the process of resolution. Family wages may be understood as a resolution of the conflict over women's labour power, which was occurring between patriarchal and capitalist interests at that time. (Hartman, 1997:105).

Hartman (1997) argues that the development of the family wage secured the material base of male domination over women.

Although the family wage may have been unique to the United States of America and United Kingdom, gender differences in earnings were and still are a common feature in many countries. According to Reskin and Padavic (1994), sex differences in earnings occur in virtually every occupation and in every country throughout the world. Reskin

and Padavic back their claim with quantitative data. Borrowing from biblical language, the doctrine of separate spheres, discussed in detail by Walby (1990) contributes to this inequality in earnings between men and women. Jackman (1994) put it this way: gender differences in earnings are based on the notion that women, like children are inferior creatures whom men must take care of. The fact that gender differences in earnings in favour of men is widespread, shows the durable nature of patriarchy. It also shows that patriarchy is a dynamic concept. With the rise of capitalism, which demanded women's labour power, patriarchy traded off by allowing women to enter into the labour force while ensuring that men maintained their privileged position (Hartman, 1997; Mies, 1986). The statement by Reskin and Padavic shows the persevering nature of patriarchy:

Monarchs rarely give up their Kingdoms, and millionaires are not known for ridding themselves of their fortunes; on the contrary, the rich and powerful are bent on retaining and even expanding their wealth and power. They do so in a variety of ways, from segregating subordinate groups to denying them skills needed to advance. (Reskin & Padavic, 1994:35).

This is also true of capitalism, which according to some feminists is patriarchal (Hartman, 1997; Walby, 1990; Scott, 1995; Dickinson & Russell, 1986). According to Mies (1986), patriarchy and capitalism reinforce each other in the exploitation and oppression of women. A good example is the case above of gender inequalities in pay between men and women especially the case of the family wage. Men allowed women to enter the labour market by ensuring that better paying jobs were reserved for them and, in some cases, were paid more money than women for the same job. Capitalism benefited by gaining access to women's disorganised and cheap labour. It is disorganised in the sense that most women in the labour market do not have union representation. The lack of union representation makes them very vulnerable. Hartman shows how patriarchy has adapted to globalisation:

The sexual division of labour reappears in the labour market, where women work at women's jobs, often the very jobs they used to do only at home – food preparation and service, cleaning of all kinds, caring for people, and so on. As these jobs are low-status and low paying, patriarchal relations remain intact, though their material base shifts somewhat from the family to wage differential, from family-based to industrially-based patriarchy. (Hartman, 1997:108).

A similar observation was made by Walby (1990). According to Walby, the twentieth century has seen a shift in the form of patriarchy from private to public. Dickinson and Russell (1986) talked of the shift from familial patriarchy to social patriarchy.

Patriarchy is an extremely pervasive system of power. Most major social institutions have adapted to male domination. For example, the official logic of capitalism is that there should be a free market in labour power, to minimise the cost of labour to capital and to allow the allocation of labour skills to the sector of the economy where they can be best utilised. This of course is not the case as we have already noted. The gender division of labour, in which many women work in the home outside the wage system and many others are stuck in the restricted set of occupations, is a massive distortion of the allocation of labour that would apply to a 'free market' (Reeves & Baden, 2000). As we have noticed in the case of the family wage in the United States, the loyalty of men to the employer was reinforced by their structural advantages over women. Similarly, systematic discrimination against women is a violation of the stated principles of bureaucracy, in which performance is supposed to be the basis of reward and advancement. These gender inequalities have been both exacerbated and complicated with the advent of the current phase of globalisation (Went, 2000; Marchand & Runyan, 2000; Mitter, 1986; Reskin & Padavic, 1994).

The expansion of global capitalism has led to the intensification of the exploitation of women in the international labour market (Mies, 1986). Globalisation has had such

negative consequences for women and children that some commentators argue that 'globalisation is a man' (Went, 2000). Went (2000) further argues that women suffer disproportionately from IMF and World Bank policies as public services are cut and they are forced to care for the sick, disabled and older relatives, as well as earn a living. In the global economy, the majority of women workers are in the service sector. The main reasons for this are that women remain associated with unremunerated and service oriented reproductive labour and are often seen as physically suited to perform tedious repetitive tasks as well as being more docile and therefore less likely to organise than men (Marchand & Runyan, 2000). The unfair aspect of the gender inequalities in the labour market is that some of the jobs women do, not long ago used to be relatively well-paid, high status men's jobs. However, because of the influx of women into these jobs, they have been de-skilled and demoted in the job hierarchy.

This was also noted by Standing (1989) who refers to it as the 'feminisation of employment'. According to Standing, the increasing globalisation of production and the pursuit of flexible forms of labour to retain or increase competitiveness has favoured the feminisation of employment in the dual sense of an increase in the numbers of women in the labour force and deterioration of work conditions. Vongalis (2000) in her reference to the teaching job used the term 'feminisation of the teaching force'. She observed that this had a negative impact on pay and conditions as well as the lack of representation on the upper levels of management and leadership in policy and institutions. The demotion of jobs with high female representation is aimed at eroding the privileges of women. Of course there are men who find themselves in these jobs and suffer the same fate as women. However, the targets of such manipulation are women.

A highly exploited group of women workers in the global market are those who work in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs). The zones are designed to attract foreign investment by offering tax breaks and officially suspending or simply ignoring local labour laws, thereby offering a plentiful supply of cheap and flexible labour (Mitter, 1986; Klein, 2001). In most of these EPZs, trade union activities are illegal, thus making it very

difficult for workers to fight for their rights. According to Mitter (1986), workers in EPZs are exposed to risk in the working environment. 'A certain amount of docility is needed to accept the health hazards that accompany such industries' (Mitter, 1986:50). Mitter states that one of the transnationals' major reasons for investing abroad is to seek freedom from the restrictive health and safety regulations of the West. Neuwirth's (2004) views are similar to those of Mitter:

You walk into the Gap and spy a great pair of jeans. The price is right, but you notice the label saying Made in Guatemala, or Made in Indonesia. Your conscience kicks in and you feel a little queasy, thinking of the inhuman conditions of the sweatshop labour you're likely supporting when you buy the jeans. (Neuwirth, 2004:1).

Apart from working under hazardous and inhuman conditions, workers in EPZs who are mostly women, tend to work under very strict regulations. For example, in the Las Mercedes EPZ in Nicaragua, one third of workers said they had been refused leave when their children were sick. Since they worked from 6am to 6pm, the children had to be neglected or abandoned for the day when their mothers could not afford to pay someone to care for them (Ramos, 2000).

The state does not intervene to defend these women's rights but instead colludes with transnational corporations to exploit and oppress the women in EPZs for the sake of attracting foreign investment. This clearly shows that the state is patriarchal-but liberal feminism refuses to recognise this fact. As a result it adopts very weak policy interventions to help women and fails to engage with basic issues about women's rights- especially now where developing states identify with masculine globalisation in their complicity in women's employment in appalling conditions.

The Role of Patriarchy in Perpetuating Gender Inequalities in Education

Education has always been a contested area by both oppressors and the oppressed. The oppressors see education as a very powerful tool to convince the oppressed to accept their subordinate position. For example, within capitalism, schools are considered to play a major role in the reproduction of productive forces (Sott, 1989). Sott further states that:

the school has become an influential agency in dividing people and assigning them to an appropriate workplace (via the means of assessment) so that it is actually in schools themselves that children begin to learn the severe lesson of the division of labour. (Scott, 1989:98).

On the other hand the oppressed perceive education as one of the main means by which their oppressed status can be changed (Moumouni, 1968). This is true of patriarchy and feminism. While on the one hand patriarchy sees education as one of the effective ways of maintaining the exploitation and oppression of women, feminism on the other hand sees education as one of the tools by which oppressive patriarchal structures can be dismantled in society, to pave the way for the empowering of girls and women (Leach, 1998). Although education alone cannot change the entrenched patriarchal structures in society, it can, however, make a significant contribution to the emancipation of women (Hallack, 1990).

Men and women have been passing accumulated knowledge and experience to younger generations and to other members of their group. However, patriarchy invented the distinction between private and public spheres with women excluded from the latter (Walby, 1990; Ramazanoglu, 1994). The educational process as well became divided into two main components, the formal education (taught in schools, colleges etc.) and much wider educational processes, which comprise of all other influences (informal education,

inter-generational learning, etc.). Formal education has generally been the main gateway to the public sphere, which is under the control of men. So, there is a sense in which formal education is under the control of patriarchy. Child puts it this way:

Difference in treatment of males and females has been a subject of concern for as long as written records have existed. Education, no less than any other human endeavour, has and still does exhibit blatant discriminations-usually in favour of males. (Child, 1981:vii).

The dominant schooling system in most parts of the world reflects the interests and ideas of those with power that are in most cases men (Sweetman, 1998).

Not only has the education process been divided into two components, what is taught (curriculum) in formal education has also been divided into two components. There is one curriculum tailored for males and one curriculum tailored for females. The curricular differences between males and females are meant to justify the segregationist strategy that patriarchy uses to exclude women from the public sphere. Many authors have dealt with curricular differences between boys and girls (Deem, 1978; Byrne, 1978; Sutherland, 1981; Scott, 1989; Acker, 1994; Donn, 1994). These authors have pointed out the arts-science dichotomy in the curriculum. It is important to note that these references are no longer applicable to the UK situation where the problem of curricular differences between boys and girls has been significantly addressed. However, these references are applicable to the African situation where curricular differences between boys and girls are still a problem. Organisations such as the African Forum for Children's Literacy in Science and Technology (AFCLIST) and Female Education in Mathematics and Science in Africa (FEMSA) were established to help address the problem (Naidoo et al., 2002). The arts subjects are associated with girls and the science subjects with boys. According to Donn (1994), divisions between traditional and 'appropriate' 'boys' and 'girls' subjects are reinforced by the expectations and reality of pupils, parents, teachers and headteachers. Apart from the arts-science dichotomy the authors also took note of the

nature of the curriculum materials such as textbooks. Curriculum materials tended to project the image of men almost to the exclusion of women. Scott made this point clear in the statement below:

I need to emphasise two points here: firstly, most textbooks represent a misleading view of reality in which women are neglected or treated in a cursory manner and this is their ideological function...Secondly (and this is a more subtle and complex point), I would suggest that while some writers may believe that they are presenting reality, they are, in effect, reinforcing stereotypes and patriarchal relations. (Scott, 1989:109).

It is partly these gender biases in the curriculum that privilege men to high status jobs and condemn most women to low status jobs (such as those in EPZs) in the labour market.

While the issues highlighted above have been addressed though not conclusively in developed countries, the developing countries are still grappling with these issues. In countries like Zambia where poverty levels are high and estimated at 82% by the World Bank (2001), the issues of gender biases in schools are not a priority of government except when they are funded by the donor community.

The other area of interest to explore in this section is how to relate some of the feminist theories to the study of gender and education. Acker (1994) is very useful here. The strands of the feminist theory that Acker examined are the liberal, dual systems or socialist and radical feminist theories. According to Acker (1994), each of these theories has a different approach on addressing gender inequalities in education.

The liberal feminists emphasise equal opportunities for both males and females to educational provision. Equal opportunity for both sexes is the main thrust of the liberal

feminist theory as the statement below shows. They demanded and still demand equal access for both sexes to educational provision:

The intent of liberal feminists in education is to remove barriers that prevent girls reaching their full potential, whether such barriers are located in the school, the individual psyche or discriminatory labour practices. (Acker, 1994:45).

Authors of liberal feminist persuasion such as Byrne (1978) emphasised the meaning of the term equal. In her analysis of one of the United Nations resolutions on educational provision for both sexes, Byrne came up with the expression 'equal means the same'. She argued that separate educational provision for girls has usually meant inferior facilities and restricted features. Byrne further cemented her case for equal opportunity and the importance of education in the emancipatory process especially that of women:

Education has long been one of the most decisive of our life's chances, the key to equal opportunity and the ladder to advancement, since men first learnt that literacy and communication in the hands of a few meant power, government and control of many. Without education and especially without equal educational experiences or skill or qualifications, men and women alike of certain classes and social groups have over the years been condemned to inferior lives in their personal development, in their choice of work, as citizens, and in their power to influence government, leadership and the national decisions which affect their lives. (Byrne, 1978:14).

Liberal feminists challenged some school practices, which promote sexism. For example, they argued that names in the registers should be arranged in alphabetical order, which

hitherto were arranged according to sex. They also advocated the review of the existing curriculum, which was loaded with patriarchal images (Acker, 1994).

The contribution of the liberal-feminist approach to the study of gender and education has attracted fierce criticism from other feminists (Acker, 1994). As we noted earlier, the liberal feminism's shortcomings lie in the fact that it ignores the impact of patriarchy, power and the systematic subordination of women by men (Walby, 1990; Acker, 1994; Leach, 1998). The labour market process and capitalism are not given the attention they deserve and that change is conceptualised as if it were merely a matter of appealing to good will (Acker, 1984). The narrow focus on 'equal opportunity' for both sexes has made the liberal approach popular among capitalist agencies and governments. This is because the liberal feminist approach does not disturb the patriarchal structures that are inherent in these institutions. However, liberal feminists have made a contribution to the promotion of girls' education. Through their effort, many governments have acknowledged the problem of gender disparities in education and have included gender-sensitive policies in their overall education policy.

Among the feminists who criticised the liberal feminist approach were those of the radical stance. They questioned the 'myth' that women's access to education, as well as to economic and professional opportunities, would change their status (Hollos, 1998). As a case in point, radical feminists suggest that gender parity in educational access in developed countries has not systematically guaranteed women's improved social status and political power (Leach, 1998). Radical feminist theorists do not agree with the liberal feminist's view of education. According to liberal feminists, education is understood as schooling or acquisition of skills that will enable one's entrance in the formal labour market. But as Leach points out:

The record of schooling as a force for change in gender relations-in Northern as well Southern countries-is generally poor. While a minority of women acquire skills, which equip them for paid employment,

schooling has not fundamentally changed their subordinate position or challenged deep-rooted views of women's primary role as unpaid wife and mother (Leach, 1998:10).

Therefore the dominant approach to women's access to education does not really address the issue of equity and has paid little attention to the type of education girls receive in schools.

Radical feminists advocate an education that will bring about change in the social structure, one that will eliminate male dominance and patriarchal structures. 'The goal of a feminist education is not equality in knowledge, power and wealth, but the abolition of gender as an oppressive cultural reality' (O'Brien, 1983:13). This is the type of education that Freire (1974) referred to as 'education for critical consciousness'. This type of education challenges and questions the status quo. Radical feminists have often pressured for changes in the hidden curriculum that official educational policies have overlooked (Leach, 1998; Stromquist, 1998; Scott, 1989). They engage with the hidden curriculum because they realise the subtleness of patriarchy. Stromquist, Lee and Brock-Utne describe hidden curriculum as:

The set of knowledge that is transmitted through the roles men and women play in the staffing of schools, the way teachers treat male and female students, and the manner in which adults interact with each other. (Stromquist et al., 1998:398)

Radical feminists' contribution to education lie in their critical stance of the formal education commonly referred to as schooling. Their view is that schooling rather than a force for change reproduces and perpetuates gender inequalities. This position is directly opposed to the liberal feminist view that equal access to education will help to address gender inequalities. The radical feminist theory also questions the view that is inherent in

both multilateral and bilateral institutions that girls' education will lead to national development and ultimately to the empowerment of women. For example, Graff (1986) and James (1990) have questioned the belief that access to education and literacy leads to economic development. Radical feminists find that the liberal feminist approach, which has been embraced by most development agencies and governments is too concerned with issues of access, participation and productivity in the labour market to tackle the root of the problem: which is that patriarchal ideologies and institutions devalue women's status and work while keeping power out of their reach (Odora, 1993; Stromquist, 1990). Thus, even when women have access to education and literacy, this access fails to equalise the balance of power between genders. The statement below further illuminates this view:

Scant attention is given in the Women in Development (WID) to the multidimensional and complex ways in which education affects economic development ... WID³ and WIE, two of the most favoured conceptual platforms for addressing gender issues are insufficient to reach the desired result of gender equity. (Etta, 1994:58).

Although the radical feminist approach has contributed to the mainstream schooling system, its major contribution is in the area of adult education where 'feminist education' or rather education for critical consciousness has been employed. As described above, feminist education involves "providing students with the opportunity to develop the critical capacity to challenge and transform existing social and political forms" (Giroux, 1991:47). Describing feminist popular education, Nadeau argues:

Popular education's task is to help women understand their daily situation within a structural or macro-economic analysis and to

³ WID stands for Women in Development while WIE stands for Women in Environment. Both WID and WIE approaches employ the liberal feminist ideals.

encourage them to explore what they can do to transform this daily reality. (Nadeau, 1996:46).

As earlier pointed out, the dual-systems or socialist feminist theory is the synthesis of the Marxist and radical feminist theories. Its proponents advocate a more critical approach that would question the economic exploitation of women, as well as male privilege and control over resources such as land and income (Odora, 1993; Scott, 1995; Shor, 1992). For those concerned with education, the key question is ‘ how is education related to the reproduction of gender divisions within capitalism?’ (Acker, 1994). For these theoreticians, school is a place where one sees the logic of the totality of capitalism operating through the way students are sorted according to the needs of capital at any particular historical moment and not according to students’ merit alone (Bloch & Vavrus, 1998). Stromquist gives a very good account of how socialist feminists view education:

The notion of the state as key arbiter in the school-society relationship is helpful because it allows the analysis and subsequent testing of the state as a coalition of male forces committed to preserving a patriarchal ideology. If this is the case, the state will use schooling as a mechanism (a) to serve the advancement mainly of men and (b) to provide women with minimum levels of education – those necessary to be efficient mothers or join the labour force at lower levels of financial reward.... If the dominant mode of production needs a special institution – such as the current model of the family – to ensure the efficient and inexpensive reproduction of the labour force, there will be a limit to the levels and types of education that women can obtain from the state. These limits emerge from the fact that, as long as women are needed to operate critical but unremunerated subsystems, they cannot be given absolute equality with men. (Stromquist, 1989:169).

It has therefore been the pre-occupation of the socialist feminist theorists to analyse how schooling, by a variety of mechanisms, reproduces class and gender inequalities in society. One area of interest has been the curriculum offered in educational institutions. The art-science dichotomy in the curriculum is perceived as a deliberate ploy to deny women access to high status jobs (Walby's (1990) segregationist strategy) in the labour market. As Acker put it:

Curriculum differentiation processes within the school are important not only because girls are trained in office skills such as word processing but because they are not trained in allied areas such as computer science or management that might allow entry into alternative careers. In this analysis, the partnership between education and the economy operates to confirm large numbers of girls and women in restricted, low- paid sectors of employment. (Acker, 1994:48).

The main aim of the socialist feminist approach in education is to seek to explain how patriarchy and capitalism operate to oppress women in the formal education system and to challenge the dominant relations of power, which are inherent in educational institutions and the labour market.

The most preferred of these feminist theories among development agencies is the liberal feminist approach. According to Gordon (1996), liberal feminism originated among mainly Western, white, middle class women, and its focus on individualism, freedom of choice, and equality of rights and opportunities for women and men is, at least in the West, generally seen as moderate and consistent with the liberal ideology of capitalist democracy. Liberal feminism does not adequately challenge patriarchy and capitalism. Therefore liberal feminism enjoys more political and popular legitimacy than its major competitors the radical and Marxist-socialist feminism. Most governments and development agencies have embraced liberal feminist theory. Since most educational programmes in the third world are funded by these capitalist development agencies,

liberal feminism has been adopted as a framework to address gender inequalities in the education sector.

Therefore most policy making for female education, nationally and internationally, has been formulated in terms of access for girls and women, of closing the gender gap in enrolment, and of investment for purposes of economic development (Stromquist, 1994; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 1998; Zambia's Ministry of Education, 1996). In the policies aimed at equal educational provision for both sexes, there is little or no regard to the very structural roots of such a gap or ways to eradicate the deep-rooted mechanisms that create and reinforce gender disparities (Bloch et. al, 1998; Leach, 1998). Similar views are expressed by Stromquist (1994) in her analysis of agencies' conceptual frameworks to address gender inequalities in education. She found that the World Bank and USAID frameworks were based on the Women in Development (WID) approach. As noted earlier the WID approach is based on liberal feminism ideals. Advocates of the WID approach share the assumption that educating girls and women leads to economic development. One of the proponents of this view is Summers. His views below amplify the WID approach to female education:

Hard statistical evaluations fairly consistently find that female education is the variable most highly correlated with improvements in the social indicators... Expenditures on increasing education of girls appears to be more productive than other social outlays and than the vastly larger physical capital outlays that are projected over the next decade. (Summers, 1992:11).

Stromquist (1994) observed that the World Bank and USAID conceptual frameworks ignored the explanations that refer to the role of patriarchal ideologies in shaping gender representations and mentalities. She further observed that there was no attention given to the role of cultural norms governing sexuality as a major mechanism of control.

Stromquist's observations are very important in view of the fact that the World Bank virtually controls education policies of most of the third world countries, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is no wonder that progress of girls' education in this region has been painstakingly slow. According to Stromquist (1998, 1999), despite decades of projects, and interventions for girls and women's education, very little has changed in this area in many regions of the world, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. As Bloch and Vavrus observed in their editorial comment on Stromquist's chapter:

Stromquist suggests that international agencies, in collusion with the governments in most countries, have little real interest in strongly pushing girls' schooling, whereas NGOs and local feminist networks and groups have had more success in increasing girls' enrolment. (Bloch, & Vavrus, 1998:15).

Stromquist's suggestion supports the earlier discussion in this chapter that the state is patriarchal and serves the interests of men. It also shows how capitalism together with patriarchy interacts to maintain the subordinate position of women. As Gordon put it:

Formal authority and control over economic, political, and cultural institutions in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, are mostly in male hands; and it is males who largely shape the interests to which the state and ruling class have been responsive. (Gordon, 1996:109).

This is the reason the critics of formal schooling conclude that it is a means of keeping women subordinate and training them for domesticity and dependence on men (Stromquist, 1998; Leach, 1998; Longwe, 1998). According to Longwe (1998), schools are patriarchal establishments, which are grounded in the values and rules of a patriarchal society. She believes that females are schooled to accept the naturalness of male

domination. Gordon (1996) expressed similar views when she wrote that gender biases in education reflect and reinforce the sexual division of labour and patriarchal structure.

If as discussed, most multilateral and bilateral development agencies are capitalist institutions and the state that works in close collaboration with these agencies is patriarchal, it is doubtful that girls' education will ever attain its goals in the third world. Considering that both capitalism and patriarchy benefit from the exploitation and oppression of women, then it is difficult for a patriarchal state and development agencies to facilitate change that works against them. As Freire put it:

This is why, as we affirmed earlier, the pedagogy of the oppressed cannot be developed or practised by the oppressors. It would be a contradiction in terms if the oppressors not only defended but actually implemented a liberating education. (Freire, 1972:39).

Freire's views are consistent with the statement made earlier in the chapter that monarchs rarely give up their Kingdoms... (Reskin & Padavic, 1994).

Unfortunately, the promotion of girls' education and women's work in Zambia and most of the third world countries especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa are supported by donor agencies and this support is facilitated by national governments that are entrenched in patriarchal structures. There is therefore little hope that progress for girls' education will be significant under such circumstances. However, the participation of Northern NGOs such as Oxfam in both advocacy and education provision gives a realm of hope for girls' education. The NGOs are concerned with the issues of access and retention of girls in schools but also with the causes that make it difficult for girls to access schooling and remain in school (Watkins, 2000b).

From inception, promotion of girls' education in Zambia has been based on the access and retention platform, which reflects the global emphasis. For example, both the Jomtien and Dakar conferences on education for all focussed mainly on issues of access and retention (UNESCO, 1990, 2000). They hardly dealt with the causes of gender inequalities in education.

Summary

Although the future of women's liberation seems unattainable from the account above, there is hope. If the causes of women's oppression are clearly identified, then ways can be found to address the problem. In the words of Greer:

...fake equality is leading women into double jeopardy. The rhetoric of equality is being used in the name of political correctness to mask the hammering that women are taking.... It is time to get angry again. (Greer, 1999:3).

Such optimism is necessary if women's oppression at the hands of patriarchy and capitalism is to be addressed. There is need to provide women with education for living and emancipatory purposes. The current formal education is tailored to meet the needs of men, especially men that are capitalists. It is not suitable to address gender inequalities in educational institutions, let alone inequalities in society. In fact, patriarchal education perpetuates gender inequalities. Hence the need to take note of Donn's suggestion below:

Given these critical concerns, one might suggest that there is a need for major curriculum change out of a gender focus and into emancipatory education-one based on human interests. (Donn, 1994:29).

Therefore, we reiterate Walby's (1990) argument that the concept of patriarchy is indispensable for analysis of gender inequalities, in this case gender inequalities in education.

CHAPTER THREE

GIRLS' EDUCATION: GLOBAL CONCERNS

Introduction

In chapters one and two the focus was on how globalisation and patriarchy affect women's and girls' education. It has been pointed out that globalisation and patriarchy are major factors in perpetuating gender inequalities in education. The next chapter's focus will be on global concerns for female education. It will highlight some effort that the international community has made to address gender inequalities in education and how education is perceived in the lens of both multilateral and bilateral agencies.

Global Concerns

If "education for all" (EFA) was the rallying cry of the educators in the last decade, then in no learner group was the challenge greater than in the case of girls. The issue of girls' education occupied centre stage in education and development discourses in the last decade. One would argue that girls' education would continue to be the rallying cry of the educators in the 21st century because the problem is far from being solved in most developing countries as the statistics below show:

Today 125 million primary school age children are not in school; most of them are girls. Another 150 million children start primary school but drop out before they have completed four years of education, the vast majority before they have acquired basic literacy skills. (Watkins, 2000a:1)

Similar statistics below though slightly different in figures show the problem of gender inequalities in education. The differences in figures may be attributed to the different sources. Oxfam statistics may be more reliable than UNESCO's because Oxfam gets its

data from schools while UNESCO gets its data from country reports which are believed to be manipulated to convince the donors that there is progress in the attainment of the EFA goals.

Today there are over 100 million children, 60% of them girls, who never go to school at all. At least an equivalent number do start school but drop out - or are taken out for economic reasons-before they have learned anything useful. The unschooled children of previous generations are today's adult illiterates and we estimate there are 850 million of them, 500 million women and 350 million men. In our contemporary world one woman in four is illiterate. (Daniel, 2002:1).

These statistics clearly show the magnitude of the problem and the challenge that this problem poses. Researchers, educationalists and development agencies have long acknowledged the importance of girls' education. To ensure access and retention of girls in school has been the major policy debate in most developing countries and development agencies. To realise and fulfil the Jomtien (UNESCO, 1990) vision of education for all, girls must be given an opportunity to realise their potential by giving them access to quality basic education. There is also need to put in place measures that ensure sustainability of their stay in school. To achieve this, there is need for change in policy-making focus. Instead of depending on policies based on the liberal feminist approach which do not address the real cause of gender differences in education, it is important to re-orient policy-making towards a more radical approach which acknowledges the role that patriarchy plays in perpetuating gender inequalities in education (Leach, 1998; Stromquist, 1998; Etta, 1994; Wynd, 1999).

In order to understand and appreciate the importance of girls' education, it is necessary to locate it within the wider goal of EFA. It is therefore necessary to scan through the major themes of EFA, tracing its origin and its sudden prominence in the last decade commonly referred to as the Jomtien decade, its achievements and failures.

Indeed various conferences, reports and international symposia throughout the period 1989-2002 have noted the importance of EFA. The calls for sustained educational development have been profound. This chapter will address these concerns before examining the issue of girls' education at global level, particularly those in Sub-Saharan Africa. Subsequently, the focus will become girls' schooling in Zambia.

The recognition of the need for EFA in UNESCO can be traced as far back as 1945 as reflected in the statement below:

Education for All was set as a goal in the UNESCO constitution of 1945. The states that signed that declaration stated their belief in 'full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge'. (Daniel, 2002:3).

The United Nations also recognised the need for EFA. EFA is enshrined in the United Nations Human Rights Charter. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948, asserted, "Everyone has a right to education" (UNESCO, 2000a). Article 26 further states that elementary education (basic education) shall be free and compulsory. The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirmed this in 1993 and further commitment to basic education was made at the Dakar World Education Forum (World Education Forum, 2000). This is the brief outline of the origin of EFA. UNESCO has consistently and persistently pursued this goal to date. Many countries embraced UNESCO's vision of EFA. They put in place policies and laws to attain compulsory attendance. According to United Nations records, 161 out of 194 countries with autonomous school systems had compulsory schooling by 1980 (Sivard, 1985: 18). One would argue that most of these countries lie in the developed world since most of the countries in the third world were still struggling to gain independence from colonial rule by 1945. In Sub-Saharan Africa, most countries gained independence in the mid-1960s. However, in 1961, the few independent African countries held their first Conference on Educational Development. At this Conference, the participants resolved to pursue the goal of attaining universal primary education (Makulu, 1971). The period between the

mid-1960s and mid-1970s was characterised by massive investment in the education sector by most African countries with the primary sector receiving the largest share. Unfortunately, investment in the primary sector could not match the growth of the school age population.

So, the situation was quite different in the third world, and many countries were far from attaining UNESCO's EFA goal by 1980. In Africa for example, four out of ten eligible children could not be enrolled in 1980 (Sivard, 1985:18). In fact the deterioration of educational attainment in Sub-Saharan Africa was noticeable in the 1980s. The situation has not changed much in this region. The current data show that the problem has persisted. Almost twenty years later, UNESCO found exactly the same statistics as Sivard did, four out of 10 primary-age children in Sub-Saharan Africa do not go to school⁴. According to Daniel (2002), there is great concern in UNESCO that some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa risk not attaining the EFA goals for 2015. Among these countries are Cameroon, Gambia, Lesotho, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Tanzania. Daniel goes further to say that there is also concern for some countries in the Commonwealth which had made significant progress in the past but now show signs of faltering or even slipping back. Among these are Cameroon, Ghana, India, Kenya, Kiribati, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and Zambia.

Apart from failure to attain the EFA goal, it is believed that in much of the third world even the education provided to children in school is of an abysmal quality (Sivard, 1985; World Bank, 1999). This situation contributes to high drop out rates of which the majority are girls. According to the Oxfam paper (2000:2), "School" in much of Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia is a crumbling building without a roof, without access to clean water, and often without toilets. As if this is not enough, millions of children are being taught by either untrained or poorly trained teachers in classrooms, which lack a chalkboard, chalk, chairs, or desks. It is appalling that 57 years after UNESCO realised

⁴ Education Statistics 2001 - Regional Report on Sub-Saharan Africa. This is a comprehensive regional study examining the state of education in 49 countries. The report covers the 1998-1999 academic year.

the need for EFA, some countries in the third world have little hope of achieving this goal, and worse still the quality of education is poor.

While developing countries grappled with failure to attain EFA goal and provide quality education in their schools, developed countries became concerned at the decline in quality and relevance of their education. For example, Margaret Thatcher, the then British Prime Minister, made a direct link between schooling and economic success in her speech to the Conservative Party Conference:

To compete successfully in tomorrow's world against Japan, Germany and the United States, we need well-educated, well-trained, creative young people. If education is backward today, national performance will be backward tomorrow. (Thatcher quoted in Moon, 1996:12).

The desire to address the problem affecting educational attainment, quality and relevance of education in both developing and developed countries drew together executive heads of the Educational and Scientific Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank. The consultations among these bodies culminated in the Conference on EFA held in Jomtien Thailand from 5-9 March 1990. It must however be pointed out that the problems affecting educational attainment, quality and relevance of education in developing and developed countries varied. The problem was more pronounced in developing countries than in developed countries. Therefore the Jomtien conference was more focussed on addressing the problem in developing countries.

The Jomtien World Conference on EFA marked a new start in the global quest to universalise basic education and eradicate illiteracy. Governments from 155 countries pledged to provide all of the world's children with access to good quality basic education by the year 2000 (DFID, 2000; Hyde & Miske, 2000; Watkins, 2000b). Basic education is a term, which is now very popular in education discourses, but it is not a fixed concept.

Among donors, there are those who adopt a narrower operational definition of basic education, which is largely confined to formal primary schooling. Notable among these is the World Bank as shown by the following statement:

Greater attention should be given to education as a whole by both governments and donor organisations and that, within the publicly funded education sector itself, top priority should be given to primary education in those countries where net enrolment ratios are below 100 per cent and/or where the overall quality of primary education remains poor. (World Bank, 1995).

Other donors prefer the wider concept of basic education that emerged from the Jomtien conference in 1990. From this perspective, basic education is all the knowledge and skills which people need if they are to lead a decent life (UNESCO, 1990). In this case, basic education includes early childhood education, primary schooling, and non-formal literacy, numeracy and other programmes for youth and adults including vocational training that helps to provide the basic life skills. Due to this diversity in meaning of the term basic education, countries that attended the Jomtien conference were advised to determine their own definition. However, most of the countries adopted the narrower meaning of basic education, which is primary education. Therefore the main thrust of the Jomtien conference was the attainment of Universal Primary Education (UPE). UPE means the full enrolment of all children in the primary school age i.e. 100 percent net enrolment ratio. According to the Department for International Development (DFID) consultation document (2000: i), UPE remains at the core of attempts to achieve Education for All, and is a target still eluding many developing countries. UNESCO describes Primary Schooling as the “cutting edge” of basic education (UNESCO, 1993:5). Although there are many facets of basic education, they are not receiving as much attention as UPE.

Although basic education has been the subject of discussion for sometime, it had never generated as much interest among the donor community as it did in the Jomtien decade. It

is difficult to determine the exact impact that the Jomtien conference has had on levels of donor assistance for basic education. However, what is beyond doubt is that, with respect to formal policy discourses within the donor community as a whole, basic education had a much higher profile in the Jomtien decade than in the previous decades. Basic education is now firmly established as a central objective of education aid by virtually all donors, both bilateral and multilateral. By 1994/95, a small group of donors were spending an extra one billion US dollars a year on basic education (Bennel & Furlong, 1997).

The World Bank is firmly committed to achieving the goal of EFA. At the World Education Forum (WEF) in Senegal, Dakar, the President of the World Bank reaffirmed the bank's commitment to universal basic education (Wolfensohn, 2000: 67). He outlined the Bank's contribution to education in the Jomtien decade, in particular basic education. According to Wolfensohn (World Bank President), the World Bank fulfilled its EFA commitments made in Jomtien in 1990 and subsequently in Beijing in 1995. The Bank doubled its lending for education from US\$918.7 million to an average of US\$1.9 billion a year. The bank increased the percentage of its lending devoted to basic education from 27 to 44 percent. It also set up a programme to target 31 countries where the gender gap was greatest and increased lending for girls' education to an average of US\$860 million per year. This appears to be an impressive record from the most influential bank in the world. The World Bank equally appeared serious with its resolve to attain the education for all goal. As the World Bank president put it:

First we must place education squarely at the core of the global and national development agenda. Education must be higher on the agenda of everyone: governments, donor agencies, NGOs, trade unions, the private sector, and foundations. Achieving quality education for all can no longer be the responsibility of Ministries of Education alone. (Wolfensohn, 2000:2).

This was the theme of many papers presented at the Dakar 2000 conference. The cost of delay of implementing EFA is already unconscionably high, emphasised Carol Bellamy, the Executive Director of UNICEF. To amplify her point, she said, "Too many school-age children are still excluded from education while others are consigned to environments that discourage real learning, unfriendly to girls" (WEF, 2000:1).

Similar commitments were made by the G7 summit in Okinawa in Japan. Education was a key item on the Agenda of the summit. The G7 committed themselves to get every child in school by 2015 (Oxfam, 2000). There is a sense in which the EFA goal received more publicity and attention in the last decade than ever before and there is every indication from both the Dakar conference and the Okinawa summit that it will continue to do so in this century. However, evidence from chapters one and four shows that the World Bank and northern governments failed to translate their rhetoric on the importance of attaining universal primary education into practical terms. For example, the World Bank and northern governments failed to provide the increased aid, debt relief and wider reforms needed to turn the agreements on universal primary education into reality for the world's poor (Watkins, 2000b).

The question one would ask is "Why this interest and attention to basic education by donors, NGOs and other civil societies in the last decade"? The following statement by the president of the World Bank sums up the answer to this question:

Everywhere I go I see the power of education to improve people's lives. We have ample evidence to demonstrate that broad-based education is associated with a wide range of indicators of well being, including a nation's increased productivity and competitiveness as well as social and political progress. South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico among others have taught us this. Most important, education is a basic human right that frees the spirit from the chains of ignorance. (Wolfensohn, 2000:1).

It is this power of education to improve people's lives and its catalytic nature to overcome poverty which has drawn the attention of the donor community. Education is seen as the single most powerful weapon against poverty, it is also believed that education saves life and gives people a voice. While education in all its forms is highly relevant to the achievement of sustainability, basic education impacts positively in a multitude of ways on the interrelated problems of poverty, environmental degradation and food security. That is the reason why a large share of donor funding on education is directed towards basic education. It is important to note that this view of education which multilateral and bilateral agencies project has long been challenged. Education does not necessarily lead to development (Hallack, 1990, Leach, 1998). However, it is a necessary prerequisite for development (Hallack, 1990; Byrne, 1978).

Girls' education is closely linked to UPE. Denying girls access to basic education defeats the whole purpose of UPE. It can be argued that failing to address gender disparities in education renders EFA vision unattainable. So, the other significant outcome of the Jomtien conference was the renewed will to address gender differences in education. This was in recognition of the fact that culturally and historically the marginalisation of women in society has continued to be distressingly universal. Even in developed countries where great strides have been made in reducing the gender differences, many forms of marginalisation of women still exist. When one closely examines the relationship between men and women, there is a sense in which every country seems to experience tensions that obstruct women's full participation in the social, economic, and political life of the community. In every culture there are indications that power and control of resources lie more with men than women. So universal is this discrimination, and so pervasive and subtle are its manifestations, that women themselves and virtually all children accepted it as a norm that a woman's role was that of a wife, mother, a subordinate companion and helpmate to a husband, a domestic worker who, in many ways, enjoyed little right to a life of her own. This situation might be typical of a Zambian rural woman but from literature available on other countries, it would seem as if this is a universal pattern for most women (ABEL, 1991; Kelly, 1994; Heward & Burnwaree, 1999; Sivard, 1985). This dismal state for women finds its way into the

formal education system where it thrives and is legitimised through the hidden curriculum. Girls are severely disadvantaged at school. As Donn (1994:19) put it, "Girls- from whichever continent-have numerous social and cultural forces through which they learn to contextualise their everyday life in school."

Reality dawned at Jomtien when statistics presented showed that out of the 130 million children out of school, two thirds were girls. It was now clear that fewer girls than boys enrol in school, and of those who enrol, many drop out before completing the primary school cycle. Hence the resolve to make the education of girls a priority as can be seen from one of the resolutions at Jomtien conference:

The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. Article 3, World Declaration on Education for All. (Hyde & Miske, 2000:3).

There is a sense in which the statement made by an Indian church leader, Ruby Manikan, gained prominence in the Jomtien decade. He stated that, "If you educate a man you educate a person, but if you educate a woman you educate a family" (Manikan quoted in Wigg, 1994:i). Dr Kwegyin Aggrey stated it in a slightly different way focusing on a nation, which is in conformity with the donor community's view. "When you educate a man, you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman, you educate a nation" (Aggrey quoted in Osuman, 1997:3). Female education is now firmly recognised as one of the critical pathways to promote social and economic development. This is the view both multilateral and bilateral donors hold (DFID, 2000; UNESCO, 1993; World Bank, 1992). They believe that giving females equal access to education is not only their right but also likely to have significant social and economical benefits to third world countries. According to Summers (1992), educating girls yields a higher rate of return than any other investment available in the developing world. The broad social benefits of girls' education include increased family income, later marriages, and reduced fertility rates, reduced infant and maternal mortality rates, better nourished and healthier children and

families, lower child-birth related death rates, greater opportunities and life choices for women (including better chances to protect themselves against HIV/AIDS), greater participation of women in development, as well as in political and economic decision making (WEF, 2000). It has also been established that educated mothers have a desire to educate all their children. It is because of this catalogue of benefits that accrue to education of girls that the donor community have taken the education of girls as a priority.

The fact that educated mothers have a desire to educate their children is emphasised by aid agencies and other organisations that promote girls' education. For example, the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) notes this in favour of girls' education:

It provides positive values and skills for personal and national development. It has multiplier effects, empowering women to bring about other necessary changes like smaller family size, increased income and non-market productivity, investing more in family welfare especially the education of girls. (FAWE, Undated).

The influence of women's education on the intellectual development of children and on their attendance and success in school is very important. It extends beyond the pre-school into school itself. According to UNESCO (1992), studies have shown the beneficial influence of educated mothers in reducing grade repetition and dropout rates at early stages, and in improving motivation for staying on to higher levels of education. Furthermore, DFID states that "research studies show that women participating in adult literacy programmes are more likely to send their children to school and keep them there, than illiterate mothers" (DFID, 2000: 9). On the other hand, illiterate mothers provide a less stimulating environment and their children have a less than equal start at school in comparison with others. So, it is argued, a stimulating home environment helps a child's

intellectual development. Hence the importance of educating girls, who are more likely to become mothers.

Feminists are opposed to this goal of girls' education which focuses on their role as mothers because it confines them to the domestic sphere. The aim of educating girls should go beyond their role as mothers, it should be focussed on empowering girls and women (Stromquist, 1990; Longwe, 1998; Leach, 1998). The international agenda for educating girls is driven by patriarchal motive which prefers to give girls education which will confine them to the domestic (private) sphere to improve the welfare of their families.

Brock and Cammish (1997) and agencies such as UNESCO (1993) and the World Bank (1996), when addressing differential literacy rates, point out that despite these positive attitudes towards women's education, many developing countries are still experiencing an increase in the number of illiterate women. Moreover, Swainson (2000) quotes UNESCO (1996) by stating that in spite of the commitments in the provision of education for all, the gender gap in literacy appears to have widened in developing countries such as Sub-Saharan Africa since 1990 as will be seen later. An examination of issues concerning female education, both access to and retention in school as discussed above is vital here. Ten years have passed since the declaration of the proposed EFA at Jomtien in Thailand in 1990. Yet educationists, donor agencies and researchers point to the increasing rates of illiteracy, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, England and Wales (CAFOD) (1997) states that available data reveal that girls and women are generally disadvantaged in the area of education in relation to boys and men in Sub-Saharan Africa. This in itself shows that there is a problem with the current policy framework in the international community aimed at addressing gender inequalities in education. A different framework based on GAD proposed by some feminist theorists should be adopted to help make progress in girls' education. This framework perceives patriarchy as responsible for gender differential in education provision (Stromquist, 1990; Wynd, 1999, Leach, 1998).

In Countries like Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Malawi men have higher literacy rates than women. India, Bangladesh and Sierra Leone and Cameroon face similar problems (World Bank, 1996; Ballara, 1992). In some countries both formal and informal education systems are experiencing decreasing numbers of attendance. The problem has been the rate at which girls drop-out of school and various factors affecting female education. Authors such as King and Hill (1993) and Hyde (1993) emphasised that there is a problem of retention and dropout among girls:

Several indicators—including measures of literacy, enrolment and years in school—reveal important patterns and trends in women's education in developing countries. Each of these indicators leads to the same conclusions: the level of female education is low in the poorest countries, with just a few exceptions, and by any measure, the gender gap is largest in these countries. (King & Hill, 1993:2).

As mentioned earlier, UNESCO (1992) noted that the introduction of universal primary education in some countries such as Guinea has seen an increase in the enrolment of girls in schools; however, figures for girls completing primary education remain lower than for boys. Hyde explained that:

One of the most enduring kinds of educational inequality is between males and females. Although many countries have made tremendous progress in widening the reach of education, in no country have males and females benefited equally. In the poorest countries, this inequality is reflected in lower enrolment rates, higher drop out and repetition rates, and lower levels of attainment for girls. (Hyde, 1993:101).

Increasing schooling for girls has been on the agenda in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Hyde (1993) notes that the educational attainment level of girls in the region is low because enrolment is low and wastage is high. In most countries, more girls than

boys never enter school at all, and many girls who enrol in primary schools drop out at an early stage. Only a few continue on to study in secondary schools and universities.

A major problem in combating female illiteracy is the number of girls who drop out of the school system. This problem has been expressed by a number of researchers and agencies (Ballara, 1992; Hyde, 1993; UNICEF, 1993; CAFOD, 1997; Chlebowska, 1990; World Bank, 1996).

Barriers to female education are related to government policies, practices and institutions, which overtly or covertly promote gender biases and affect women's participation (Odaga & Heneveld, 1995). "Socio-economic and socio-cultural factors are significant in parental and familial decisions on whether to invest in female education. School-related factors also affect the supply and demand of female education" (Odanga & Heneveld, 1995:4).

Socio-economic factors include direct costs of schooling. Costs of schooling have been cited by Colclough et al. (2000) as the major reason parents offer for not educating or removing children, particularly girls, from school. Poverty is widespread in most parts of the developing world and affects schools and communities. Children who do not attend primary school are from poor households in poor countries. Research reports available so far are unanimously agreed that the majority of such non-attendees are girls (Witkins, 2000; Hyde & Miske, 2000; Odaga & Heneveld, 1995).

Quality of primary schooling has been blamed for keeping children out of school or causing children to drop out of school. Again it is argued that the majority of such children are girls. As King notes, "the retention of school literacy cannot be relied upon because of the quality of primary schooling i.e. lack of resources, textbooks and the most elementary maintenance" (King, 1991:158). In most countries in the developing world, primary schools are not operating effectively because of lack of resources, i.e. learning and teaching materials, inadequate classrooms and teachers.

Lack of funds for educational materials has caused young girls in senior classes in primary and secondary school to opt for sexual relationships in order to get educational support. Odaga and Heneveld (1995) explain that such relationships end up in girls getting pregnant and, therefore, dropping out of school. They also increase the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases including the HIV /AIDS virus.

Indeed socio-cultural factors have also impacted negatively upon girls' access to and retention in primary schools. Odaga and Heneveld (1995:22) explained that socio-cultural expectation of girls and the priority given to their future roles as mothers and wives have a strong negative bearing on their formal educational opportunities. Moreover, socio cultural customs and beliefs influence the decisions to enrol girls in school, decisions to withdraw them from school, their own decisions to drop out of school, their academic performance, and their grade level attainment.

The evidence, as pointed out by King and Bellew (1993) and Hyde (1993), show that traditional norms and cultural aspects, such as initiation ceremonies, have contributed to low attendance of girls in schools. When girls reach puberty in some African countries, they go through the initiation ceremonies during which they are declared to be mature enough for marriage. In most cases the initiation period may continue for two months (Hyde, 1993) and runs on into the school term. This results in some girls dropping out from school. Odaga and Heneveld (1995:22) point out that "the scheduling of initiation ceremonies conflicts with the school calendar, leading to absenteeism from school". The National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research (NIPILAR)/UNICEF reports that in some instances during the initiation ceremonies, the girl child undergoing training at puberty is required to obtain her first sexual experience by sleeping with an adult man. The research that was done in South Africa, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland revealed that:

Factors that impinge on the quality of life of the girl child in the family, school and community include: teenage pregnancy, inadequate retention of the girl child in school, abuse, sexual harassment,

HIV/AIDS, gender discrimination and gender stereotypes.
(NIPILAR/UNICEF, 1999:6).

These findings reveal that in countries such as Malawi, initiation ceremonies profoundly impact upon girls' schooling as they encourage girls to engage in sexual practices, which lead to lack of retention in schools. NIPILAR states:

...within the school, violence is connected to male teachers and students abusing female students, sexual harassment and early pregnancy. Within the community, violence incorporates intimidation, rape, sexual harassment and sexual abuse. (NIPILAR, 1999:8).

Initiation ceremonies are also in competition with formal schooling. For example, what girls are taught at initiation ceremonies is different from the way in which the school expects the girl to behave. Odaga and Heneveld explain this competition by stating that:

Although initiation marks the passage from childhood to adulthood, school authorities continue to treat initiated girls who return to school as children. They expect them to participate in certain activities and punish them in a manner which is considered inappropriate for adults. Initiated girls also find it difficult to return to formal school or concentrate on their studies because their next expectation is marriage. (Odanga & Heneveld, 1995:22-23).

Before and after the initiation ceremonies, girls are also encouraged to engage in all sorts household duties and are told to help their mothers with small income generating activities, such as selling agricultural products at the markets. Therefore, it is important to point out that the way a girl child is brought up has a tremendous impact on participation in schooling. Odaga and Heneveld explained that:

Child labour is indispensable to the survival of some households, and schooling represents a high opportunity cost to those sending children to school. Girls are more likely to be involved than boys, in childcare, agricultural, domestic and marketing tasks. (Odaga & Heneveld, 1995:17).

DFID notes that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates that there are up to 250 million children working full or part time in the developing world. One hundred and forty million of these children are between the ages of 6 and 11 years (DFID, 2000:8). Poor children contribute unpaid labour mainly in domestic and agricultural activities, particularly at household level in rural areas. As DFID (2000) states, girls comprise the majority of child workers and the majority of children out of school. Agricultural and domestic labour are hidden forms of child labour which impact disproportionately on girls and lessen the likelihood of their attending school.

The rapid growth in urbanisation in most developing countries has increased the demand for domestic labour. Poor households have responded by sending their daughters into the domestic labour market in exchange for regular cash income. Poorer households may depend more upon the labour of their children in order to supplement household income either directly on the farm or in the market place or indirectly, by children undertaking household tasks, which liberate adult labour for other, remunerated, work (Colclough et al., 2000:7).

Parental attitudes have a strong influence in the decision to invest in children's education. For example, parents, especially in poor communities, value boys' education more highly than girls'. Some parents hold the belief that boys are more intelligent, that they perform better in school and that they are a better educational investment than girls. This is evident in patrilineal marriage systems. Men are regarded as the sole decision-makers in investing in capital. In addition, as Odaga and Heneveld (1995) point out, parents worry about wasting money on the education of girls who are likely to get pregnant or married before completing their schooling. In such communities girls may only be sent to school

if the family has enough resources. Where a choice has to be made, it will be boys who will be sent to school.

The environment of the school may also be more conducive to the attendance and performance of boys than girls. In the classroom, it is evident that teachers (both male & female) pay more attention to boys than girls and sometimes completely ignore girls. Colclough et al. (2000) state that male teachers may not provide girls sufficient support and they may even be sexually threatening. One can argue that teachers' attitudes to their students are a reflection of the broader societal biases about the role of women in society and the academic capacity of girls.

Religion is another obstacle to girls accessing primary education. It can also be a hindrance to girls remaining in or completing school. This is believed to be true in Muslim dominated communities. UNESCO (1992:11) pointed out, " anthropological and sociological studies have shown that in traditional Muslim societies, education beyond puberty is inhibited by the social pressure for women to become wives and mothers as soon as puberty is reached" (UNESCO, 1992:11). Therefore, parents find it hard to understand the benefits of education when the curricula are irrelevant to this mother-wife role or contradict the values they want to teach their children. Brock and Cammish (1997) noted that in countries such as Sierra Leone, Northern Cameroon and rural Bangladesh which are dominantly Muslim, justification for low enrolment figures for girls, and the negative attitudes to girls' education, were identified in terms of being in the Muslim areas.

Commenting on the legal factor, Brock and Cammish (1997) noted that although most countries have legislation for equal status in respect of sex, traditional sanctions often still operate unchallenged. In many rural areas, long standing societal rules constraining females are still in force, such as the condoning of early marriage. Legal knowledge and support for laws promoting female education could challenge unfair pressures in respect of marriage and be very helpful to the female cause.

Brock and Cammish (1997) and NIPLAR/UNICEF (1999) cited another factor, which is affecting participation of girls in schools and this is the impact of health on education, especially in female education. Poverty and malnutrition affect the health of school age children and it is believed that girls are more affected by this factor than boys. Boys may get preferential feeding, while girls who have heavier domestic workload are more likely to be undernourished. Even if they get to school, this adversely affects their performance and, therefore, retention rate (Brock & Cammish, 1997:3). As suggested by NIPLAR/UNICEF (1997), health problems are also associated with pregnancy, especially for adolescent girls as they engage in sexual activities at an early age. In recent years it is seen that the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic is also affecting the progress in the education sector. The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) (2000) indicated that there is evidence that education and health systems in a number of African countries are surviving on seriously depleted human resources with health workers, teachers and system managers affected by AIDS. It has pointed out that school systems are particularly affected by the deaths of teachers. For instance, studies conducted by UNICEF reveal that in countries such as Central African Republic and Cote d'Ivoire, the capacity of the education systems to accommodate students is being affected by the increasing deaths of teachers from the epidemic.

DFID (2000) states that the impact of HIV/AIDS on the teaching profession is now also being acknowledged; effective schooling is threatened by high sickness and attrition levels among the teaching force (DFID, 2000:10). The IIEP notes that:

... as teachers disappear primary schools are subsequently closed down. Teacher absenteeism caused by the illness is also badly affecting the quality of education. (IIEP, 2000:8).

Due to the HIV/AIDS crisis, the number of orphans has increased in African countries and this has had a tremendous effect on pupils who may drop out of school due to lack of adequate support. The growing number of AIDS orphans is a significant challenge to

achieving UPE, especially in Africa. Unfortunately many of these orphans are subjected to a lot of difficulties as highlighted below:

Many of these orphans end up on the streets, and the extended families who take in these orphans often can barely afford to send all their children to school, let alone additional members. (IIEP, 2000:8)

It has been acknowledged that girls are disadvantaged by the HIV/AIDS pandemic because they drop out of school since they are usually the first to be withdrawn from school to take care of the sick parents and siblings. This supports DFID's view that:

Where traditional community safety-nets are disrupted, children may become heads of households, or be kept at home to care for the sick family members. Girls are particularly vulnerable and where attendance at school is possible, it is likely to be disrupted and there is clear evidence of declining attendance rates of girls in particular. (DFID, 2000:10).

The International Institute for Educational Planning suggests that for education to play an efficient role in preventing HIV/AIDS, it must first retain children in school, reach those who drop out, and be of good quality. In this regard the literacy gap between males and females should be reduced and emphasis put on comprehensive reproductive health education for youths (IIEP, 2000:8). It has been suggested that preventive education in schools and the non-formal and traditional education programmes should be set up in an attempt to reach the most vulnerable groups that are out of school, orphans and children living on the streets. In an attempt to reduce these problems, if not eradicate them, several studies have pointed to the importance of interweaving formal and non-formal education (IIEP, 2000:8).

Since recognising the potential development gains to be achieved from educating girls, many developing countries have recently engaged in a variety of interventions to promote

female education. The factors affecting girls' schooling raised above have not been a stumbling block at all. Governments in the third world countries have been encouraged to formulate gender sensitive policies. Sometimes, conditions for receiving aid to education programmes from donors would depend on how well a country has incorporated the gender sensitive policies in its overall education policies. The Jomtien decade has seen vigorous campaigns in creating awareness of the importance of girls' education.

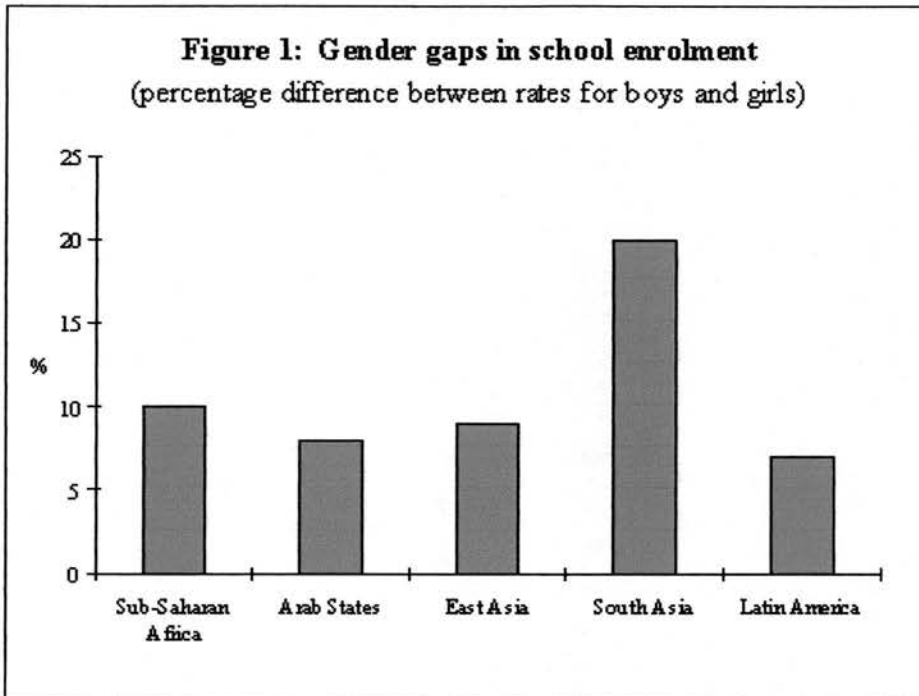
Although access to primary education has increased greatly for girls in most developing countries during the Jomtien decade, it can still be argued that fewer girls than boys enrol in school and, once enrolled, girls do not succeed in their studies as well as boys. Fewer girls than boys complete their basic education. In countries with full enrolment in primary, less than 90% of the students reach fifth grade. So, retention of girls in school still remains a major problem.

The education of girls remains a major challenge for developing countries, despite the progress made and the international attention that it has received. As already pointed out, even if girls start school, they are far less likely to complete their basic education. At a global level, the gender gap in education has been reduced significantly in many of the countries in the north (Swainson, 1995). However, the situation is not the same with most of the countries in the south. The gender gap in education is still wide. The excerpt below clearly shows how girls are highly disadvantaged in as far as education provision is concerned.

Of the 52 countries with a gender gap in the primary Net Enrolment Rate (NER) of 5% or more, 47 have a gender gap that disadvantages girls versus 5 where it disadvantages boys. The range of the (NER) gender gap that disadvantages girls is from 5% to 34% and for boys 5% to 11%. The NER gender gap average for girls is 14% and for boys 8%. Girls are significantly disadvantaged in many more countries. They also have an average (NER) gender gap that is close to two times higher than boys. (UNICEF, 1999:12)

The statistics above leave one wondering whether the interventions put in place to address the gender inequalities in education are inadequate or have not been thoughtfully implemented. According to Hyde and Miske (2001), a persistent gender gap strongly suggests that the underlying causes of disadvantage and discrimination against women and girls are not being meaningfully addressed. The gender imbalance in Bangladesh reported by Brock and Cammish makes sad reading to all who are engaged in addressing gender inequalities in education. In 1988, out of 11,285,445 primary school pupils only 4,943,119 were girls (Brock & Cammish, 1997). According to Brock and Cammish, girls' enrolment drops from one and a half million in class 1 to 590,000 in class 5, which means 67% of the girls drop out of school before the fifth grade. This drop out rate is very high. Apart from this wastage there were girls who did not even enrol at all and this number stood at 3,743,650 in 1985. The situation might not be very different now considering that Bangladesh is among the poorest countries in the world with limited resources to address such imbalances. The situation is not very different in India where it is reported that one million more girls than boys drop out of Indian schools every year (Oxfam, 2000). The figure below illustrates the gender gap in school enrolment across the developing world.

Figure 3.1: Gender Gaps in school enrolment



Source: Oxfam policy paper – 2000

The gender gaps of school enrolments in the regions of the developing world indicate that the problem of gender inequality is far from being resolved. An example of South Asia with a gender gap of 20% poses a big challenge not only to Asia but to the entire globe. Hence the need for both developed and developing countries to find a lasting solution to this enduring problem of gender inequalities in education. Although these regional gender gaps help us to understand and appreciate the magnitude of the problem, there is a tendency with such regional averages to mask country variation. As can be seen in Table 3.1 in 1996 the country with the highest gender gap was not in Asia but in the Middle East and majority of the countries with wide gender gaps were in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The table below lists the 19 countries of the world in which the difference between boys not in primary school and girls not in primary school is 10 percentage points or more.

Table 3.1: Where the gender gap is 10 percentage points or more

Country	% out of school		
	Boys	Girls	% point difference
Yemen	28	65	37
Benin	29	65	36
Afghanistan	58	86	28
Chad	45	73	28
Nepal	19	47	28
Guinea-Bissau	42	68	26
Central African Rep.	29	54	25
Togo	20	42	22
Gambia	36	54	18
Pakistan	37	55	18
Morocco	39	55	16
India	25	39	14
Lao Rep.	25	39	14
Egypt	5	18	13
Zaire	40	53	13
Papua New Guinea	21	33	12
Mozambique	54	65	11
Algeria	1	11	10
Bhutan	54	64	10

Source: UNICEF Country Offices – 1996

The percentages of girls not in primary school displayed in the table above clearly show the problem of failure by some girls to access primary education. Undoubtedly, there are more girls who fail to gain access to primary education. For example, in Afghanistan 86% of the girls were not in primary school, which means that only 14% of girls were in

school. With such statistics, even the vision of “education for all by 2015” becomes a dream far from being realised. Gender disparities in education cannot be resolved in a short period of time. It requires time, dedication and commitment from all those with interest in the education of girls.

The Dakar Conference was convened in 2000 to assess the progress made in the Jomtien decade in as far as the EFA goals were concerned. It will be important in the next section to highlight some of the achievements and failures of the Jomtien decade.

An Assessment of Education for All

Countries and representatives from different organisations met in Dakar, Senegal, to assess the achievements of EFA. UNESCO (2000) reported progress made in the Jomtien decade. For example, the number of entrants to the first grade of primary education has grown steadily since 1990 in all less developed regions. The number of new entrants increased from 106 million in 1990 to 117 million in 1998, a rise of 11%. In the less developed regions as a whole, the gross intake rates rose from 106% in 1990 to 112% in 1998. However, the rate in Sub-Saharan Africa was 81% in 1998, which, according to UNESCO, reflects shortcomings in education provision. The net intake rates for Sub-Saharan Africa were the lowest among other less developed regions.

In order to assess the achievement of EFA, it is essential to compare the gross enrolment ratio (GER)⁵ and the net enrolment ratio (NER)⁶. The gross enrolment ratio can assess whether an educational system has sufficient capacity to meet the needs of universal primary education. The net enrolment ratio shows the proportion of primary school age children who are enrolled or out of school. The objective of UPE implies the realisation of a net enrolment ratio equal to 100%. UNESCO reports that in less developed regions as a whole, the gross enrolment ratio in primary education remained relatively stable during the 1990s, when it grew from 93% to 96%. However, the net enrolment ratio was

⁵ Gross enrolment ratio for primary education is the total number of primary school pupils of all ages divided by the total population aged 6-13 years expressed as a percentage.

⁶ Net enrolment ratio for primary education is the total number of primary school pupils aged 6-13 years old divided by the total population aged 6-13 years expressed as a percentage.

still low-below 80%. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the net enrolment ratio grew from 54% in 1990 to 60% in 1998 but this was still lower than other regions.

UNESCO notes that the number of out of school children has declined in all regions except for Sub-Saharan Africa and Arab states. Ninety-seven of every hundred out of school children live in less developed regions and nearly 60% of them are girls. It has been estimated that the Sub-Saharan region has the largest proportion of out of school children, at 40%.

Over the decade, the number of out of school children continues to increase in this region despite notable gains in the net enrolment ratio. In almost one third of the countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, 60% or more of children are not in school and in more than half the countries the proportion is above 30%. (UNESCO, 2000c:31).

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 on the next page show that the gross enrolment ratios and the net enrolment ratios are still the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa as compared to other regions. Net enrolment ratios also reveal that UPE has not been accomplished in all the regions because the net enrolment ratios were below 100% in all the regions. While much has been achieved towards the EFA goal of UPE, there is still a lot to be done. According to UNESCO's latest statistical report on the state of education in Sub-Saharan Africa:

Primary education is clearly the priority for most of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, yet access remains a major problem. According to the report, only 60% of the primary school age children were actually enrolled throughout the region in the survey years, although the situation differed greatly between countries. In Niger, for example, only 26% of primary school age children were in school compared to 93% in Mauritius. (UNESCO, 2002:1).

The ratio of girls out of school to that of boys has been constant for most research reports; two thirds of the children out of school have been girls. So, the situation must be the same in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Girls' Achievements in the Jomtien Decade

UNESCO rightly points out that the elimination of disparities is an essential step towards UPE. These include gender, social class, income, ethnicity, language group, and geographical location (e.g. urban/rural, by regions or districts). The reduction of gender disparities is reflected in the gross enrolment ratios. It has been found that at a global level, the proportion of girls enrolled in primary education, regardless of age, has steadily increased to the point that it is almost equal to the proportion of boys in the total school age population. However, despite the progress made, Table 3.4 shows that the net enrolment ratios remain lower for girls than for boys especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. This suggests that school age girls have lower access to primary education as compared to boys in the same age group. Moreover, between 1990 and 1998, the gender gap decreased in all of the less developed regions except for Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 3.2: Gross Enrolment Ratios in Primary Education by regions, 1990 and 1998

Region	1990 (%)	1998 (%)
World	94	97
More developed regions	104	104
Less developed regions	96	98
Countries on transition	91	101
Sub-Saharan Africa	73	75
South and/ West Asia	85	91
Arab States/North Africa	84	85
Central Asia	92	98
Central and Eastern Europe	87	98
Latin America/Caribbean	108	114
East Asia/ Pacific	109	106

Source: UNESCO, 2000c: 29

Table 3.3: Net Enrolment Ratios in Primary Education by regions, 1990 and 1998

Region	1990 (%)	1998 (%)
World	80	84
More developed regions	97	98
Less developed regions	78	82
Countries on transition	91	96
Sub-Saharan Africa	54	60
South and/ West Asia	87	74
Arab States/North Africa	74	78
Central Asia	88	92
Central and Eastern Europe	85	93
Latin America/Caribbean	84	94
East Asia/ Pacific	98	97

Source: UNESCO, 2000c: 29

**Table 3.4: Net enrolment Ratios by Sex and Gender Parity Index (GPI)
by region, 1990 and 1998**

Region	1990			1998		
	Boys	Girls	GPI	Boys	Girls	GPI
World	84	76	0.91	87	80	0.93
More developed regions	97	97	1.00	97	98	1.01
Countries in transition	82	73	0.89	86	78	0.91
Sub-Saharan Africa	59	50	0.84	66	54	0.82
Latin America/Caribbean	85	84	0.99	94	93	0.98
Central Asia	87	89	1.02	91	92	1.01
East Asia/Pacific	97	95	0.98	97	96	0.99
South and West Asia	75	59	0.78	79	67	0.85
Arab States/North Africa	82	65	0.78	80	71	0.89
Central and Eastern Europe	86	83	0.96	95	91	0.96

Source: UNESCO, 2000c: 33

Many factors continue to affect the attainment of universal primary education. Most countries, according to the UNESCO report, have very high pupil/teacher ratios especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. This has led to high repetition rates in schools. School wastage, which is derived from repetition and drop out rates, can constitute an important obstacle to the realisation of the goals of EFA. Repetition can be seen as a reflection of the quality of education. The inefficient use of school resources has a significant impact, as the presence of large numbers of repeaters can prevent other children from accessing school.

It has been found that despite the general decline in repetition rates between 1990 and 1998 in a number of countries, the levels of repetition remain extremely high. The problem of survival rate to the fifth year of primary education is still a pressing issue in many less developed countries.

The short statistical analysis which was presented at Dakar's EFA Conference 2000 as part of the assessment of the Jomtien vision reveals that despite the move towards the provision of universal primary education with the aim of increasing access to, and retention of girls in, schools, the EFA goal by the year 2000 has not been achieved. Moreover, the gender gap still persists in less developed countries especially Sub-Saharan Africa. As already discussed in this chapter, there are crucial factors which, despite the achievements made towards the goal of EFA, still continue to affect particularly the participation of girls in education. The persistence of gender inequalities in education indicates that more research needs to be done in order to address questions of why some girls are not accessing school and others are dropping out of school.

SUMMARY

The account in this chapter shows that women's education, particularly girls' is an issue of concern globally and requires concerted effort to solve. Statistics have shown that girls are still hindered from full participation in the education process. In spite of the effort made to address gender inequalities in education, the gender gap still persists in most developing countries especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa. As it has been argued in chapters one and two, globalisation and patriarchy play a major role in perpetuating these gender inequalities in education. In Zambia SAPs had negative consequences for girls' education. The introduction of user fees made it difficult for parents to send all their children to school thus forcing them to make choices about who to send to school. The Zambian society being predominantly patriarchal, parents chose to educate boys. So, globalisation and patriarchy work against the equity agenda in education. Therefore, there is need to pay attention to these factors if any meaningful progress is to be made in

educating girls. In the next chapter we shall explore girls' education in the Sub-Saharan Africa with special focus on Zambia.

CHAPTER FOUR

GIRLS' EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE CASE OF ZAMBIA

Introduction

The discussion of education and especially girls' education in the chapters above gives a pessimistic view and might seem as if girls' education is unattainable. Therefore, it is important that at the outset of this chapter, it is emphasised that this thesis strongly considers education as a vehicle of improvement and a way of achieving social justice. This thesis shares Oxfam's view that education gives people not just qualifications to get jobs and be effective workers, but more importantly, it creates opportunities and choices for people so that they are empowered in their lives (Oxfam, 2000a). "Being able to read and write and gain new knowledge, are important factors that enhance self-esteem of the individual, and is a prerequisite for generating change and empowerment" (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:26). Nelson Mandela described education as "the great engine of personal development" (Mandela quoted in Oxfam, 2000a:3). It is for this reason that this thesis highlights some of the impediments to girls' education so that they can be addressed and pave a way for girls to receive education and realise their potential in life.

So, we believe that girls' education in Zambia and elsewhere can be achieved even in the face of difficult circumstances. However, it is important to acknowledge the extent of difficulty at all levels-in the international policy-making arena, where there are divisions (i.e the World Bank view and UN view-see below in this chapter), in the national arena where there are economic pressures and lack of will in the face of massive problems created by the AIDS pandemic and at the level of communities there are also problems-so that achieving girls' education is not at all straight forward however desirable it is and however-powerful the rhetoric of Jomtien and Dakar. This chapter also highlights some of the difficulties in achieving girls' education in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Sub-Saharan Africa is a region with multiple problems, high incidence of poverty, conflicts, HIV/AIDS pandemic and droughts. As indicated by the statistics in chapters one and three, Sub-Saharan Africa fares poorly in comparison to other developing regions. It had the lowest Human Development Index (0.430) among the developing regions in 1999 (UNDP, 1999: 37). Of the 49 least developed countries in the world, 34 are in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF, 2004). The following statement makes a good summary of the state of affairs in the Sub-Saharan region:

Africa today stands at a crossroads. The scale of poverty and suffering on the continent is daunting. Three hundred million people live on less than US\$1 per day. Life expectancy is 48 years and falling. More than one-third of the children are malnourished; more than 40 per cent have no access to education. Twenty-eight million people live with HIV/AIDS, and over 100 million people, war is part of daily life. (Oxfam International, 2002:1)

In terms of education indicators, Sub-Saharan Africa lagged behind other developing regions. EFA remains a great challenge for the region. In spite of commitment to international treaties and declarations (highlighted in chapter three) by most countries in the region, all indicators are below world and developing country averages (UNESCO, 2004). Most of the children, more often girls, are still deprived of the right to education. Of course for many children in Sub-Saharan Africa education being a right is more of rhetoric than reality. The World Bank estimates that at least 32 countries-two thirds of them in Sub-Saharan Africa are unlikely to achieve the 2015 target of getting all children into school (Oxfam, 2002). According to the same Oxfam report, enrolment rates actually declined in 17 African countries during the 1990s. Sub-Saharan Africa has low enrolment rates and strong gender disparities and inequalities (UNICEF, 2004, UNESCO, 2004). A third of the countries have Gender Parity Indexes (GPIs) of under 0.76; these are Chad, Burkina Faso, Mali, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Cote d'Ivoire, Benin, the Central African Republic and Liberia (UNESCO, 2004).

Zambia, the country under consideration, lies within this region and is affected by the problems highlighted above. Being one of the 49 least developed countries in the world, it experiences problems in delivering services such as health and education to its citizens. In this chapter our main concern will be to explore the education of girls in Zambia. However, it will be necessary to look at the state of education in Sub-Saharan Africa in particular that of girls to appreciate the state of girls' education in Zambia

The state of Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

The state of education in Sub-Saharan Africa causes a lot concern to both governments in the region and international community. The reason for concern is reflected in UNESCO's education for all Global Monitoring report for 2003/4. The report clearly shows the state of education in Sub-Saharan Africa. In summary form the report outlines the following problems:

- Early childhood care and education is still a luxury for nearly all the children in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nearly half of the countries with very low pre-primary enrolment are in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- Only 58% of the children of the official primary school age were enrolled in the region in 2000. This Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) was the lowest of all regions and far below the 84% world average. It meant that 44 million children were not enrolled (more than 40% of the world total of out-of-school children), more than half of them girls.
- Sub-Saharan Africa has low enrolment rates in comparison to other developing regions. As noted earlier, the region has stronger gender disparities and inequalities. Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest repetition rates-more than 15% in half the countries with data. Unlike elsewhere, girls repeat more often than boys and the region is home to almost all the world's countries where this happens.

- Survival rates to grade 5 in Sub-Saharan Africa are lower than elsewhere, and it is the only region where there are higher for boys than girls notably in Guinea-Bissau, Malawi and Mozambique.
- Access to secondary and tertiary education in the region is still limited to a minority and half the countries show gross enrolment rates of no more than 26% for secondary and 2.5% for tertiary. Participation is often the privilege of boys and young men.

In view of the above data, the future of the Sub-Saharan region is bleak as development is closely associated with education. The international community agrees that something must be done in order to address the situation and achieve sustainable development in the region. The deteriorating state of education in Sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere in the developing regions of the world prompted the World Bank, UNESCO and UNDP in 1990 to organise the World Forum on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand (whose objectives are outlined in chapter 3).

Reaching the year 2000, improvements had been made although there were reversals in some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, almost all the countries involved were far from the targets agreed upon a decade earlier. A World Education Forum was held in Dakar, Senegal in April 2000. The Conference was held with a view to assess the achievements and failures of what is often referred to as the 'Jomtien decade' and set new targets. The forum in Dakar resulted in the new Framework for Action. The holding of the World Education Forum in the Sub-Saharan region could have been in recognition by the international community of the deteriorating state of education in the region. The schedule for achieving the targets was adjusted, and the participants agreed on a more specific focus on achieving gender equity in education and on quality. The targets were scheduled for 2005 to achieve gender parity in primary and secondary education and 2015 to achieve universal primary education. While setting targets is important for purposes of focus and evaluation, were targets of 2005 for achieving gender parity and 2015 for attainment of universal primary education realistic? So far the prospects do not seem promising for Sub-Saharan Africa. Enrolment trends since Jomtien in 1990 indicate

that in 2015 Africa will account for 15% of the world's primary school-age children, but with 75% of children not in school (UNESCO, 2000c:1). According to UNESCO's 2002 monitoring report, 31 countries, the majority of which are located in Sub-Saharan Africa, are at high risk of not achieving the goal by 2015.

One of the significant outcomes of the Dakar World Education Forum was the renewed emphasis and focus on achieving gender equity in education. While the focus on achieving universal primary education was not lost, it was now perceived through the lens of gender equity. This meant that universal primary education was only possible if gender equity was achieved. The renewed focus on achieving gender equity in education was adopted by both bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. This is clearly seen in the focus of reports by the United Nations agencies. UNESCO's Global Monitoring report for 2003/4 is entitled, "Gender and Education for All: THE LEAP TO EQUALITY". The UNICEF report is entitled, "The State of the World's Children 2004: Girls, Education and Development". The reason for this renewed emphasis and focus on gender equity in education is best summarised by Wolfensohn's assertion:

All agree that the single most important key to development and poverty alleviation is education. This must start with universal primary education for girls and boys equally, as well as an open and competitive system of secondary and tertiary education ... Adult education, literacy, and lifelong learning must be combined with the fundamental recognition that education of women and girls is central to the process of development ... pre-school education must be given its full weight ... developments in science and technology and knowledge transfer offer a unique possibility to countries to catch up with more technologically advanced ones. (World Bank, 2001a:iii).

This is the model that has guided the World Bank in its effort to promote girls' education in developing countries. According to this model, the benefits of education relates to more or less all aspects of development.

Some development theorists however, have consistently challenged this view (Hallak, 1990; Scott, 1995; Leach, 1998). For example, Hallak (1990) argues that the relationship between education and enhanced economic growth is not straightforward. According to this view, education enables people to develop the skills needed to innovate and increase productivity, but to result in economic growth; the economy must be able to absorb the labour that will be the effect of rising levels of productivity. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the possibility of profiting from the potential benefits of education in relation to enhanced productivity and economic growth has been limited by weak macro-economic politics and external problems (Watkins, 2000b). This stresses the importance of a holistic approach to the improvements to have real effects. The discussion of the World Bank's model will be continued later, when we look at the difference in perception of education between the World Bank and the United Nations. In the next section we shall delineate the benefits of female education. However, before discussing the benefits of female education, a brief look at the state of girls' education in Sub-Saharan Africa will be helpful.

State of Girls' Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

An overwhelming majority of girls and women do not have access to education in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is argued that this is a major reason why Sub-Saharan Africa still lags behind economically (World Bank, 2001a; Oxfam, 2000; UNICEF.2004). This has prompted the international community to make closing the gender gap in education a priority. Though trends have shown improvements in the numbers of girls enrolled in schools since the Jomtien Education for All conference, the gender gap remains a problem for most of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Brief statistical data will be given for countries with wide gender gaps. Among countries with wide gender gaps in 2000 were Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique and Sierra Leone. The data on these countries is based on UNESCO 2003/4 report.

Table 4.1: Gender Gap in 10 Sub-Saharan Africa Countries

Country	Net Primary School Attendance (%) (1992-2001)		% Gender Gap (net male - net female)
	Male	Female	
Benin	52	34	18
Burkina Faso	32	22	10
Cote d'Ivoire	61	52	9
Central African Rep.	47	39	8
Mozambique	63	56	7
Guinea Bissau	44	38	6
Liberia	59	53	6
Cameroon	76	71	5
Ethiopia	33	28	5
Sierra Leone	39	34	5

Source: UNESCO 2003/4 (table constructed by this author)

Most of these countries were or are involved in a civil war; therefore the statistics above may be an underestimation. In many cases, out of school girls are 'invisible'; they are either not reported or underreported. Many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa suffer from information gap in which populations in hard-to-reach areas are often not accounted for. According to UNDP (1999), Sub-Saharan Africa has one of the least developed transport infrastructure. In addition countries mostly report on averages and thus frequently conceal very serious gender disparities between urban and rural areas.

According to UNICEF (2004), girls' primary school completion rate for Sub-Saharan Africa lags well behind boys', at 76% compared with 85%. This yawning gender gap means that millions more girls than boys are dropping out of school each year. As a

result, the majority of the children not in school are girls. The most worrying part of the report about Sub-Saharan Africa is that the number of girls out of school rose from 20 million in 1990 to 24 million in 2002. Achieving gender parity by 2005 for the region is a daunting task. For example, in Benin's two southern cities alone, there were 100,000 of 6-14 year-olds who were working as domestic servants in 2000. Of these, 85% were girls (UNICEF, 2004). These girls, along with thousands of other working children in the country, were not registered in school.

Addressing gender disparities in education in Sub-Saharan Africa requires a multidimensional approach. Instead of only focusing on increasing access for girls, there is need to address the problems of rising poverty levels, conflicts and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. These are some of the inhibitors to girls' education.

Benefits of Girls' Education

As indicated above, it is believed that female education affects the way household decisions are made and thus has strong effects on areas like fertility, children's health and children's (especially girls') education.

Moser (1993) identified practical and strategic gender needs. She describes them as follows:

Practical gender needs are needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment. (Moser, 1993:40).

Strategic gender needs have to do with women's agency and are described as follows:

Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position. (Moser, 1993:39).

According to this understanding, education is a way to fulfil strategic gender needs in that it contributes to the emancipation of women. Education is seen as the key to transforming women's attitudes and values from traditional to more modern ones, and their behaviour from constrained to emancipated (Jejeebhoy, 1995; Hallak, 1990). Jejeebhoy (1995) refers to women's ability to affect their lives as 'women's autonomy'. Women's autonomy is what was referred to as the women's agency in chapter two. This ability is rooted in women's independence and empowerment. Women's autonomy, like the fulfilling of women's strategic gender needs, could have a far-reaching impact on women's social status and their decision-making possibilities within the family and in society as a whole (Moser, 1993; Watkins, 2000b; Jejeebhoy, 1995). A study concerning household characteristics in Tanzania shows that an educated mother is likely to improve her bargaining power within the household and her preference for educated children plays a larger role in the decision to send children to school (Bendera, 1999). The relationship between education and women's autonomy is not straightforward, but contingent upon norms of patriarchy. In gender-stratified cultures, even educated women would be excluded from decisions pertaining to family finances (Jejeebhoy, 1995).

Fertility is a crucial issue when dealing with Sub-Saharan Africa, where fertility rates remain high. Regardless of region, culture, developmental level, well-educated women

are observed to have fewer children than uneducated women (O’Gara & Robey, 1998). Education affects fertility through influences on the supply and demand for children. Education influences supply by delaying the age of marriage, increasing the use of contraceptives, shortening the duration of breast-feeding and improving maternal and infant health and nutrition. The demand side includes value shifts towards a norm of fewer children and female autonomy, signifying less dependency on children. The specific relationship between women’s education and their fertility are complex, varying by cultural context and level of development. The position women occupy in the traditional kinship structure and gender stratification is especially important for the impact of education on fertility. Studies conducted by Jejeebhoy (1995), suggest that there is a threshold level of education, below which education has little effect on fertility, and may actually increase fertility. In Sub-Saharan Africa seven years of education is necessary before observing substantial (20%) decline (Jejeebhoy, 1995). In Tanzania, a patriarchal society, schooling does not seem to have altered societal norms. The provision of universal primary education did not reduce the number of early pregnancies and hence the fertility rate. These findings suggest that the concept of ‘schooling as a contraception’ is not a feasible way of fertility reduction as projected by the World Bank (Bendera, 1999). The social context in which fertility decisions are made remains all important.

It is typically mothers that assume responsibility for the welfare of children. This might explain why educational status of men is far less important than that of women in relation to children’s welfare, including their nutritional status (Watkins, 2000b). The education of mothers is consistently one of the most powerful determinants of child health. Educated mothers are far more likely to make use of preventative health-care services and to demand timely treatment. The enhanced nutritional standard also affects child mortality, which is reduced by five to ten percent for each additional year of schooling (Sutton, 1998).

According to the World Bank (2001b), education is an important instrument to affect the conscious choices of fertility, and thereby reduce population growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the short run the nutritional standard will rise, child mortality will decrease,

and the effects on fertility will in much of the region be positive. However, a holistic approach is crucial in that the social and cultural contexts are decisive in forming the relationship between education, autonomy and fertility.

The multiple benefits of girls' education are cumulative in that they become mutually reinforcing over time, with the advantages transmitted across generations. Besides getting more productive and healthier, educated women are also more likely to educate their own children.

Constraints on girls' education in Sub-Saharan Africa have been well documented in chapter three and need not be discussed in this chapter. However, it may suffice to mention that constraints to girls' education in Sub-Saharan are many and need the attention of the international community and national governments. The continuation of rhetoric from both the international community and national governments that characterised recent decades will not help. Constraints on girls' education require sustained financial support from the international community and national governments, and the political will to develop thoughtful strategies to this problem.

Donors' Role in Education Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

Perhaps the greatest failing in the decade since the World Conference on Education for All has been the failure to develop a coherent plan for achieving the targets adopted. (Watkins, 2000b:8).

With the Forum on Education for All in Jomtien in 1990, there was a significant shift in the world's collective approach to education, with the emergence of an international consensus that education is the single most vital element in combating poverty, empowering women, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment and controlling population growth (UNICEF, 1999). Nevertheless, at the end of the Jomtien decade (1990-1999) the statistics showed little progress toward

universal primary education and gender equity. Developing countries governments failed to translate government rhetoric on the importance of education into real budget provisions. The industrialised countries failed to provide the increased aid, debt relief and wider reforms needed to turn the agreements on universal primary education into reality for the world's poor (Watkins, 2000b). The failure of the Jomtien decade resulted into the second World Conference on Education held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000. Almost halfway through the decade (2000-2009) since the Dakar conference, universal primary education is still a far-fetched dream for some children in developing countries especially those in the Sub-Saharan region.

Sub-Saharan Africa heavily depends on aid in order to achieve the goals agreed upon in both Jomtien and Dakar. However, aid to the region seems inadequate. According to Brock-Utne (1996), development assistance accounts for only four to five percent of the total expenditure on education in Sub-Saharan Africa. In spite of the modest general assistance, foreign aid still has the potential to play a significant role in education financing, and a much more significant role than it does today (Watkins, 2000b).

There are differences in perception of education between the World Bank and the United Nations and we shall examine these differences and how they influence the kind of support these institutions give to educational development in developing countries and in particular those in the Sub-Saharan Africa.

“ All agree that the single most important key to development and poverty alleviation is education...”

James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank,
(World Bank, 2001a:iii).

“Education is a human right with immense power to transform. On its foundation rest the cornerstone of freedom, democracy and sustainable human development”

Kofi A. Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations,
(UNICEF, 1999:4)

The two quotations illustrate the difference between the World Bank and the United Nations in their approaches to education. The World Bank considers education as an instrument in bringing about development and poverty alleviation. Therefore, the World Bank finds it important to promote all levels of education. The education of girls is recognised as central to the process of development. Furthermore, considering the return on investment in education, the World Bank focuses on countries with an environment of good governance, political and macroeconomic stability, and broadly equitable access to social services (World Bank, 2001a:8). This country preference is reflected in the education portfolio, as will be seen below. In contrast, the United Nations considers education a human right. The United Nations also emphasises education's power to transform. The United Nations assumes that education affects people's ability to make informed decisions, it empowers them to participate in the public and political life, and it enables people to develop skills (UNICEF, 2004). But the basic approach is the perception of education as a human right, resulting in a strategy more focused on achieving universal primary education for all, and reaching the targets of closing the gender gap in enrolment rates, agreed upon in the Dakar Framework for Action. Despite the differences, there is widespread agreement of the targets to pursue and the strategies of the World Bank and United Nations will be examined together.

Dissatisfied with traditional project-based strategies, donors have been moving towards sector wide approaches (SWAPs) (World Bank, 2001a). The shift is an important one because it is redefining the respective roles of donors and recipient governments in development co-operation. According to the World Bank (2001b), the development of SWAPs took place for four reasons:

- donors have become increasingly aware that individual projects – even good ones will have limited effect if the overall policy environment is not conducive to successful education reform.
- donors now acknowledge that the administrative demands associated with project-based approaches placed undue stress on education ministries in developing

countries, hampering the development of effective national strategies in the process.

- SWAPs emphasise the importance of national 'ownership'.
- SWAPs have the ability to overcome the potential fungibility problem: where national ownership is lacking, donors and governments often have different objectives. In this situation fungibility can become a problem, and aid is more likely to be substitute for, rather than complement government effort.

This shift in overall strategies implies that donors are more present and have greater influence on the national politics. At the same time it helps securing the holistic approach in education reforms. One feels very uncomfortable with this approach, as the issue of power relations arises. If donors have great influence on the national politics, who eventually exerts more control on policy related matters? Although it is difficult to give a clear-cut answer to this question, most governments in third world countries are very vulnerable to pressure for control of policy from donors. The power relations in such circumstances are tipped towards the donors. The relationship between the two can be likened to what Hallak (1995) calls a dwarf against a giant. In this case the donors are the giant, exerting more influence on the governments (dwarf) of the developing countries.

Agreeing on the importance of equitable access to education, the World Bank focuses on overcoming the material barriers to girls' education, by building schools, teacher training colleges, etc. The United Nations was more aware of socio-cultural barriers and sought to develop a threefold short-term strategy that focused on curricula development, which included developing more gender sensitive learning and training materials, improved research of cultural beliefs about boys and girls' schooling and educational relevance as the basis for policy making, and advocacy in order to promote gender equality (UNESCO, 2001).

Both the World Bank and the United Nations recognise the importance of co-operation with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) about non-formal education in order to reach the most marginalized (World Bank, 2001a; Watkins, 2000b). Non-formal

education unlike formal education is more able to respond to local needs and provide useful know-how on how to cope with everyday problems. Also school-based education could benefit immeasurably from the informal sector flexibility, relevance of learning materials and outreach.

Many of the constraints on girls' education discussed in chapter three are to a great extent founded in economic insufficiency. At the World Education Forum in Dakar, the World Bank President pledged, "...the World Bank would make every effort to ensure that no country with credible plan will be unable to implement it because of lack of external support" (World Bank, 2001a:ix). Shortly after the Jomtien conference in 1990, the Bank increased the lending to the education sector. The World Bank's increased lending to education is outlined in chapter three. According to Watkins (2000b) the increase in lending by the World Bank was due to an increase in loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to a small group of middle-income countries. Loans through International Development Assistance (IDA) directed toward the poorest countries showed a declining trend during the 1990s (World Bank, 2001a). In 1993 IDA loans accounted for US\$417 million, in 1996, the amount had fallen to US\$132 million (UNICEF, 1999:82). These lending tendencies underline the World Bank's preconditions to the recipient countries of stability and good governance. Watkins (2000b) questions the World Bank's actual will to invest in education for all, the commitments at the World Education Forum were just rhetoric.

According to the World Bank, substantial support for education is programmed through budget support programmes as part of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt initiative (World Bank, 2001a). Expanded debt relief under the HIPC initiative presents opportunities to free funds to strengthen the national resource base to sustain accelerated education development. Tanzania is not untypical in spending six times more on debt repayments than on education (UNICEF, 1999).

The difference in perception of education between the World Bank and the United Nations can be linked to feminist theories. The World Bank is informed by the women in

development (WID) framework while the United Nations is informed by gender and development (GAD) framework. The WID framework is based on liberal feminist theory. The WID approach perceives girls' education as a means to reducing poverty by lowering fertility, improving child health and raising women's incomes from the labour market. So, according to the WID framework, literacy and educational attainment through schooling is supposed to improve women's status in society by enabling them to move up the socio-economic ladder. The main thrust of the WID approach is access and equal opportunities as indicated in chapter two.

The GAD framework, which informs the United Nations in its effort to address gender inequalities in education and development, is linked to the radical feminist theory. GAD uses gender analysis. Gender analysis identifies differences between men and women in productive work and access to resources (Heward, 1999). Proponents of the GAD approach are opposed to the narrow focus of the WID framework on issues of access and equal opportunities as a panacea for women's oppression. Wynd (1999) concludes that World Bank policies on girls' education that take no account of local cultural understandings are likely to fail.

Among the donor community, the most popular theoretical framework is the WID. Heward noted that:

Despite the efforts of the UNDP and UNICEF to broaden the context of debates about gender, education and development in the international donor community, international gatherings in the 1990s have been pre-occupied with the single narrowly conceived issue of closing the so-called gender gaps in school enrolments in regions where the birth rates are high particularly Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. (Heward, 1999:4).

So, the dominant approach for gender-oriented education policy uses mainly the WID, which associates schooling with economic development. The likely reasons for the choice of the WID approach by donors have been highlighted in chapter two.

Stressing the importance of donors' role in achieving universal primary education for all, and in closing the gender gap, it must be emphasised that governments play a vital role in reaching the targets. The donor community has acknowledged the need for partnerships with local and national governments in order to obtain sustainable development. The governments' role in achieving universal primary education and closing the gender gap will be explored in the next section.

Governments' Role in Achieving Universal Primary Education and in closing the gender Gap

Under the Dakar Framework for Action, governments are expected to establish clear budget priorities for education. The Framework also calls on governments to identify strategies for reducing inequalities in education, especially those related to gender. The general picture in Sub-Saharan Africa is of disproportionately high spending on secondary and tertiary education in relation to primary education. This imbalance can be traced back to the time of attaining Independence. Most of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa had critical shortages of skilled labour power; therefore it was prudent for governments to increase expenditure at secondary and tertiary level to achieve intended targets of the much-needed skilled labour power. The situation has not been reversed since then. It is only recently with pressure from the donors that governments in Sub-Saharan Africa have been trying to address the situation. The initiatives to address the situation have not been without problems, university students and those from other tertiary institutions reacted negatively to these initiatives. In Zambia, there were demonstrations by university students and their counterparts from other tertiary institutions against government's intention to introduce fees in tertiary institutions. However, the issue of disproportionate high spending on secondary and tertiary education in relation to primary education has been an issue of concern, especially given that those

who benefit from tertiary education are mostly not poor. Those from the poor section of society in Sub-Saharan Africa rarely go beyond primary education. On average, public subsidies to secondary education are roughly three times as high as subsidies to primary education, tertiary are about 30 times as high (in Uganda, the numbers are 3.2 and 32 respectively) (Addison & Rahman, 2001:1). This implies that higher income groups benefit disproportionately from public spending, because the poor typically leave school after primary education, while the richer attain higher education levels.

According to Addison and Rahman (2001), this difference in public spending is the outcome of perverse patron-client relationships between the rich and the state that characterise many poor countries. Due to this relationship, money plays a central role in politics, and the bargaining power of the poor relative to the rich declines with rising inequality in society. Primary education is the category of most direct benefit to the poor (Haddad et. al, 1990). There is a high social return on investment in education, while the private return to investment on education may be low, particularly for girls (Hallak, 1990). When social return is higher than private return, there will be a need for public provision of education, because society benefits more than the individual. This underlines the dangers of too heavy privatisation of education, because privatisation risks excluding the most poor, and particularly girls, for whom the private return to education is lowest.

Uganda provides an example of a strong policy environment for developing co-operation. In 1994 the government issued a white paper, the National Commitment to Basic Education that outlined the government's long-term vision for education reform. The paper proved the government's commitment to education in a way that persuaded the World Bank to co-operate with the government, financing a substantial part of the requirements. The government developed a strategic investment plan for education, geared towards reaching well defined goals, including the achievement of universal primary education by 2003 and improvement in education quality. The government's commitment to primary education was reflected both in public-spending reforms and in the bold initiative to end school fees. The projects of the reform included classroom construction and measures to facilitate access for those with special needs, qualitative improvements through teacher training programmes, curriculum development and

textbook supply (World Bank, 2001a:33). The strength of the plan, the government's commitment to education, and the existence of a credible budget and national poverty reduction strategy created an environment in which aid investments were likely to yield strong returns in terms of human development (Watkins, 2000b; World Bank, 2001a).

These efforts yielded positive results. In the space of the two years between 1996 and 1998, the number of children enrolled in primary school almost doubled, and the net enrolment rates increased from 54% (less than the Sub-Saharan average) to more than 80%. Large numbers of over-age children who had dropped out of school returned. The catalyst for change was the government's UPE introduced in 1997 as part of the National Commitment to Basic Education. The probably most invention of the programme was the providing of free education for four children from every family. Thereby, the government significantly reduced the cost barriers to education. Despite the ability to mobilise additional resources from the World Bank, the targets were backed by a general reorientation of public spending policies (Watkins, 2000b). Immense challenges still remained in order to achieve the targets. The rapid increase in enrolment placed a huge strain on education infrastructure, with potentially damaging implications for quality of education.

One of the problems that faced the government was to sustain progress towards parity between boys and girls. Following a dramatic increase in girls' enrolment, new initiatives were developed to enhance their performance and progress through a full primary cycle. The Education Strategic Investment Plan was providing support for girls in the most deprived regions of the country through grants made to schools. Another initiative, the Alliance for Community Action, developed by UNICEF, and the Forum of African Women Educationalists (FAWE), provided grants to local NGOs and community-based organisations for girls' education. However, serious problems emerged in the recruitment of female teachers, especially in rural areas (Watkins, 2000b: 300).

The example from Uganda demonstrates what is possible with strong focused leadership. At the same time, the commitment depends heavily on foreign aid. Presently, the state's

role in providing education is changing. Instead of acting as omnipotent central authority, states are finding that partnerships with multiple sectors of society offer a greater chance of achieving education for all. Many governments are decentralising their education systems to improve efficiency and responsiveness (UNICEF, 1999). The only danger of partnerships is that they have a tendency to exclude the poor who do not have the ability to contribute economically or by other means. In the changing scenario, the state's role in the delivery of education is that of the facilitator.

As observed earlier, except for a few countries like Uganda, many governments in Sub-Saharan Africa lack the political will and initiative to translate their well-documented intentions of providing universal primary education to their children especially girls. Hence the persistent large number of out of school children and gender gaps in the region. In the next section we will explore girls' education in Zambia.

Girls' Education in Zambia

Zambia's education system like many education systems in Sub-Saharan Africa is confronted with numerous problems. Among these are:

- Increasing poverty levels. Poverty in education manifests itself in several ways, including the following: low enrolments, low progression, and high dropout rates; poor performance; poor attendance because children are engaged in income-generating activities to supplement family income, tending to the sick family members, and long distances to school; poor learning environment and lack of opportunities for appropriate skills training; malnourished learners who are unable to achieve their learning potential; de-motivated and ill-qualified teachers, especially in rural areas; high illiteracy levels; ill health among teachers, pupils and others in the education system; lack of motivation for parents to send their children to school; and wide gender gaps because of choices parents have to make on who goes to school. (Ministry of Finance & National Planning, 2002:77).

- Alarming levels of HIV/AIDS have impacted negatively on the education system in Zambia. Among the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS is increased absenteeism as children (usually girls) have to take care of their sick parents or relatives; increased dropout rate due to deaths of parents or guardians, increased number of orphans who normally will be out of school. It is estimated that there are 1.2 million HIV/AIDS orphans in Zambia and 45% of the orphans were not in school for lack of support and girls are the most affected (Mulenga, 2002: 2). Teachers dying from the HIV/AIDS pandemic each year are estimated at about one thousand (Ministry of Finance & National Planning, 2002:79).
- Reduced budget allocation to the education sector. Since the 1980s when Zambia began to implement the SAPs of the IMF/World Bank, budget allocation to the education sector reduced considerably. In 2001 the budget allocation to the education sector in Zambia was the lowest in the sub-region. Just over 20% of the total disposable budget was allocated to education in 2001, compared to 25%-30% in other countries in the sub-region. Over the past five years (1997-2001), the education budget remained at just over 2% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) compared to 5%-6% in neighbouring countries (Ministry of Education, 2003: 18)
- The issue of access still poses a big challenge to the government. In 2001, an estimated 650,000 children, in the age-range 7-13 were not in school. The situation was particularly critical for children aged 7, which is the official age for children to begin school. In 2000, only 123,000 were enrolled out of the total of 313,000 aged 7. This meant that 60.8% of the 7 year olds were not enrolled in schools (Ministry of Education, 2002: 20).
- Quality remains a major problem. According to the strategic plan document, quality of education has been compromised by various factors. The overloaded and compartmentalised curriculum, coupled with poor pupil teacher contact time has been one factor, while the lack of sufficient educational materials also contributed to the low quality of education (Ministry of Education, 2002:23). The critical shortage of teachers compounds the situation further as will be shown below.

Girls' education in Zambia received more attention during the 1990s as a result of the World Education Forum held in Jomtien, Thailand. In 1995, the Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE) was launched. PAGE was responsible for advocacy and sensitisation, affirmative action (aimed at system-wide gender equality), gender across the curriculum (a special pre-service teacher training course), gender sensitive pedagogy, establishing single sex classes, familypac (involving parents in the actual learning activities of their children), community action and provision of basic teaching and learning materials (Ministry of Education, 1996). PAGE had an overall responsibility of coordinating gender activities at all levels of the Ministry of Education i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. However, it had a limited role in tertiary institutions, which did not fall under the Ministry of Education.

PAGE no longer exists; it has been incorporated into Special Programmes Unit, which includes HIV/AIDS, School Health and Nutrition, Special Educational Needs, Gender and Equity. The major problem PAGE faced was inadequate finances to support its operations. However, from time to time PAGE received funding from the donor community mainly through UNICEF. For example, in 2000 it received a donation of K1 billion (1US\$=K4200) and four vehicles worth US\$80,000 (The Post, 3 July 2000). Handing in the donation, the then UNICEF country representative McDermott said, "Educating girls is vital for every country as they become greatest assets during the developmental process of the country". Receiving the donation, the Deputy Education Minister said that the government was facing problems in its implementation of PAGE due to lack of funds and transport. The Deputy Minister further stated that PAGE had not made an impact among the rural communities where girls were still forced into early marriages. It was hoped that such donations would enable PAGE to sensitise rural communities to the importance of educating girls. Apart from lack of finances, one would argue that males who dominate the leadership structure of the education system and who did not share PAGE's concerns made its operations difficult.

There was also the lack of the political will on the part of government to address gender inequalities in education. For example, in the early 1990s, the Ministry of Education (MOE) revised the policy regarding pupils who become pregnant but it took a long time to implement the new policy. Many girls were still being expelled even when the policy was already in place. Due to deeply rooted cultural beliefs, the policy to allow school girls who become pregnant to resume their studies after they had given birth was deplored by the press and many members of the public (Kelly, 1998). Even now, the environment at school for girls who resume studies after delivery is hostile. Both teachers and fellow pupils tease them. That might be the reason many girls do not go back to school after giving birth because of the stigma attached to the experience of becoming pregnant. In rural areas, such girls are forced into marriage by their parents who benefit by receiving a dowry. There is no formal mechanism for re-admission or monitoring put in place by the Ministry of Education. Almost 10 years after the policy was instituted, it is still not known in some areas of the country. The Forum for Women Educationalists in Zambia (FAWEZA) discovered this. FAWEZA national coordinator said, "the government's policy to re-admit pregnant girls after they have given birth is not known in some parts of the country" (The Post, 19 July, 2000). This shows that there has not been much publicity about this policy and this is to the disadvantage of girls who are already highly disadvantaged in as far as access to the learning environment is concerned. The under-representation of women in the ministry is in itself a great disadvantage to girls who lack role models to emulate. For example, out of 9 Provincial Education Officers in the country in 2000, there were only 2 who were women.

From the facts above, one can see quite clearly that gender inequality awareness at the political level in Zambia has been created and yet the progress in addressing these inequalities has been very slow. As Jensen (1997) suggests, there is need to examine carefully the gap between intention and action and to make sure that the good intentions of most governments be translated adequately into action, so that increasing access of girls and women to quality education becomes a reality as quickly as possible. Admittedly the intentions of Government to address gender inequalities in education are clearly outlined in its education policy document "Educating Our Future" (Ministry of

Education, 1996). What is lacking is the action to translate these intentions into reality or rather the political will to implement the policy fully. However, this may be due to the fact that the government is relatively weak due to its indebtedness to international financial institutions and also the fact that patriarchy within the Zambian society is strong.

The gender inequality problem in education in Zambia is real and urgently needs to be addressed. The government acknowledges this problem. "The underprivileged situation of girls remains a very acute educational problem" (Ministry of Education, 1992: 81). While it is generally acknowledged that girls' enrolment in Grade 1 is almost equal to that of boys, the numbers of girls in subsequent grades decreases steadily, with a noticeable high female dropout from Grade 4 onwards (Ministry of Education, 1996).

Table 4.2: Progression by Gender of pupils from Grade 1 to 12

	No. entering Grade 1	No. completing Grade 7	No. entering Grade 8	No. entering Grade 10	No. sitting for Grade 12 exam
Girls	100	70	23	9	7
Boys	100	87	37	16	15

Source: Ministry of Education in Zambia, 1996 (table constructed by this author from MOE figures)

From Table 3.2, it can be seen that for every 100 girls who begin primary school, only 70 complete the full primary course, 23 proceed into junior secondary school, 9 into senior secondary and 7 sit for the School Certificate Examination in Grade 12. Opportunities for boys are considerably better with 87 out of every 100 Grade 1 entrants completing the primary course, 37 entering junior secondary school, 16 going forward to senior secondary level and 15 sitting for the School Certificate Examination (Ministry of Education, 1996). These are purely estimates, the situation could be worse especially in rural areas. Data given by government may not be reliable. For example, in the Country report for Zambia presented at the World Education Forum in Dakar, it was reported that the enrolment of girls in schools had improved to the point where there seemed to be negligible disparity in enrolments between boys and girls at primary school level in all the regions of the country (Ministry of Education, 2000). In the same report, they admit that this is against research evidence. All research projects conducted in the country so far have painted a depressing picture of girls' participation in school. The conclusions of most research studies have been that girls are under-represented in the education system. The report goes on to defend the Ministry of Education statistics by blaming researchers of using secondary data or limited case study findings. One would rather agree with researchers who actually went out to schools and got primary data than the government

that depends on data from school returns some of which is not accurate. According to one research report, this was not the first time the Ministry of Education statistics differed with statistics from the field. In 1990, the census data for primary school enrolments was about 20 percent lower than Ministry of Education's, whereas for secondary school it was about 20 per cent higher (Kelly, 1994). Since trained enumerators collected the census data, it was likely to be more reliable than the school returns, which form the basis of Ministry of Education's database. It is on the basis of these irregularities that data from the Ministry of Education must be treated with caution. For example, when computing the school age population, it is only children who are registered in schools and those who make an effort to register but are turned away due to limited number of places are considered. Similarly, when computing the number of out of school children, only those who have been turned away by schools due to limited number of places who are considered. The children who do not make an effort to go to schools to try to register are not included in the Ministry of Education statistics. So, the gross enrolment and net enrolment ratios that are dependent on school age population are flawed. They do not reflect the real situation especially at the time when the street children population is growing in the country and was estimated at 35000 in 2002 (Mupuchi, 2002). However, it must be appreciated that it is very difficult for the Ministry of Education to capture the actual school age population, as it does not have the capacity to carry out yearly surveys, which would involve all the households in the country. Such realities must be taken into account when dealing with government statistics. They are generally based on estimates. Field based research surveys would yield more accurate statistics and portray a better picture of the state of girls' education in Zambia.

There is limited literature on the subject of gender and education in Zambia; most researchers have concentrated on gender and development. As Swainson (1995) noted, in her research covering Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe, Zambia appears to have the least amount of published research on the process of gender inequality in education particularly in education at a more detailed school based level. With such limited amount of research, it is difficult for anyone to make substantial conclusions on the state of the

gender gap in education. However, the evidence from the limited research is that girls are under-represented in primary school.

There seems to have been very minimal research activities pertaining to gender inequalities in Zambia in the 1980s. A study was conducted in 1986 entitled "Women in Zambia". Susan Hurlich from the Rural Science and Technology Institute in Canada conducted the research for the Canadian International Development Agency. This research project covered many aspects of women's participation in development, which included Training and Education. In this report, it was found that girls were under-represented in primary school, secondary school, and higher levels of the education system. Although the proportion of boys and girls entering Grade 1 was about equal, the proportion of girls decreased to about 40 per cent by Grade 7 and to less than 30 per cent by the end of secondary school. Hurlich's report identified three major stages at which large numbers of pupils drop out of school. The first stage is at the end of Grade 4, after which pupils often go to new schools for the Upper Primary level. While children in urban schools are able to complete seven years of schooling their counterparts in rural schools do not all have the same chance. In 1992, 390 of the 3733 primary schools in the whole country did not go beyond Grade 4 (Kelly, 1994). In 2002 there were 366 such schools (Ministry of Education, 2002). These were all rural schools. Towards the end of their Grade 4, the pupils in such incomplete schools sit for a special selection examination to identify those who would continue their education in Grade 5 in the nearest school (which might be more than 10 km away). Those not selected would stop school if their parents were not able to find a school place elsewhere away from home where the child had to stay with some relative. In 1991/92, more than 14000 children ended school on completion of their Grade 4; more than 8000 of these were girls, almost all of them from rural schools (Kelly, 1994). Most of the children who fail to enter Grade 5 tend to lapse back into illiteracy.

The second stage of noticeable drop out by girls is at the end of the primary school cycle in Grade 7. This is where the greatest drop out rate occurs, due to the fact that the country has insufficient secondary places. A large number of pupils, most of whom are girls, drop

out of school. The third stage is at the end of Grade 9 or junior secondary level. A large number of pupils drop out because there are no adequate facilities at senior secondary school level to accommodate all the junior secondary graduates. The research highlighted a number of factors perceived to be responsible for the under-representation of girls at all levels of the Zambian education system. Since preceding research projects conducted in the last decade of the last century identified similar factors, they will be considered later. The research report was not exclusively dedicated to gender inequalities in education. Its findings in gender inequalities were on a small scale; therefore education policy makers would not use such findings to formulate gender sensitive policies. However, being the pioneer research report, it provided the framework for further research in gender disparities in education.

In 1994, two research projects were conducted with one wholly dedicated to the educationally disadvantaged girl child in Zambia. The first one was published in May 1994 while the other was published in December of the same year. The first one was a World Bank Report⁷. The report was not concerned with gender inequalities in education. However, it had a component on education. The findings were similar to the previous research by Hurlich. Girls were under-represented at all levels of the Zambian educational system (World Bank, 1994). This research also lacked detailed analysis of gender inequalities in education as a basis for policy formulation. The report concentrated on the economic value of educating the female child and her ultimate contribution to national development.

The other research project conducted by Kelly (1994) was sponsored by the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF)⁸. This report examined in detail the problem of gender inequalities in education. According to this report, girls were educationally disadvantaged at all levels of the education system as can be seen from the table below.

⁷ The title of the report was "Engendering Sustainable Growth in Zambia: A gender Strategy for Promoting Economic Effectiveness".

⁸The research report was entitled, "Below the Poverty Line in Education: A situation Analysis of Girl Child Education in Zambia"

Table 4.3: Gross Enrolment Rates, 1990 by Gender

	Boys	Girls	Both Sexes
Grade 1-7			
Whole Country	87.1	78.4	82.7
Rural Zambia	74.3	64.2	69.3
Urban Zambia	104.0	97.1	100.8
Grade 8-9			
Whole Country	39.2	29.4	34.2
Rural Zambia	24.9	16.7	20.9
Urban Zambia	60.6	45.8	52.8
Grade 10-12			
Whole Country	19.3	9.7	14.3
Rural Zambia	10.1	4.2	7.1
Urban Zambia	31.9	17.0	24.1

Source: 1990 Census, Zambian Government

The table above clearly shows large differences between rural and urban areas. In rural areas the gross enrolment rate for primary level was 69.3 per cent, while in urban areas it was 100.8 per cent. There were also large differences between girls and boys. Although in the age-range of 7-13 girls outnumbered boys by about 10000, in primary schools boys outnumbered girls by more than 55000 in 1990 (Kelly, 1994). This shows that there was a significant gender gap in primary school enrolments. This gap appeared at all levels of schooling. When the 1990 census figures are compared with those of the Ministry of Education for 1998, there is seen to be tremendous improvement. Some might argue that the Ministry of Education figures are unreliable. Indeed, as Kelly (1994) argues, that there was a difference between government statistics and those of the Central Statistics Office. However, he preferred to trust the Central Statistics because they were collected by trained enumerators.

Table 4.4: Gross and Net Enrolment by Sex (1994-1998)

Year	Gender Parity Index	Gross Enrolment (GER)			Net Enrolment (NER)		
		Ratio	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1994	0.9	100.1	90.1	95.0	89.3	78.0	83.6
1996*	1.0	100.4	95.4	98.0	-	-	-
1998	1.0	102.4	99.5	101.0	84.8	86.0	85.4

Source: Ministry of Education 1998

*The 1996 NER data was not disaggregated by sex.

The vulnerability of a girl at Grade 4 to 5 transition is, however, one manifestation of her vulnerability to dropping out of school at any point in the primary cycle. Kelly clearly shows attrition rates by grade for 1991-1992.

Table 4.5: Primary School Dropout rates, 1991-1992

	Female		Male		Both sexes	
	Rate of drop out %	Number leaving school	Rate of drop out %	Number leaving school	Rate of drop out %	Number leaving school
Whole Country						
After Grade 1	4.9	5155	2.6	2816	3.8	7971
Grade 2	4.7	4794	2.8	2931	3.7	7725
Grade 3	5.6	5408	2.7	2767	4.1	8175
Grade 4	9.1	8153	6.2	6081	7.6	14234
Grade 5	8.2	6561	4.3	3756	7.2	10317
Grade 6	10.8	7851	2.8	2309	6.5	10160
Grade 1-6	6.9	37922	3.5	20660	5.2	58582
Line-of-rail provinces						
After Grade 1-6	3.0	8530	1.4	3867	1.5	12397
Provinces Away from line-of-rail						
After Grade 1-6	11.0	29392	5.5	16793	8.1	46185

Source: Ministry of Education 1993

In 1991 the proportion of children who dropped out in rural areas ranged from 5 per cent in Grade 1 to 11 per cent in Grade 6, and ranged between 4 per cent in Grade 1 to 8 per

cent in Grade 6 for 1993. Over the same period the drop out rate for girls in rural areas was higher than for boys. The proportion of girls (for the whole country) dropping out ranged from 3 per cent in Grade 1 to 10 per cent in Grade 6. In 1996 the drop out rate for girls ranged from 3 per cent in Grade 1 to 8 per cent in Grade 6 (Ministry of Education, 2000). The figures show that there was a slight decrease in the drop out rate for girls. The slight decrease in the drop out rate for 1996 could be attributed to the advent of community schools in the country. Community schools are still considered to be schools for the failures and associated with low quality education. There is need for a coordinated education campaign to change such attitudes and help increase enrolment and inculcate a sense of confidence to children who go to such schools.

The drop out rate for girls will continue to haunt the Zambian government for a long time especially with the worsening economic situation in the country. In April, the Zambian press carried an article on the rising number of children out of school (The Post, 19 April, 2000), most of whom are likely to be girls. The national coordinator for FAWEZA showed concern on the rapidly increasing number of girls dropping out of school by discussing the problem with civic leaders (The Post, 3 July, 2000). Chimuka (FAWEZA national coordinator) explained that some girls left school because their parents were not able to pay fees for their children thereby encouraging them to go into commercial sex so that they could sustain themselves. Poverty levels in Zambia are very high, with the majority of the people living in abject poverty. Schooling for their children is no longer a priority; instead survival is the main goal. The 1991 Priority Survey showed that in the country as whole 61% of the people were living in absolute poverty that is their average monthly incomes were insufficient for the purchase of the most essential basic food items (Central Statistics Office, 1993: 129). The survey showed that the rural population was in an even worse off situation, where 77% were extremely poor, compared with 44% in urban areas.

The conditionalities of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) have resulted in increased poverty levels. As Bonnick states, during the period 1984-94 (which is the period SAP had been in operation), poverty increased in relative and absolute terms. He further stated that there had been a substantial decline in social conditions over the past

15 years (Bonnick, 1997). According to Bonnick absolute poverty afflicts more than two thirds of the population. Preliminary data from 1993 poverty survey indicated that 90% of the rural population and 57% of the urban population were poor. He gave an example of the effects of the SAP by showing how much infant mortality rate increased. The infant mortality rate, which had declined to 80 per 1000 live birth in 1981, increased to 107 by 1994. Primary school enrolment ratios fell from 96% in 1985 to 84% in 1994. Indeed, programmes such as SAP have exacerbated issues of educational disadvantage and social priorities. The liberalisation and privatisation of the economy has been accompanied by retrenchments of the workforce and employment prospects have not risen. These economic changes have affected education investments at household levels in particular. Many families faced the difficulties of meeting the educational needs of their children. As Bellamy put it "Education for All will remain a dream until we address the deep poverty that keeps children out of school and often makes child labour necessary" (WEF, 2000).

The IMF policies continue to impact negatively on the education sector in Zambia. Currently the Zambian government cannot employ the 9,000 teachers it trained at great cost and desperately needs because the IMF has imposed some restrictions on the budget allocations. The Oxfam report revealed a sad development:

Zambian children are paying the price for IMF policies. Ludicrously, while schools are in desperate need of another 9,000 teachers, 8000-9000 qualified teachers sit unemployed. Why? A budget ceiling on government spending imposed by the IMF means that the government is not able to employ the teachers and health workers it desperately needs. (Oxfam International, 2004:1),

The report further indicates:

The IMF's priority is to be repaid at all costs, even at the expense of educating Zambian children. Meanwhile the IMF is sitting on billions

of dollars worth of gold they neither need nor use. (Oxfam International, 2004:1).

It is difficult to understand the motives of the IMF, especially given that they are aware of the importance of education in achieving the millennium goals and sustainable development.

Meanwhile the situation has been made worse with the advent of HIV/AIDS pandemic. Many children have been orphaned due to the HIV/AIDS related deaths of their parents. "Zambia is world's second in orphans, vulnerable kids," read the headline in one of the local papers (The Post, 10 July, 2000). A UNICEF representative said the global figures of orphaned and vulnerable children were expected to rise to 11 million by the year 2010 with Zambia accounting for the largest number. He further said that UNAIDS study had also revealed that girls were the worst discriminated against among the orphaned children as most of them were denied access to basic education. He concluded, "Uneducated girls are bad for a country and unfortunately that is what is happening to Zambia".

During the 2000 Grade 8 and 10 selection, 76052 out of 159607 pupils who sat for Grade 7 examination in 1999 qualified at Grade 8. There were 70093 girls who sat for the examination compared to 89514 boys. The difference of 19421 meant fewer girls than boys sat for the examination. Only 37908 girls qualified, 32185 failed the examination, and 10156 girls missed the examination. So, 42341 girls dropped out of school at the end of their Grade 7. Almost the same number (41589) of girls failed and missed the Grade 9 examination (The Post, 28 January, 2000). The Minister of Education cited economic hardships; early marriages in rural areas and child labour as some of the reasons for higher number of absentees during the Grade 7 examination. Like many of his predecessors the Minister said the Ministry was considering cancelling examination fees to enable poor children to continue with their education. The statement has now become mere rhetoric because it is repeated every year but has never been implemented.

From this one may argue that there are many causal factors for the continued gender inequality in education in Zambia. Institutional, socio-cultural and personal factors combine to impede girls in realising their potential through education. Institutional factors include the distance of schools from the girls' homes, fees and levies to be paid at the school, and the negative image of women and girls portrayed by many schoolbooks. Socio-cultural hindrances include the low value placed on educating a girl, the overburdening of girls with household chores, expectations that girls will automatically find personal fulfilment in childbearing and male support in marriage, early marriages and widespread doubt about girls' intellectual abilities. Personal factors include a negative self-image, which the school frequently reinforces, and radical socialisation to be passive and submissive (Ministry of Education, 1996). Socio-cultural factors are perpetuated by patriarchal structures that characterise Zambian society.

Kelly's research is the first in-depth research to probe into the problem of gender inequality in education. However, like many other research projects conducted in Zambia, it was based on literature review. The problem with documentary researches in education and gender is that they are limited in the manner they probe into the deep-rooted structures of patriarchy. This is the point Swainson (1995) was making when she said that there is a shortage of good quality school-based primary research in all three countries (Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

A general observation on all the research projects conducted in Zambia, which have been discussed here, is that none was locally initiated. They were all sponsored by multilateral or bilateral donors whose interests are focused on the general development of nations, and they view girls' education as the vehicle for development. "Investment in girls' education may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world" (Summers, 1992:1). Such research projects have many strings attached to them, notably limited time within which they should be completed (and this is perhaps the reason why most of them are based on documentary analysis). Sometimes countries are grouped together; a good example is Swainson's (1995) research on Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This makes it very difficult for a researcher to give an in-depth report on each

country. It is also worth noting that there is no government-initiated research project on gender and education. It seems that the government has little interest in the problem of gender inequalities in education in Zambia.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This thesis so far has considered the impact of the interrelated pressures of globalisation and patriarchy on educational provision in general and on the attempted reform of education to promote greater gender equality in Zambia. As argued earlier, education reform has been and remains central to the current era of globalisation. The reason for this is two-fold. On one hand, the belief that national economies are increasingly linked into a global economy, characterised by increased competition in both local and foreign markets, leads to an increased concern with the issues such as skill and productivity. On the other, the argument that technological change within this global economy is increasingly rapid, leads to emphasis on the human skills being crucial to national competitive advantage (Reich, 1991).

These economic concerns, and the apparent acceptance of the argument that late capitalism will generate global wealth that will lift people out of poverty, have tended to obscure the issues of social justice, and divert attention from immediate and substantial impacts of the dominant economic agenda on continued and deepening inequalities linked to race, class and gender. In a foreword to the 1995 UNDP Human Development Report, Speth notes:

History is likely to judge the progress in the 21st century by one major yardstick: is there a growing equality of opportunity between people and among nations? This is the issue that has begun to dominate the development debate in the final decade of the 20th century. This is entirely appropriate, since the pace of development – robust as it was in the past five decades – has been accompanied by rising disparities within nations and between nations. (UNDP, 1995:iii).

Speth further acknowledges that the most persistent of these has been gender disparity, despite a relentless continuing struggle to equalise opportunities between women and men. It is in this vein that this study argues that globalisation tends to complement patriarchy. By shifting the focus from issues of social justice and in particular gender inequality to an economic agenda, globalisation advances the cause of patriarchy, which is at the centre of gender inequalities in society and in particular education. In this sense, patriarchy uses spaces and conditions created by globalisation to advance its cause and to justify the continued oppression of women by men. As noted in chapters three and four, there are many barriers to girls' and women's education in developing countries. Yet these are the countries that are coerced to embrace education reforms that are driven by an economic agenda which is deliberately blind to social justice concerns. When the World Bank reflects gender disparities in its education policies, it focuses narrowly on enrolment and retention issues. The World Bank policy on gender does not address the embedded patriarchal structures and attitudes that make girls education particularly difficult in specific contexts, including those reported on in this study in Zambia. Before giving details of the fieldwork (in Chapter Six) this chapter discusses the methodological implications of the framing of this thesis in concerns about the dynamic nature of globalisation and patriarchy, and their combined effects on education in Zambia. The discussion below sets out the ways in which that position has framed the enquiry, and discusses the resources- in particular those available in critical ethnographic studies- which have helped to shape the enquiry.

Research Orientation

This thesis does not view the world from a positivistic stance. In other words, the world is not an experiment in which people behave in predictable ways like chemical reactions with cause and effect. Positivism is a position that holds that the goal of knowledge is simply to describe the phenomena that we experience. The purpose of science for a positivistic approach is to observe and record phenomena as they occur in the world. A positivistic approach looks at the world as a source of data that can be collected and understood in ways that reveal underlying 'laws' that can explain human behaviour.

Positivism relates to empiricism and the idea that there are known 'facts' that can be gathered about the social world, and that exist independently of how people interpret them (May, 1997:10). This thesis recognises that such 'facts' are disputed and contentious, globalisation is contradictory in its effects, for example, and patriarchy is not a 'fact' though some people assume that it is.

Due to this anti-positivistic position, the approach adopted in this thesis is placed within the 'critical realist' paradigm (Bhaskar, 1993). Unlike the positivistic theorists, Bhaskar makes a sharp ontological distinction between 'patterns of events' and 'causal laws'. He comments:

What is so special about the patterns (that scientists) deliberately produce under meticulously controlled conditions in the laboratory is that it enables them to identify the mode of operation of natural structures, mechanisms or process which they do not produce. What distinguishes the phenomena the scientist actually produces from the totality of the phenomena she could produce is that, when the experiment is successful, it is an index of what she does not produce. A real distinction between the objects of the experimental investigation, such as causal laws, and patterns of events, is thus a condition of the intelligibility of experimental activity. (Bhaskar, 1998:9).

In other words, causal laws are invisible and are embedded in the natural structure, thus they are different from the empirical patterns of events. At the core of the critical realist paradigm is the belief that 'reality exists independently of us and our knowledge of it'. A realist approach explains by reference to structures and generative mechanisms; it is concerned, as Bhaskar (1998) emphasises, with structures not events. According to Bhaskar (1998), it is to structures of social relations that we must look in order to explain social phenomena.

Influenced by the critical realist approach, this thesis seeks to explain 'real' phenomena especially those underlying structural mechanisms that shape social political and economic relations. It seeks to uncover the structures of social relations in order to understand why we have a situation where gender equality in education is so difficult to achieve.

It is important here to note that people's knowledge about their social world and the structures that shape it is limited and incomplete, but it strongly affects how they behave (May, 1997:12). Also the social world does not really exist separately from these understandings, what they understand is what there is. So we need to have theoretical frameworks to help us work out how people's actions are structured, for example how schools make workers rather than free citizens (Willis, 1977).

There are some theorists who have tried to build bridges between 'structure' (the underlying forces that shape us) and 'agency' (our capacity to think and understand and act without being constrained by these structures). Notable among such theorists is Giddens. He states that:

One of my principal ambitions in the formulation of structuration theory is to put an end to each of these empire-building endeavours. The basic domain of study of the social sciences according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal, but social practices ordered across space and time. (Giddens, 1984:2).

In other words, Giddens' argument in the structuration theory is that we need to have a balance between understanding that people's everyday actions make sense to them, and understanding the structures that shape them and are reproduced by everyday actions (patriarchy is a good example of such a shaping structure).

Feminist Research

Feminist thinking also influences this thesis. Feminists have criticised much of social science research because it is (like the rest of the world) shaped by dominant forces, including patriarchy, so that women feature in research as 'additions' or as wives and mothers, or researchers may have assumed that the position of women in society was 'natural' - that is they collected data on women's pay or education or health but did not see beyond the 'facts'. So, research itself can be part of the problem of shaping people's ideas about the world in particular ways. Therefore, most feminist researchers believe that research must contribute to serving the interests of women instead of being a tool to support the dominant orthodox worldview. Webb stated:

Feminist research should therefore be 'concerned with values', should focus on 'women-related research questions', should analyse 'the condition of women's lives', and should be 'grounded in actual experience closely related to social change'. (Webb, 1993:417).

For Wilkinson (1986), feminist research is research on women and for women, giving priority to female experience and developing theory which is firmly situated in this experience. According to Wise (1987), feminist research should be 'concerned with women's oppression' and should be located within a model where the power imbalance between researcher and researched can be broken. Reinharz (1992:251) states that, "At the heart of much feminist research is the goal, even the obligation, of taking action and bringing about change in the condition of women". As noted earlier in this thesis, feminism is about challenging gender inequalities in the social world. Ramazanoglu states:

Feminism is not simply ideas. Its point is to change the world, to transform the relations between women and men so that all people can have more chance to fulfil their whole human potential; feminism is

logically then a set of ideas which are also a political practice.
(Ramazanoglu, 1989:8).

Feminist research is oriented towards achieving this goal.

In this thesis, I have engaged with patriarchy and theories of patriarchy and this has enabled me to see that the 'facts' about women and girls are not 'natural' or 'scientific' but reflect the imbalance of power in the ways these issues are thought about and investigated, as well as in the world that is being explored. These arguments have persuaded me that 'disengagement' and 'objectivity' can be critiqued as implicated in colluding with unequal power relations. Gaby Weiner in a preface to Brine's book, 'underEducating Women: Globalising Inequality' makes this point clear. She states:

It focuses on working-class women, a group ignored by male social scientists in the 1950s and 1960s and sidelined by many feminists working in the 1970s and 1980s. (Weiner in Brine, 1999:viii).

Problems with ideas of disengagement and objectivity led to the adoption of a feminist epistemological standpoint. This was deemed relevant to the study in which the position taken is that humans, be they female or male, are not computers and are unable to process information without some degree of subjective interpretation. As Ramazanoglu (1992:211) argues, "it is more logical to accept our subjectivity, our emotions and our socially grounded positions than to assume some of us can rise above them". Elsewhere, Ramazanoglu states:

Feminism does not start from a detached and objective standpoint on knowledge of the relations between women and men. Even the most moderate advocates of women's rights must take the view that men have rights which are unjustly denied to women. This commitment does not entail asking what we mean by knowledge, and why some forms of knowledge are seen as more valid than others. Feminism implies a

radical critique of reason, science and social theory which raises questions about how we know what we think we know. (Ramazanoglu, 1989:9).

Feminists have broadly rejected the idea of methods premised on the idea of objectivity being used to measure social knowledge, and have described such approaches as “an excuse for a power relationship” (Stanley & Wise, 1993:167). According to Stanley and Wise (1993), standpoint feminism argues against dominant ways of viewing knowledge. Harding (1986) stated that research by standpoint feminist theorists is held to produce more complete, less distorted knowledge. Harding (1991) also stated that as women have been disadvantaged and excluded, this should be turned into an advantage in research because they can see the world more clearly: here Harding means ‘stranger’ as someone (i.e. woman) excluded from power and the ‘public realm’. After engaging with patriarchy, I went into the field ‘seeing through’ patriarchy. This enabled me to re-enter my culture adopting a feminist standpoint as a ‘stranger’. As Harding noted:

The stranger brings to her research just the combination of nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference, that are central to maximising objectivity. Moreover, the ‘natives’ tend to tell a stranger some kinds of things they would never tell each other; further, the stranger can see patterns of belief or behaviour that are hard for those immersed in the culture to detect. (Harding, 1991:124).

Critical Social Theory and Social Justice

The discussion set out the perspective of the thesis on the social world. While there is recognition of structures, it is also important to explore how people interpret their social world. Although the thesis so far has presented arguments about the power of global forces and the continuing strength of patriarchy and indeed suggested that globalisation may revive such fundamental forces, it is not the intention of the thesis to present a picture of human beings who are rendered completely powerless and whose actions are

irrelevant in the face of these pressures and changes. It is important to recognise the significance of human agency.

Recognising the significance of human agency, this thesis sought to change how people think about the problem of girls' education in Zambia and elsewhere especially countries in Sub-Saharan Africa where the experience of girls is similar. In pursuing this aim, it seemed appropriate to adopt the perspective of 'critical theory'. Critical theory is particularly useful as a frame for viewing issues of social justice. As Fraser put it:

A critical social theory frames its research program and its conceptual framework with an eye to the aims and activities of those oppositional social movements with which it has a partisan, though not uncritical, identification. The questions it asks and the models it designs are informed by that identification and interest. Thus, for example, if struggles contesting the subordination of women figured among the most significant of a given age, then critical social theory for that time would aim, among other things, to shed light on the character and bases of such subordination. (Fraser, 1989:113).

We notice from Fraser's account that the aim of the critical theory is to provide a better understanding to present social conditions, how these conditions evolved, how they are transformed, how they interact with each other, what laws govern their transformation, and how they maintain their validity. The ultimate goal of the critical theory is to transform our present society into a just, rational, humane and reconciled society. According to May (1997), research based on critical theory is measured by its ability to reveal the relations of domination which exist in society. Similarly, Harvey notes:

At the heart of critical social research is the idea that knowledge is structured by existing sets of social relations. The aim of a critical methodology is to provide knowledge which engages the prevailing social structures. These social structures are seen by critical social

researchers, in one way or another, as oppressive structures. (Harvey, 1990:2).

In pursuance of knowledge that engages the prevailing social structures, critical theory researchers “acknowledge that the value position will have considerable impact on the problem chosen for research purposes and on the pursuit of the inquiry itself” (Ozga, 2000:47). Critical theorists are opposed to positivistic methodology that is disassociated from any value claims, thus implicitly tending towards instrumental control as an end in itself. Positivism makes no reference to values, since such values are not empirically verifiable. But as Ozga argues:

Yet it is not only those who clearly and overtly identify their value position and seek to connect it explicitly to a theoretical orientation who are working within a value-laden framework in doing research on education policy - we all are, researchers and policy makers alike. (Ozga, 2000:47).

It is evident from the account above that critical theory is concerned with social justice issues. Critical theorists seek knowledge for a political purpose-to liberate humanity from ‘oppressive’ structures. Critical theorists thus believe that theoretical debates are basically political debates. They are opposed to the view that the purpose of research should be to “produce knowledge, not to transform the world” (Hammersley, 1994:293). Hammersley and his colleagues are critical of the political tenets of critical theory as the statement below shows:

... Rather in our view the task of educational research is limited to producing factual information which is relevant to public debates about inequalities and other issues. One of the reasons for this is that the equity, and other, principles involved in such debates are multiple and may conflict; and research cannot resolve such conflicts. (Foster et al., 1996:173).

Critical theorists engage with the conflicts Hammersley and colleagues try to avoid, and seek to use their knowledge to advance what they believe is the ultimate end of all knowledge-the great goal of human emancipation from social structures which privilege a few at the expense of the majority. Put differently, critical theorists seek to use their knowledge to promote social justice in unjust social world.

The term 'social justice' is a contested concept. Gewirtz found "very little explicit discussion of what social justice means or ought to mean" (Gewirtz, 1998: 469). As Rizvi notes:

the immediate difficulty one confronts when examining the idea of social justice is the fact that it does not have a single essential meaning- it is embedded within discourses that are historically constituted and that are sites of conflicting and divergent political endeavours. (Rizvi, 1998:47).

Similarly, Griffiths (2003:41) described social justice as "highly political, fluid and slippery".

The contested nature of social justice can be evidenced by the conceptualisation debates that rage among critical theorists. For example, there has been sustained debate between Nancy Fraser and Iris Marion Young. What is common between Fraser and Young is both "see contemporary societies as characterised by a combination of economic and cultural injustices, and neither makes any explicit claim about one being more 'fundamental' than the other" (Phillips, 1997:147). However, conceptually, they view these injustices differently. While Young stresses on the continuity and mutual reinforcement between economic and cultural, Fraser stresses an analytic distinction in order to highlight tensions between the two (Phillips, 1997).

Young described Fraser's redistribution-recognition dilemma as follows:

According to Fraser, there are two primary kinds of injustice. The first, socio-economic injustice is 'rooted' in the political and economic structure of society. Exploitation, economic marginalisation, and deprivation of basic goods are the primary forms of such injustice. The second kind of injustice is cultural or symbolic. It is 'rooted' in social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication. Such injustice includes being subject to an alien culture, being rendered invisible in one's cultural specificity, and being subject to deprecating stereotypes and cultural representations. Redistribution produces political and economic changes that result in greater economic equality. Recognition redresses the harms of disrespect, stereotyping and cultural imperialism. (Young, 1997:149).

Young (1997) has criticised Fraser's emphasis on the distinction between redistribution and recognition. She instead favours a form of analysis that strengthens the interconnections between the two. Young argues that we need to pluralize concepts of injustice and oppression so that culture becomes one of the several sites of struggle interacting with others (Young, 1997:160).

In response to Young's critique of her theory of social justice, Fraser stated:

Iris Young and I seem to inhabit different worlds. In her world, there are no divisions between the social Left and the cultural Left. Proponents of cultural politics work cooperatively with proponents of social politics, linking claims of the recognition of difference with claims for the redistribution of wealth. (Fraser, 1997:126).

While both Fraser's and Young's theories of social justice are relevant to this thesis, it leans more on Young's theory. This is due to the fact that it has been argued that

globalisation and patriarchy interact together to make the education of girls and women difficult. However, it has also been observed that there have been areas of conflict.

Another critical theorist who has theorised the concept of social justice is Gewirtz (1998). Due to the contentious nature of social justice, her work was critiqued by Seddon (2003). In conceptualising the term social justice, Gewirtz draws considerably on Young's theory. Young's argument is stated briefly below:

The general criticism I am making of the predominant focus on the distribution of wealth, income, and positions is that such a focus ignores and tends to obscure the institutional context within which those distributions take place, and which is often at least partly the cause of patterns of distribution of jobs or wealth. Institutional context should be understood in a broader sense than 'mode of production'. It includes any structures or practices, the rules and norms that guide them and the language and symbols that mediate social interactions with them, in institutions of state, family, and civil society, as well as the workplace. These are relevant to judgements of justice and injustice. In so far as they condition people's ability to participate in determining their actions and their ability to develop and exercise their capacities. (Young, 1990:21-22).

It is this extension to include all aspects of institutional rules and relations that Gewirtz finds useful in her conceptualisation of social justice. She argues that social justice in its expanded form should include a dimension she refers to as relational justice. "The relational dimension refers to the nature of the relationships that structure society"(Gewirtz, 2002:140). She also states:

It is about the nature and ordering of social relations, the formal and informal rules which govern how members of society treat each other both on a macro level and at a micro interpersonal level. Thus it refers

to the practices and procedures which govern the organisation of political systems, economic and social institutions, families and one-to-one social relationships. (Gewirtz, 1998:471).

Although, Gewirtz's theory of social justice is tentative, it is very useful to this thesis. The enquiry took into account both distributional and relational social justice. For example, the enquiry into issues of access, supply of teaching materials and staffing levels in schools all relate to distributional justice. The enquiry into economic (globalisation) and cultural (patriarchy) structures including the enquiry into attitudes all relate to relational justice.

In this study, I have argued that the narrow focus on equality of opportunity is not sufficient to address the gender inequalities in education. Hence the need to broaden the focus which necessitates the focus on relational social justice. As the account in this section indicates, critical theorists are concerned with injustices in society and work to produce knowledge that exposes these injustices and helps to address them.

Human agency

A related point that needs to be expressed here concerns the orientation of the research to the question of human agency. As indicated above, the interaction between globalisation and patriarchy has negative consequences for the education of girls and women, which ultimately tend to limit their freedoms in society. However, the pressures of globalisation and patriarchy to limit the freedom of women have also, importantly created some resistance from women, which requires that we recognise the existence of women's agency (see Chapter 2), and do not assume a dominance of structures of inequality that control or shape all aspects of people's lives, and thus make change impossible.

In education, women's agency seeks to eliminate conditions in both the education sector and society that inhibit the education of girls and women. So, the onslaught by globalisation and patriarchy on education and especially the education of girls and

women does not completely limit the freedom of girls and women to create spaces through which they are able to alter their circumstances. Education itself offers possibilities that challenge the reproduction of inequalities, although of course education also sustains these inequalities (Connell, 1998). This is the point Brine was making when she stated:

My interest is not with the glass ceiling, as important as this is, but with the 'class' ceiling, the structures and processes that prevent working-class women from getting out of the cellar. Unlike the invisible glass ceiling this one is structured with harsh unbreakable materials, the kind of materials that can only be chipped at, materials that obscure the light, leaving only an odd chink filtering through here and there. Education is both the chink of light and the harsh unbreakable material. (Brine, 1999:2).

This view of a dynamic relationship between structure and agency is supported by the underlying position of this thesis. Insights gained from the literature reviews and my own experiences as an educator have influenced this position. I now see the world as Klees (2002:468) sees it, "structured to yield poverty, inequality, oppression through capitalist, patriarchal, racist and other structures". To some extent these can be addressed through the 'human agency', that is to free individuals from sources of domination and repression (Anderson, 1989). Human agency recognises that people are social actors who create meaning in their own lives and have some freedom to interpret their situations, though sometimes that may be limited by structures that oppress them or create tensions between their roles as-for example wives, mothers and potential wage earners or educated people. A realist school of thought is sympathetic with this view as seen from May's statement below:

Realism argues that the knowledge people have of their social world affects their behaviour and unlike the propositions of positivism and

empiricism, the social world does not simply 'exist' independently of this knowledge. (May, 1997:12).

Refuting the positivistic view that equates people to molecules, May poses a question and gives an answer to it:

However, don't we all believe that we possess something called free will? That is we can, to some extent, control our own destinies rather than have it controlled, like the molecules, by a change in our environment. In other words that we can 'act on' as well as behave in 'reaction to' our environment. (May, 1997:9).

The emphasis in May's analysis of the different schools of thought regarding people as the researched is that people are rational social actors who understand and can interpret their environment. This is how people who participated in this study are perceived. This position influenced the choice of the approach for data collection. The recognition of the capacity of people as social actors who to some extent control their own destiny led to the adoption of ethnography as the appropriate approach.

Ethnography

In seeking a way of designing enquiry that explores the relationship between structures and agency, the most productive form of enquiry seemed to be critical ethnography. It is important here to briefly describe ethnography and then make a clear distinction between ethnography and critical ethnography.

Referring to ethnography Hammersley and Atkinson argue that:

Of course ethnography has come to be associated with some distinctive methodological ideas, such as the importance of understanding the perspectives of the people under study, and of observing their activities

in every day life, rather than relying solely on their accounts of this behaviour or experimental simulations of it. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983:ix).

Hammersley and Atkinson further give the meaning of the concept ethnography:

We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or set of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:1).

Therefore, the focus of ethnography is on the manner in which people interact and collaborate in observable and predictable ways. Such research requires that the researcher spend time with the people who are the focus of her or his research. Extended participant observation is generally a central feature in most ethnographic studies. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) seem to suggest in the earlier quotation, the approach is based upon the belief that the social world cannot be understood by studying artificial simulations of it in experiments, for the use of such an approach only shows how people behave in that experimental situation. Thus, proponents of the ethnography method argue that behaviour in an experimental situation is significantly different from behaviour in the real world. This is the view that Gill and Johnson suggest in the statement below:

Often the most vaunted advantage claimed for ethnography over other research procedures is its greater ecological validity because it entails studying social phenomena in their natural contexts. This, it is argued, reduces subjects' reactivity to the researcher and his or her data collection procedures. (Gill & Johnson, 1991:111).

Although ethnographers are all agreed on the need to studying social phenomena in their natural contexts, there are some variations in their views about this. One branch of ethnography suggests that:

Ethnography and other forms of social research have had too *little* impact, that their products simply lie on library shelves gathering dust, and that as a result they are worthless. To be of value, it is suggested, ethnographic research should be concerned not simply with understanding the world but with applying its findings to bring about change. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:15).

This branch of ethnography is referred to as critical ethnography. Ethnography and critical ethnography share several fundamental characteristics such as reliance on qualitative interpretation of data and core rules of ethnographic methods and analysis (Thomas, 1993).

While ethnography and critical ethnography share several characteristics, they have distinct characteristics that distinguish them from each other. Ethnography refers to the tradition of cultural description and analysis that displays meanings by interpreting meanings. Critical ethnography refers to the reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgements of meaning and method to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity (Thomas & O'Maolchatha, 1989:147). According to Thomas (1993), ethnography describes "what is" while critical ethnography asks "what could be"? Ethnographers generally speak for their subjects, usually to an audience of other researchers. Critical ethnographers, by contrast, accept an added research task of raising their voice to appeal to an audience on behalf of their subjects as a means of empowering them by giving more authority to the subjects' voice (Lather, 1986; Anderson, 1989; Clifford, 1983). Ethnographers aim to study culture for the purpose of describing it, critical ethnographers study culture for the purpose of changing it (Trueba, 1999; Thomas, 1993; Lather, 1986). Ethnographers recognise the impossibility, even undesirability of research free of normative and other biases, but these

biases are to be repressed. Critical ethnographers, by contrast, celebrate their normative and political position as a means of invoking social consciousness and societal change (Thomas, 1993).

This list of characteristics that distinguish ethnography from critical ethnography is not exhaustive as there are many more. Clifford gives a good description of a shift from ethnography to new ethnography (critical ethnography):

In this new paradigm, the dominant metaphors for ethnography shift...toward expressive speech (and gesture). The writer's 'voice' pervades and situates the analysis, and objective distancing rhetoric is renounced. (Clifford, 1986:12).

As Roth (1989:556) put it, "culture is not passively apprehended but constructed through dialogue and negotiation". Therefore, critical ethnography is a response to concerns to promote the importance of agency in the face of over-determined analysis of social structures (Thomas, 1993; Anderson, 1989; Lather, 1986; Trueba, 1999).

Anderson traces the genesis of critical ethnography in the field of education as follows:

Critical ethnography in the field of education is the result of the following dialectic: On one hand, critical ethnography has grown out of dissatisfaction with social accounts of 'structures' like class, patriarchy, and racism in which real human actors never appear. On the other hand, it has grown out of dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors in which broad structural constraints like class, patriarchy and racism never appear. Critical theorists in education have tended to view ethnographers as too atheoretical and neutral in their approach to research. (Anderson, 1989:249).

As a result of this dissatisfaction, “critical ethnographers seek research accounts sensitive to the dialectical relationship between the social structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency” (Anderson, 1989:249).

Different authors have variously described critical ethnography, however, they are all agreed on the centrality of human agency to critical ethnography, and on the identification of the researcher with a project of change. We will now look at another conceptualisation of ethnography as given by Trueba. This account is significant because it emphasises the political nature of education, and the potential that it has to challenge existing power relations. This version of critical ethnography is linked directly to the pursuit of education as social justice, as the following quotation makes clear:

A modern concept of critical ethnography as a research methodology stresses the notion that all education is intrinsically political, and consequently critical ethnography must advocate for the oppressed by:

- a) documenting the nature of oppression;
- b) documenting the process of empowerment—a journey away from oppression;
- c) accelerating the conscientisation of the oppressed and oppressors—without this reflective awareness of the rights and obligations of humans, there is no way to conceptualise empowerment, equity and a struggle for liberation;
- d) sensitising the research community to the implications of research for the quality of life—clearly linking intellectual work to real-life conditions; and
- e) reaching a higher level of understanding of the historical, political, sociological, and economic factors supporting the abuse of power and oppression, of neglect and disregard for human rights, and of the mechanisms for learning and internalising rights and obligations. (Trueba, 1999:591).

Spradley (1979) also suggests that ethnographic research can result in social change that is it need not just be a search for knowledge and understanding, but can subsequently serve the needs of the culture being studied. He calls this 'strategic research' and suggests that:

Strategic research begins with interest in human problems. These problems suggest needed changes and information needed to make such changes. (Spradley, 1979:15).

In studying the impact of globalisation and patriarchy on the education of girls and women in Zambia, the aim was not only to gain knowledge, but to do so in order to impact upon policy. The purpose in describing, understanding and searching for meaning was to effect some kind of change.

Lather's work deals with what it means to do 'critical inquiry'. Her particular concern is emancipatory research, but she argues more generally that what is needed in social research methodology is a form of "critical ethnography" (Lather, 1986:258), which she calls 'research as praxis'. She uses this term to mean "the dialectical tension, the interactive reciprocal shaping of theory and practice" (Lather, 1986:258). According to Lather (1986), in the ethnographic approach theory is grounded in the data, whereas research as praxis (critical ethnography) requires the researcher to acknowledge that he or she has personal influence on the theoretical basis of the research. Lather urges the researcher to be 'openly ideological' and uses the term 'reciprocity' to describe how theory is built through 'a mutual negotiation of meaning and power' between researcher and researched.

As accounts of critical ethnography above show, the critical ethnographer cannot claim neutrality in research. It is inevitable that she or he takes sides. As Becker suggested:

I propose to argue that it is not possible and, therefore, that the question is not whether we should take sides, since we inevitably will, but rather

whose side we are on...In the greatest variety of subject matter areas and in work done by all the different methods at our disposal, we cannot avoid taking sides for reasons firmly based in social structure. (Becker, 1967:239).

Similarly Connolly making a summary of Blair's chapter on the myth of neutrality wrote:

Blair argues that all research analyses are inevitably a reflection of the researchers' own partisan value bases and social positions. It is disingenuous, she contends, to assume that research can be objective and value-free as this relies upon a bogus notion of a hegemonic research community where its members all subscribe to and share a common (and neutral) set of values and beliefs about the nature and purpose of research. (Connolly, 1985:5).

Blair herself argues that:

Neutrality in social research is no more than a mask which hides taken for granted partisan notions of what constitutes 'good' research. It is partisan because it ignores the possibility of diverse systems of knowledge production and multiple interpretations of social phenomena. (Blair, 1998:2).

The reason the authors cited above and many others hold such views is "the conviction that research takes place in social settings where power relations are stratified by class, 'race', gender, age and other structural characteristics" (Troyna, 1995:397).

This researcher in this study shares the views of the theorists above and thus takes the position of being on the side of the women and girls who were the focus of the inquiry. These women and girls are unfairly treated in as far as education provision is concerned. Global economic and patriarchal structures are identified as contributing to this injustice. Although I identify with the women and girls experiencing the educational inequality, I

acknowledge my part in the research and recognise that it was impossible to stand outside of it. Lather (1991:2) stated that “such a stance provides the grounds for both an ‘openly ideological’ approach to critical enquiry and the necessity of self-reflexivity, of growing awareness of how the researcher values permeate inquiry”.

Lather’s view of reflexivity fits well with Giddens’s (1976:17) description of reflexivity as “self-awareness”. Gouldner elaborates on what this self-awareness actually means in the research process for the search of knowledge:

In a knowing conceived as awareness, the concern is not with ‘discovering’ the truth about a social world regarded as external to the knower, but with seeing truth as growing out of the knower’s encounter with the world. (Gouldner, 1970:493).

Therefore, reflexivity requires a persistent commitment to the value of that awareness. As Lather (1986:268) says “dialogic encounter is required to some extent if we are to invoke the reflexivity needed to protect research from the researcher’s own enthusiasms”.

Reflexivity was applied at every level of this research project, at the planning stage, during fieldwork and after to ensure that my ‘enthusiasms’ were checked. For example, I did not only record the views of women and girls, but also recorded the views of people who are opposed to girls’ education and I felt I came to understand the conditions that have created and shaped these views.

Selection of case study schools

In this study I was working in ways that are quite close to the anthropological tradition in ethnographic research-that is he I studying cultures and communities that I recognised and accepted as discrete entities with distinguishing characteristics and rules, that differ from one another, so that they are 'cases'. One of the inherent characteristics of case studies is that they operate with a severely restricted focus. One of the prime reasons for restricting the scope of the research is that it facilitates the construction of detailed, in depth understanding of what is to be studied. In addition, because of the depth that is possible, case studies can engage with complexity. These reasons were persuasive when deciding to employ the case study approach in this thesis. The cases were strategically selected to test the impact of globalisation and patriarchy on women and girls' education. There were three case study schools.

The first case study school was selected because of the following factors, a) it is a rural school and easily accessible, b) had a high dropout rate for girls (see Chapter 6); and c) it is located within a matrilineal society. The second case study school was selected because; a) it was located in a region with low literacy levels, b) the region also had wide gender gap, c) it was a PAGE (Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education) pilot school, d) it is a rural school, e) the school's catchment area is composed of both matrilineal and patrilineal communities. The third case study school was selected because it was in an urban area. It was selected mainly for comparison purposes.

I spent a period of six weeks at each of the case study schools. During the six-week period at each case study school, I taught some mathematics lessons to Grade 8 pupils. This was very helpful because I was considered as part of the teaching staff. However, my role as a researcher was made known to both teachers and pupils in all the three cases. My research role as a participant observer was made easier by my staff role.

I also conducted interviews with all the teachers in the three case study schools. I spent some time visiting communities surrounding the case study schools conducting

participant observations, interviews and focus group discussions. I attended cultural activities such as initiation ceremonies and on two occasions, funeral gatherings. I mingled with both teachers and pupils during and after school. Among teachers, my role as a researcher was confused with the role of someone who would help sort out their problems by bringing them to the attention of the Ministry of Education authorities. This was despite the announcement the headteachers made that the purpose of my visits was to conduct research.

I visited four other schools surrounding each case study school interviewing the headteachers, some female teachers and some girls. This was done to improve the reliability of the findings.

Most of the interviews were recorded except in situations where the person interviewed was not willing to have the interview recorded. In such cases the interview notes were compiled soon after the interview. Although it was not possible to transcribe all the recorded interviews during fieldwork, effort was made to transcribe as many as possible. All the interviews that were transcribed during fieldwork were discussed with the participants. This was to avoid misrepresentation of the participants' views. So, the data analysis was an ongoing process throughout the fieldwork period and after.

This study adopts the perspectives and uses the methods associated with critical ethnography.

Methodological choices

The issues discussed above led to a search for research methods within the overarching framework of critical ethnography. The research questions identified at the beginning of the thesis (see page 2-3 in the introduction) guided the fieldwork. Unlike studies where a researcher goes into the field in an uninformed state with a view of discovering phenomena as they unfold, this study was a focused one. It was focused on those issues that provided an understanding of the contradictory pressures at work in Zambia's

education provision for girls and women. In essence, the fieldwork aimed at finding out how the theories of patriarchy and globalisation interact together to challenge Zambia's attempts to provide equality of opportunity to girls and women through education, and to explore the extent to which education was able to act as a progressive force to challenge these assumptions, or as a conservative force that was unable to resist them, or perhaps complicit in supporting them. In order to explore these issues, decisions about the sites of research and the ways in which the questions were to be explored were made prior to fieldwork. However, as fieldwork progressed, methods that were not included in the original research design were utilised to address particular difficulties that were encountered.

Methods

Ethnography is a qualitative approach to research, and the methods utilised to collect data were based on the qualitative methodology. Qualitative methods seek to capture meanings in individuals' lives rather than record 'facts'. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter under study. The great strength of qualitative methods is that they can illuminate issues and turn up possible explanations; essentially a search for meaning (Gillham, 2000:10). The methods used in the field included gathering and analysis of documents, interviews, participant observations and focus group discussions.

Documents

Although policy documents were utilised to test the theories of patriarchy and globalisation in the field, they were also analysed to build the whole picture of the subject under study i.e. education provision for girls and women. In this sense they were utilised as sources in their own right.

The use of documents raises a number of methodological issues. Their selection was neither a question of all possibly relevant documents nor a construction of a random sample. These techniques are simply not relevant to such a study. In reality selection was shaped by choice. It is important to note that selection was also dependent on the availability of the documents. There are many sources of documents (May, 1997), but documents used here were mainly obtained from the Ministry of Education in Zambia. The main concern was to examine the educational policy documents and discover the extent to which these were influenced by globalisation and patriarchy. The researcher is well aware that care must be taken not to restrict our understanding of texts to those that come with 'policy text' stamped all over them (Ozga, 2000:95). However, due to limitations that included time, it was only possible to examine major policy documents. It is therefore necessary that further research of texts in Zambia consider the wider definition of texts as suggested by Ozga (2000).

The policy documents were analysed on the basis of the following questions, 'Who wrote them?' For what purpose? What conflicts are inherent in these policies? (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The first policy document was as a result of wide consultative process in the country (Zambia). So, it was written by government on behalf of the people who participated in the consultative process. The policy document was formulated to respond to the local needs and aspirations. The other policy documents appear to have been written by influential multilateral agencies such as the World Bank with minimum local input. As a result there are not responsive to local needs, in fact as it has been argued in this thesis, they have tended to exacerbate inequalities in education especially gender inequality. Therefore, they serve to promote the global economic agenda. The infusion of local imperatives in these policies causes conflict between local needs and global needs. For example, the emphasis of the global policy is on universal primary education while the emphasis of the local policy is on nine years of basic education. The details of the analysis of the policy documents are in Chapter Six.

Interviews

A series of interviews was conducted with Ministry of Education officials, teachers, parents, community leaders, pupils, non-enrollee and dropout girls. Interviews included officers in government departments and NGOs that deal with gender issues.

Again, issues of representativeness arise. Selection of people interviewed was based on two reasons: first, notions of which government departments and NGOs were important in shaping gender policy; second, individuals, who experience educational policies as they are implemented. Such a process is of course subjective.

Unwillingness to be interviewed can also affect representiveness. Among government officials, two of those approached were not interviewed. In one case, the officer could not find space in his busy schedule to be interviewed. In another, it was the result of an arranged meeting being cancelled and an alternative time proving impossible to arrange.

The reliability of data gathered from interviews is also often subjected to criticism. The interviews were designed to be semi-structured but allowing for probes. These were based around the contextual understanding already gleaned, and there was no attempt to ensure that data from different interviews was perfectly comparable. In reality the structure of each interview depended on a range of factors, such as time available, personality and level of articulation. Therefore, some interviews lasted for a short period of time while others lasted long. Data gathered at one interview helped shape subsequent interviews, thus providing some degree of cross-checking. This was in part a response to the other major question often asked of such a technique: can data collected be trusted? There is also a sense in which semi-structured interviews tend to enhance validity. Since it is a dialogue, the researcher has an opportunity to clarify questions that are not clearly understood by the respondent and also allows for further clarifications from the respondent. There is also a chance for the researcher after going through the interview report, to get back to the respondent and seek further clarification and sometimes follow up new insights. The nature of the interviews conducted was varied. Some were formal

while others were informal, organised around social interactions such as a chat after a football game.

The data collected from interviews cannot be viewed as scientifically rigorous. However, the wealth and variety of information gathered permits great insight into the topic under study.

Participant observations

This method enables the researcher to share the experiences of the people being studied by not only observing what is happening but also feeling it. According to Madge (1953), this field role usually enables a great deal of depth in research since it allows the researcher to get very close to the phenomena of interest by experiencing the often hidden experience. For Douglas (1976), participant observation can enable the researcher to penetrate the various complex forms of misinformation, fronts, evasions and lies that are considered endemic in most social settings. The justification for participant observation is that it is the most direct way of obtaining data. As pointed out by Madge and Douglas above, participant observation is not based on what people claim they do but on what they actually do. Participant observations were very helpful during my fieldwork. Without the use of the participant observation method, it would not have been possible to generate the kind of data that is in the fieldwork report. Participant observations helped confirm or refute interview reports. This also played a significant role in the reliability of the data collected.

My six-week stay at each case study school meant that I had to become actively involved in the schools' activities. As Hargreaves pointed out:

The method of participant-observation leads the investigator to accept a role within the social situation he studies: he participates as a member of the group as well as observing it. (Hargreaves, 1967:193).

So, to fulfil this requirement I taught some mathematics lessons to Grade 8 classes in the three case study schools. My role as a teacher enabled me to participate in schools' daily life in such ways as attending staff meetings, school assemblies and other school activities. This made it possible for me to know the teachers very quickly and establish rapport. I also was able to know the pupils well especially those I taught. Teaching Grade 8 classes was not very helpful because the focus of my research was the lower basic (primary school). However, my role as a teacher enabled me to relate with all the pupils. The other problem that arose as a result of teaching Grade 8 classes was that the teachers who taught mathematics to these classes were not qualified to teach mathematics at Grade 8 level. So, they were uncomfortable that I taught their classes. The reason I believe was that pupils would begin to compare who was more able to communicate the subject matter. Apart from these problems, I was accepted as part of the teaching staff. However, my role as a researcher continued to conflict with my role as a teacher whenever I observed lessons. Some teachers were uncomfortable with my presence in their lessons. My interest in lesson observation or more precise class observation since I observed classes where there was no teacher was not on how the lessons were being delivered but to observe behaviour patterns of both teachers and pupils that reflected gender differentiation.

Some teachers did not mind my presence during their lessons, in fact one of them asked me to help him mark pupils' books after an exercise. I found it difficult to refuse although this distracted my attention from observing class activities. Apart from class observation in schools, I also did general observation on certain aspects of the school such as assignment of duties according to gender during station upkeep, gender differentiation in games.

At community level, I attended initiation ceremony dances, funerals and other community activities. For example, one day I participated in building pit latrines at one church. The work was quite strenuous and I got very tired. When I tried to rest, I experienced a black out (I fainted). The people I was working with were very worried and soon the whole community knew what had happened to me. This incident though

embarrassing turned out to be very helpful. Many people from the church and community came to see me later that day and the following day. This afforded me an opportunity to know a lot of people. Some of them became very good friends who gave me a lot of information about the community. My later participation in community work was confined to light pieces of work. I was no longer allowed to do strenuous work. Sometimes we laughed about the incident but it really opened wide the door to the community. This permitted me to experience and observe the community's norms, values, conflicts and pressures. In other communities, I relied on community leaders to facilitate my participation and observation of the communities' activities.

Focus Groups

This method was not included in the original research design. It was employed to address a problem that arose in the use of individual interviews with mothers of girls interviewed both in the schools and communities. Originally, it was intended to interview them on individual basis. However, this proved very difficult because the husbands of these women felt uncomfortable with this arrangement. This was noticed in the first two interviews, the husbands demanded to be present as their wives were being interviewed. This made it very difficult for the wives to talk freely especially on issues concerning their husbands. In one case the woman referred the question to the husband so that he could answer for himself. It was therefore necessary to adopt a different method of research and the focus group interview was preferred. Of course this led to the loss of detail that one would get from person to person interviews. On the other hand, focus group interviews tend to moderate exaggerations or unreliable information as focus group members check each other. So, one is likely to obtain more reliable data from focus group interviews.

The problem highlighted above is one of the difficulties that a male researcher is expected to encounter when researching with women matters. Such a situation would not have arisen if it were a female conducting the interviews.

The focus group interviews comprised of 6-10 women. The longest focus group interview lasted for two hours under strict moderation. There was a tendency for interviews to start slowly with very limited contributions, but gaining momentum as the interview progressed. Group members felt free to contribute than at the beginning of the interview.

According to May (1997) group interviews constitute a valuable tool of investigation, allowing researchers to focus upon group norms and dynamics around issues, which they wish to investigate. This is echoed by Krueger:

The focus group interview is created to do a specific purpose through a defined process. The purpose is to obtain information of qualitative nature from a predetermined and limited number of people. (Krueger, 1994:15)

In this study the purpose of focus group interviews was to get information on the attitudes of parents towards girls' education, what they thought were problems affecting girls' schooling. Focus groups, as Krueger (1994) pointed out, are effective in providing information about why people think or feel the way they do. Moreover, they allow for group interaction and permit greater insight into why certain opinions are held. Group members influence each other by responding to ideas and comments in the discussion.

The advantage of this research method is that interviews are non-directive and the use of open-ended questions allow individuals to respond without setting boundaries or providing clues for potential categories. Krueger notes:

The open-ended approaches allow the subjects ample opportunity to comment, explain and to share experiences and attitudes as opposed to the structured and directive interview that is led by the interviewer. (Krueger, 1994:7)

In using focus group interviews, it was hoped that this would promote self-disclosure among the women and that they would be able to share their experiences. Krueger suggests that:

Focus groups provide an environment in which disclosures are encouraged and nurtured, but it falls to the interviewer to bring focus to those disclosures through open –ended questions with a permissive environment. (Krueger, 1994:15).

The information gathered through focus group interviews in this study do attest to Krueger’s views. Indeed focus group interviews are a rich source of information.

Interview Codes

The letter S followed by a number identifies schools in Sinazongwe district. For example, S1 represents the case study school. S2, S3, S4, and S5 represent the four schools close to the case study school. S6, S7 etc represents any school in the district outside the region of the schools listed above. Similarly, the letter P followed by a number identifies schools in Petauke district. P1 represents the case study school. P2, P3, P4 and P5 represent the four schools close to the case study school. P6, P7 etc represents any school outside the region of the schools P1, P2, P3, P4, and P5.

Interviewees in schools and communities are identified by stakeholder category e.g. Headteacher, teacher, community leader etc. Interviewees from education offices are identified by the term ‘education officer’. Interviewees who do not have a direct link to the education system will be identified by what they do e.g. fisherman.

CHAPTER SIX

FIELDWORK

This chapter gives a report on fieldwork. The chapter begins with the exploration of Zambia's education policy documents. This is followed by the fieldwork report.

Before a brief examination of Zambia's educational policy documents, it is necessary to briefly highlight the Socio-economic overview of Zambia. This will help us understand the framework or context within which education policies operate and are being implemented.

The total population of Zambia is 10 million. 65% of the population live in the rural areas. Women make up 50% of the total population. Of the total population 45% are below the age of 15 (CSO, 2003). According to the UNDP Human Development Report 2001 Zambia has one of the lowest levels of human development index in the world with a ranking of 143 out of 162 nations. Of the countries for which data were available, Zambia was the only country where the value of the Human Development index was lower than it was in 1975.

Poverty levels increased in the last decade to 73% (CSO, 1998), a figure that was considered as an underestimation by the media. The media's figure was 80% (The Post, April, 1998; Daily Mail, April, 1998). The World Bank estimated that 82% of Zambians live below the poverty line of one US dollar a day (World Bank, 2001b). It is against this background that we discuss Zambia's educational policy documents in the next section.

Education Policy Documents

Zambia has had three major educational policy documents since gaining independence in 1964 namely, Educational Reform (1977), Focus On Learning (1992) and Educating Our Future (1996). From Independence in 1964 up to 1976, education policies were reflected in the National Development Plans. When the

United National Independence Party (UNIP) came to power in 1964, it inherited an education system that was limited in scope and tailored to meet the needs of the colonial government. In a foreword, the first republican president of Zambia wrote:

For one thing, the colonial government's policy was not one of widening the scope of education to cover the majority of the people of this country but was meant to cater for very few to provide, as it were, clerical, menial and other services. The result is that at independence the new UNIP Government was committed to wiping out illiteracy to bring the benefits of education into every Zambian home by all means possible. The task is considerable. (Mwanakatwe, 1968:ix).

The Emergency, Transitional and First National Development Plans reflected this vision in their education policies. The capacity of the education system was substantially increased and as a result, many more children entered school. In all the national development plan documents, the vision of attaining universal primary education was reflected. Great strides were made to achieve this vision. However, in the Second National Development Plan, it was clear that the vision was far from being realised:

Although primary enrolments doubled between 1963-70 and rose by 48.2% between 1966-70, it has become apparent that the goal of universal primary education is much more difficult to achieve than was expected. (Ministry of Development and National Guidance, 1971:227).

There was no mention of girls' education in all the national development plan documents. It may have been assumed that both boys and girls would equally benefit from an expanded education system. However, it was not the case as later education policy documents showed. The vision of attaining universal primary education

continued to occupy centre stage in all National Development Plan documents. A problem arose out of the emphasis on providing universal primary education:

... the rate of expansion at the secondary school level did not keep pace with the massive expansion of the primary school sector.

By 1969, such problems had given rise to a strong public feeling that the education system was not growing fast enough, that the quality of education was declining and that vast numbers of early school leavers were being eliminated from the system without satisfactory preparation for adult life. (Ministry of Education, 1977:1)

The public concern on the growing number of primary school graduates who could not proceed to secondary education and who were ill prepared to engage in any productive work in society exerted a lot of pressure on the government to do something to address the problem. This gave rise to the education reform process, which culminated, into the first education policy document known as the Educational Reform. One of the emphases in the Educational Reform policy document was a shift from the vision of seven years of universal primary education to nine years of universal basic education:

“...the ultimate goal should be to provide nine years of universal basic education, whereby a child entering Grade 1 at the age of seven will remain in school for at least nine years until the end of Grade 9 at the age of sixteen. (Ministry of Education, 1977:7)

The nine years of universal basic education was meant to address the problem of a growing number of primary school leavers who were perceived to be ill prepared and too young to do anything worthwhile in their communities. This is clearly shown in the statement below:

The seven years of primary plus two years of the junior secondary, in terms of the enriched curricula, would be sufficient to prepare the child to proceed to the next stage, or to leave school. What the child will have learnt by this time should be sufficient and lasting to enable him to play a full and useful role in his community if he leaves school. (Ministry of Education, 1977:7)

While the vision of nine years of universal basic education was good and well intended, it was conceived at a time when the government was facing problems with the implementation of seven years of universal primary education. If the government failed to attain seven years of universal primary education, there was very little chance that it would attain nine years of universal basic education. It was during the same period when the economy of Zambia was declining due to low copper prices at international market. Nine years of universal basic education was a good policy conceived at an inappropriate time. This fact is admitted in the subsequent education policy document entitled *Focus On Learning*:

Apart from the enormous logistical problems that growth of this nature would entail, the stubborn persistence of Zambia's grave economic difficulties offers little hope that the necessary resource will be forthcoming. The schools are already losing ground in their efforts to accommodate all the children, while the quality of what the schools can accomplish is cause for the gravest concern. Educational expenditures, which continue to fall in real terms, can barely sustain moderate expansions and modest quality improvements.... It is hardly conceivable that they could be enlarged by yet another 45%, which is what would be needed for meeting the target of universal basic education from Grade 1 to Grade 9. (Ministry of Education, 1992:74).

The conclusion on the nine years of universal basic education gives a pessimistic view:

These are sobering facts. What they point to is the need to acknowledge that demographic and economic factors will make it very difficult to attain the target of seven years universal primary education during this decade. The same factors will make the objective of nine years universal education quite unattainable in the foreseeable future. (Ministry of Education, 1992:74).

The pessimism in the conclusion can be justified, considering that a decade later, universal primary education in Zambia is still elusive. Worse still the nine years of universal basic education is still a far-fetched dream. The patch and uncoordinated dual implementation of both the universal primary education and the nine years of universal basic education has made the millennium goal of achieving universal primary education by the year 2015 unattainable.

What is obtaining at the moment is that some primary schools open upper basic classes (Grades 8 & 9). This is usually done without any expansion to the existing classroom accommodation. So, to create room for upper basic classes, Grade 1 intake is reduced by a class thus increasing the number of school-age children who cannot access school. This defeats the whole purpose of Education for All.

The opening of Grades 8 and 9 in primary schools does not only suffocate the vision of universal primary education, it also affects the quality of education as indicated below:

Several of the basic Grade 8 and 9 classes are staffed by transferring the best teachers from school's primary section into Grade 8 and 9 section.... Students, therefore, in basic schools are not taught in a way comparable to the way they would be taught in conventional secondary schools. (Ministry of Education, 1992:72).

There is need for the government to decide which of the two goals it needs to pursue. Pursuing both goals simultaneously makes the attainment of both difficult. In the second policy document, the government indicated it would pursue the seven years of universal primary education:

Educational policy, therefore, will look unambiguously to seven years of primary schooling as the essential immediate goal for educational development. The objective of nine years universal education will be retained, but as a long-term and not as an immediate objective. (Ministry of Education, 1992:74).

The decision to unambiguously pursue seven years universal primary education seemed to have been altered in the third education policy document. The emphasis in this document is nine years of universal basic education. Ambiguously, the seven years of universal primary education is retained:

The Ministry will respond to these challenges by pursuing the goal of nine years of education for all within the framework of the following principles and priorities:

- the first step will be to enable every child to enter school no later than the age of seven and receive at least seven years of education
- while this is being accomplished, access to Grade 8 and 9 will be progressively expanded so that an increasing proportion of those who complete Grade 7 can proceed into Grade 8. (Ministry of Education, 1996:18).

The third policy document clearly shows that the government's goal is nine years of universal basic education and this didn't have to wait until the attainment of universal primary education. As discussed earlier, this resulted in the implementation of both goals simultaneously.

The messy situation the government has found itself in regard to the implementation of universal primary education and nine years universal basic education can be attributed to the conflict of interests. The global education agenda is to attain universal primary education by the year 2015. The national education agenda is to pursue nine years of basic education in response to the local demand of solving the problem of Grade 7 school leavers who are perceived to be too young to leave the school system and face the realities of adult life. In response to the global education agenda, the government publicly emphasise the attainment of universal primary education and reflects this in the education policy. The government showed its commitment to this goal by abolishing user fees for all primary school students. In response to the national education agenda, the government has tolerated the increase on the number of basic schools offering Grades 8 and 9, in spite of the negative consequences this has on the attainment of universal primary education.

The conflict between the global and national education agendas has negative consequences for the education of girls. As the government is pre-occupied with how to reconcile the global and national agendas, the focus on girls' education becomes weakened.

There is also the problem of demand for secondary school education. A number of primary schools have been turned into secondary schools. This further suffocates the vision of universal primary education. For example, in Eastern Province more than 20 primary schools were turned into secondary schools. This meant that several school-aged children were denied access to education, which is their human right.

The first education policy document did not deal adequately with equity issues. It however, scantily considered the plight of children with special needs. The document is loaded with sexist language of 'he', 'his' etc. There is no use of female pronouns. It appears that at the time of compiling this policy document, gender inequalities in education were not an issue that warranted attention. So, the first policy document did not consider gender disparities in education.

It may be worth noting that Educational Reform is the only policy document with minimum global influence. Although visits were made to some countries by the coordinating team, there was no pressure on government to incorporate the outcome of such visits into the final policy document. So, it is the only educational policy document, which reflected mainly the local imperatives. There was national and local consultative process before the final policy document was produced:

His Excellency the President launched the National debate on educational reform at a special press conference held at State House on 24th May, 1976. Members of the Central Committee for the provinces were responsible for the organisation and conduct of the debate in each province. The Ministry of Education arranged special briefing meetings for provincial officials in Lusaka, and these briefings were then repeated at provincial headquarters, districts and other centres. All educational institutions, Ministries, churches, trade unions, voluntary associations and other public bodies were requested to organise discussions among their members. The daily newspapers serialised the document and provided space for letters, views and reports on the Draft Statement. Radio and television broadcast special programmes in English and the other seven official languages, namely, Silozi, Chitonga, Chibemba, Luvale, Chinyanja, Kikaonde and Lunda. (Ministry of Education, 1977:2).

The Educational Reform policy document was a product of this wide consultative process. Unfortunately it could not fully be implemented because of the economic hardships the country was experiencing. It is also worth noting here that some parents (especially those in urban areas) did not support the inclusion of practical subjects in the curriculum. This was because education was perceived as a gateway to professional jobs whose recruitment was based on academic subjects or rather on the core curriculum. Somehow this view has persisted to this day; despite the fact

that many school leavers cannot proceed to tertiary institutions to enable them pursue the professional careers of their dreams. The tertiary institutions are not adequate to absorb the large numbers of school leavers. On the other hand the job market shrank significantly due to the liberalisation and privatisation programmes of the IMF and World Bank.

The second document Focus On Learning acknowledged the gender disparities in education:

This underprivileged situation of girls remains a very acute educational problem. Many of the girls who do not complete their primary education quickly lapse back into illiteracy, swelling the already unacceptably large numbers of female illiterates in the country. Those who proceed are destined to play an inferior role in the education system in terms of numbers, performance and subsequent education and training opportunities. In practice, this amounts to denying the equal right of girls and women to the levels and fields of education available to boys and men. It also slows down development in such crucial areas as population growth, child nutrition and health, the education of children, and agriculture, in all of which women's knowledge and skills play a key role. One of the greatest challenges facing Zambia today is to transform this situation by ensuring that educational opportunities and prospects for girls are equal to those enjoyed by boys. (Ministry of Education, 1992:81).

In spite of this, no real practical strategies and implementation plans were developed to address these gender disparities. It could be argued that gender disparities in education were acknowledged in the Focus On Learning policy document merely as a response to one of the resolutions passed at the Jomtien Conference on Education for All (EFA). Indeed the Focus On Learning policy document came into existence

as a direct response to the Jomtien conference on EFA as the following statement shows:

In 1990 Zambia attended the World Conference on Education for All and in 1991 organised its own National Conference on Education for All. Coming out of this conference was a Task Force on Education for All which became responsible for making proposals and working out strategies on how best education in Zambia could be improved. These proposals and strategies are summed up in FOCUS ON LEARNING. (Ministry of Education, 1992:i).

The donor community adopted the Jomtien framework for action and used it as the basis for aid to education programmes in developing countries. This prompted many governments in developing countries to reflect resolutions reached at the Jomtien conference in their education policies. One of the resolutions was to address gender inequalities in education. It is for this reason that the Zambian government acknowledged gender inequalities in the second education policy document. It is however, doubtful if there was any commitment on the part of government to address gender inequalities in education.

The current education policy document entitled *Educating Our Future* was the first document to have a specific policy on gender and strategies to address gender disparities in education. The mission statement of the Ministry of Education in this policy document is an all embracing one:

The mission statement of the Ministry of Education is to guide the provision of education for all Zambians so that they are able to pursue knowledge and skills, manifest excellence in performance and moral uprightness, defend democratic ideals, and accept and value other persons on the basis of their personal worth and dignity,

irrespective of gender, religion, ethnic, or any other discriminatory characteristic (Ministry of Education, 1996:xi).

The policy document recognises the basic right of every Zambian to good quality education and outlines the entire field of formal institutional education in the country. The policy is also guided by a holistic approach to education, which recognises the interlinkages and interdependencies between the various stages, beginning with early childhood education, running through formal primary and secondary school provision, encompassing University and other tertiary levels, extending to adult basic education as well as lifelong education. The policy document goes further to set specific policy statements for the various stages of the education system.

It is worth noting that this is the first policy document to acknowledge the need to address gender inequalities in education by stating a specific gender policy. The government policy on gender is as follows:

- The Ministry of Education is committed to achieving gender balance in educational institutions and within the education system.
- The Ministry aims at ensuring that female students are integrated with males as equal beneficiaries and participants at all levels of education.
- The Ministry will seek to eliminate factors that hinder the access, progression and accomplishment of girls in school and colleges.
- The Ministry will take measures to encourage the participation of girls in Science and Technology at all levels of education (Ministry of Education, 1996:65).

The government developed strategies to help implement the policy:

1. Education Boards will prepare action plans for the promotion of equal opportunities of access to and participation in educational institution for which they are responsible.

2. The Ministry, and Education Boards, will ensure that there are female teachers on the staff of every school, to provide appropriate role models for girls.
3. The Ministry will review the school curriculum so as to ensure that both it and the associated teaching materials are gender-sensitive.
4. Gender issues and the development of gender-sensitive teaching methodologies will be integral to the pre-service and in-service training of teachers.
5. The Ministry will provide an equal number of school places for girls and boys at all school levels.
6. To enhance the performance of girls at secondary school level, the Ministry will create more girls' boarding places and establish more schools for girls only.
7. The Ministry will establish a special bursary scheme for girls and will provide scholarships for girls who excel in mathematics, science and technological areas.
8. In cooperation with other agencies, the Ministry will sensitise parents and communities on gender issues in development, and in particular will sensitise families on the need to release girls from domestic chores so that they can have more time for study.
9. In cooperation with other agencies, the Ministry will strengthen and re-orientate guidance and counselling programmes to address socio-cultural problems which may hinder the progress of girls in education.
10. The Ministry will ensure that none of its regulations discriminate against the participation, progression, or performance of girls in schools and colleges.
11. The Ministry will ensure that all management positions in the system are equitably shared between deserving men and women.
12. The Ministry will review and enforce penalties against school pupils, teachers and other educational personnel engaging in sexual harassment of pupils or education employees or making a school-girl pregnant.

13. The Ministry will cause legislation to be effected, which will make it a punishable offence for parents or guardians to withdraw children from school before the completion of basic education

The government should be commended for acknowledging gender inequalities in education and for reflecting these in the education policy document. However, it could be argued that it was because of the pressure from the donor community that the government acknowledged gender inequalities in the education policy document. When one examines the statements in the gender policy, they seem to support the above assertion. The whole gender policy in education is based on the World Bank development model, that access to education and literacy leads to economic development (Summers, 1992). This dominant argument is based on research that highly correlates women's access to education with greater economic progress for women as individuals and for countries as a whole. It has been argued that female education and literacy are key factors in a country's development and that investments in female education yield high returns in terms of social and economic gains (Floro & Woolf, 1990; King & Hill, 1993).

However, one would argue that gender inequalities in education are deeply rooted in the patriarchal system. Therefore any attempt to address gender inequalities in education must recognise this fact and must deal adequately with the well-established patriarchal structures in the Zambian society. The Ministry of Education's hierarchical structure clearly demonstrates that patriarchy is deeply entrenched in the whole education system. The following statistics exemplify the above statement. The Permanent Secretary is female and works with five directors four of whom are male and one is female. There are nine Provincial Education Officers of whom only one is female. In the two Provinces where I carried out my research, the composition of District Education Officers is male biased. In Southern Province, out of the eleven District Education Officers, only one was female while in Eastern Province, all District Education Officers were male. The picture of headteachers for basic schools at national level demonstrates that power still lies in the hands of men.

Table 6.1: 2002 Administrative Positions - Basic Schools by Gender

Post	Count	gender
Head	3	Unknown
Head	412	F
Head	2997	M
D/Head	1	Unknown
D/Head	421	F
D/Head	1068	M
A/Head	1	Unknown
A/Head	125	F
A/Head	738	M
Senior Teacher	4	Unknown
Senior Teacher	1717	F
Senior Teacher	2733	M
Total	10220	

Table 6.2: 2001 Administrative Positions - Basic Schools by Gender

Post	Count	gender
Head	2797	M
Head	403	F
Head	16	Unknown
D/Head	980	M
D/Head	403	F
D/Head	6	Unknown
A/Head	764	M
A/Head	145	F
A/Head	4	Unknown
Senior Teacher	2777	M
Senior Teacher	1650	F
Senior Teacher	16	Unknown
Total	9961	

Source: Ministry of Education

The statistics above show that women accounted for only 13% of the headteachers in the country in 2002. This casts doubt on the genuineness of the affirmative action policy put in place to increase the representation of women in management positions. It is almost ten years now since the policy was put in place but the representation of women in leadership positions is still insignificant. As one interviewee put it:

Men are not ready to be led by women and therefore the affirmative action policy is one of the tools for men's control over women. The image projected by the Ministry of Education is that women's under-representation is being addressed while in actual fact very little if not nothing is being done to address the problem. (Headteacher, School S3, 2003).

It must be however, be appreciated that change of attitudes takes a long time especially when these have been perceived as natural.

Another thing one notices about the affirmative action policy in the Ministry of Education is that it lacks specific policies to support its implementation. It has been left in its general form i.e. “The Ministry will ensure that all management positions in the system are equitably shared between deserving men and women” (Ministry of Education, 1996:66). The policy in its current form gives room for those opposed to the promotion of women to manipulate it to their own advantage. The National Gender Policy (2000) states this policy even more clearly in its section on Education and Training:

In order to redress the gender imbalance and inadequacies in the provision of education, which include the curriculum, production of education materials, teachers’ attitudes and classroom interaction, Government will among other things employ affirmative action in the appointment of deserving female managers to vacant management positions. (Cabinet Office, 2000:48).

Though the policy is stated well in the National Gender Policy, it still remains very general and leaves gaps in its implementation process. The lack of specific policies for implementation of the affirmative action policy may be partly blamed for continued male dominance in the Ministry’s administrative structures.

The other contributing factor to failure or rather slow progress in the implementation of the affirmative action policy could be attributed to what Jensen (1997) calls the gap between intentions and action. The affirmative action policy is the intention of government to redress women’s under representation in management positions in the Ministry but it appears that the government lacks the political will to translate these intentions into action. This may be attributed to the overwhelming social and economic problems highlighted earlier. However, in spite of the social and economic problems the country is going through, one would still argue that the government

does not consider addressing gender inequalities in education and other sectors as a priority. The statement by the Republican President recently shows the reluctance by government to address gender inequalities in the country:

This occasion is important because the two people being sworn in are women. You may wonder why we have not achieved the 30 percent requirement. My answer is simply that although it is true that there were many women I admire to give responsible positions, a lot of them are fighting Government. We are not going to appoint them to use Government resources to continue their war against Government. We want them to come along so that we work together. This is not a struggle for achieving benchmarks, it is a struggle for achieving quality leadership. (Zamnet, 2005:1).

This standpoint relegates women to a position of blind submission and loyalty to men. The implication of the statement is that the appointment of women by the President is an act of charity, the result of a humanitarian or compassionate attitude. Put in another way, the appointment of women by the President is a favour or reward for docility. Clearly, the fight against the marginalisation of women entails that we get to the heart of this marginalisation, which as suggested earlier is the deep-rooted patriarchal system.

The enrolment data at national level showed that good progress in affording girls access to basic education had been made. In urban areas, girls' enrolment was equal to that of boys and in some cases even higher. As to whether the increase in girls' enrolment in urban areas can be attributed to efforts aimed at promoting girls' education or the general demand for education by the urban population or both is not clear. However, in rural areas, girls' enrolment was low and sometimes very low. For example, at one of the case study schools a Grade 7 class had 8 girls and 14 boys while in another school a Grade 6 class had 4 girls and 15 boys. The disaggregated statistics below show the enrolment trends from 1997 to 2001

Table 6.3: Enrolment, Grades 1 to 7 by Gender

Students	Year / Gender									
	1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
Province	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Central	87256	81590	89593	84365	89631	84244	91312	85651	87114	81352
C/belt	144469	144403	142947	142695	143329	140610	137258	136864	139126	139302
Eastern	87716	72869	89090	76184	86804	75006	90598	79022	96077	85231
Luapula	59935	49768	61424	51547	62601	52427	66100	56872	69174	59288
Lusaka	98642	98882	98808	99667	99723	99104	101311	102457	99687	100982
N/Western	46465	40521	46741	40664	46883	40417	49561	43572	53114	46894
Northern	109990	88330	111646	90660	112205	89566	115036	93260	119853	98943
Southern	113816	106879	111586	105438	112645	106959	114938	109915	115303	111658
Western	60047	56197	59038	55164	58355	55198	59194	56623	62975	59624
Total	808336	739439	810873	746384	812176	743531	825308	764236	842423	783274

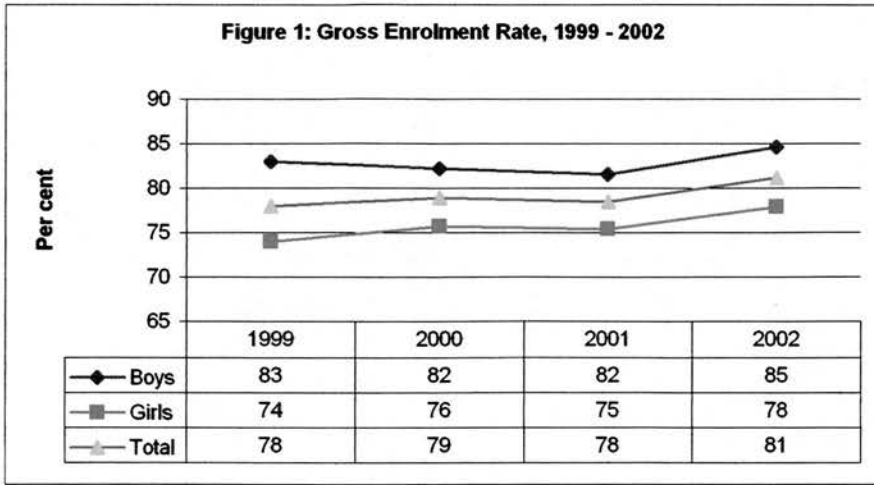
Source: Ministry of Education

C/belt stands for Copperbelt

N/Western stands for North Western

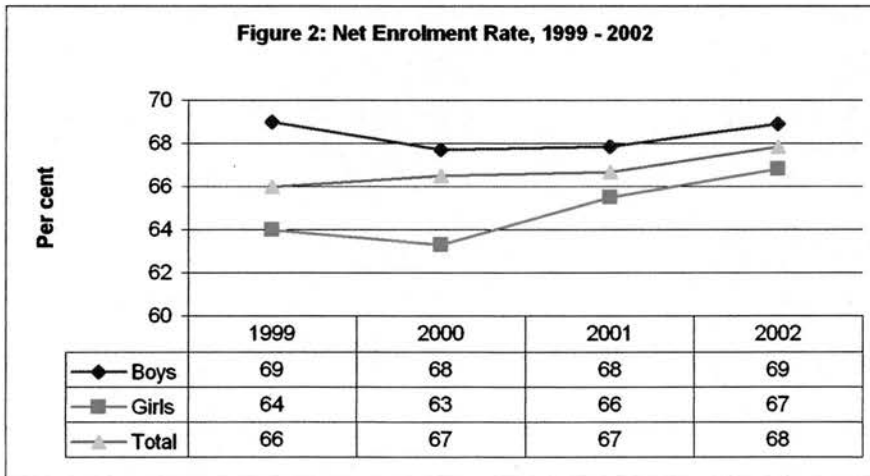
Although progress has been made in increasing access for girls to basic education, the picture the data above paints is that girls' enrolment is lower than that of boys. The graphs below tend to give a clearer picture of girls' enrolment in comparison to that of boys. The data is based on a four-year period.

Figure 6.1: Gross Enrolment Rate, 1999-2002



Source: Ministry of Education 2003

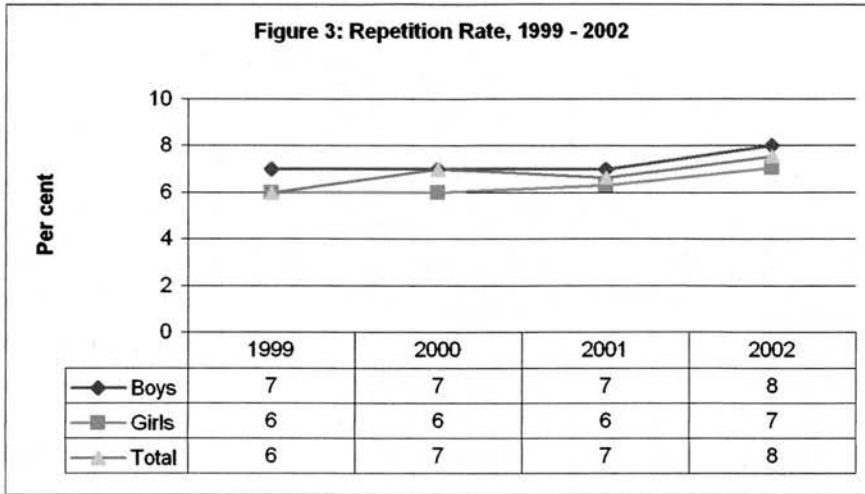
Figure 6.2: Net Enrolment Rate, 1999-2002



Source: Ministry of Education 2003

The gross and net enrolment rates above clearly show the differences between boys and girls' enrolment, with boys always having an advantage over girls for the four consecutive years.

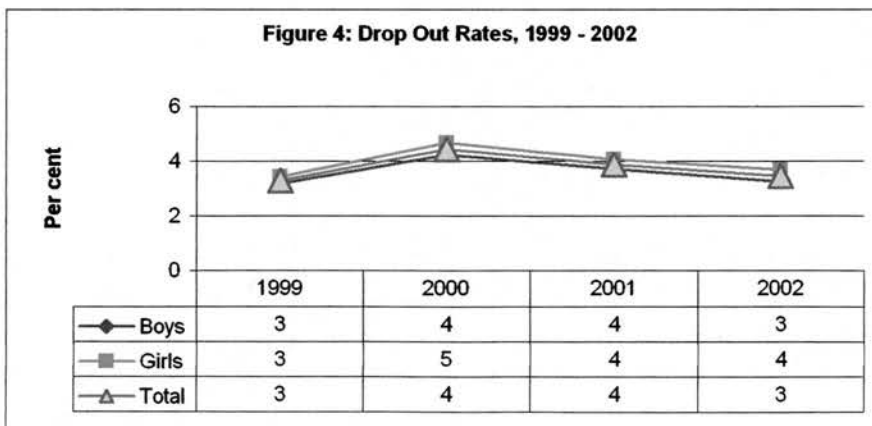
Figure 6.3: Repetition Rate, 1999-2002



Source: Ministry of Education 2003

The repetition rates also show that boys have more opportunities to repeat than girls. Experience in the field indicated that girls tend to get married if they failed to get into the next grade.

Figure 6.4: Drop Out Rates, 1999-2002



Source: Ministry of Education 2003

The gross, net enrolment and repetition graphs all show that boys have an advantage over girls in access to basic education. However, the drop out rates for boys and girls are almost the same. One would attribute this situation to the social and economic problems the country is going through especially that of HIV/AIDS. When both parents die children are likely to stop school regardless of their sex.

There is however, need to appreciate the fact that national data tend to mask the differences between urban and rural data. In fact the drop out rates graph shows that the dropout rates were higher for girls than boys in 2000 and 2002. So, one could conclude that girls are still disadvantaged in Zambia in as far as access to basic education is concerned.

The Ministry of Education showed its commitment to redress gender inequalities in education by establishing a programme solely aimed at promoting girls' education. The programme was called, Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE). The programme has been in existence since 1995. The main aim of PAGE was to help access and develop strategies to retain the girls in schools once they enrolled. There was a PAGE coordinator at the Ministry's national headquarters and at every Provincial education office to coordinate PAGE activities. PAGE was very active, influencing formulation of gender sensitive policies in education. For example the affirmative action policy was as a result PAGE's effort. The other policy, which was as a result of PAGE's effort, is the readmission policy. The readmission policy is aimed at assisting girls who get pregnant while still at school to be readmitted in school once they have given birth and nursed the child. In the past any girl who got pregnant was expelled from school.

The impact of PAGE has been minimal due to the fact that they were active in only a few districts. That is why in some districts both teachers and community members were not conversant with PAGE's work and aims. Some of the following were statements from teachers and community members:

I do not know much about PAGE, I have just heard that it is a programme concerned about girls' education (*It was very strange that a teacher at a PAGE pilot school did not know much about PAGE, it must be worse with non-PAGE schools. This shows that there is a lot of work that remains to be done to achieve girls' education goal*³) (Teacher, School S3, 2003)

PAGE is a good programme but resources must be directed to the sensitisation of the communities about the importance of girls' education. I think they are spending a lot of money on workshops than on the actual problems that girls face. The problem is at community level and therefore resources must be channelled there. So far very little has been done at community level (Headteacher, School S5, 2003)

I have never heard of that organisation, the only people that came here were from the World Vision. They came to tell us that we should not give a lot of work to girls who go to school which we found very awkward because these girls are going to get married and it is now that they have to learn to take care of a home. Otherwise they will bring shame on us if they are found to be lazy by their prospective husbands. (Community Leader, School S1, 2003).

Although PAGE was based and managed by the Ministry of Education, It was externally funded, its funding came from the donor community. That created a problem for PAGE. The other departments, which were inadequately funded from the budgetary allocation, envied PAGE staff so; there was minimal support from them. When I asked one of the PAGE staff about their working relationship with staff from other departments. His response was:

³ Words in italics are the researcher's comments and observations.

It is difficult to work with staff from other departments because they consider us as a privileged group in the Ministry. They believe that we get a lot of money due to the fact that we travel a lot, conducting seminars and workshops throughout the country. So we do not get good cooperation from our colleagues in other departments (Education Officer, Ministry of Education, National Headquarters, 2003)

Page ceased to exist at the beginning of this year (2003) and its activities will be coordinated by the department of Gender and Equity. Funding will no longer come directly from donors. The donors will support the department of Gender and Equity through the Ministry's main account. Those who worked with PAGE were sceptical about funding of the programmes for promotion of girls' education. Their concern might be justified especially when one examines the Strategic Plan 2003-2007 document. Girls' education has not received much attention. It has now been integrated with Special Educational Needs, School Health and Nutrition and HIV/AIDS under Special Programmes Unit. Donor funding will be shared among these programmes. There is a possibility that HIV/AIDS might take more prominence at the expense of the other programmes.

What has happened to girls' education in Zambia is similar to what happened in Australia where due to the influence of globalisation gender equity policies were re-aligned. In policy terms girls are no longer identified as a specific target group. These changes are manifestations of globalisation, which subtly works to undermine any programme aimed at improving the welfare of women. Therefore, there is a danger that girls' education in Zambia will lose the attention it had generated in the last half of the past decade. Although the impact of PAGE was minimal, the few successes helped considerably and its existence was a constant reminder to government and those responsible for education policy formulation.

Such re-alignments of gender policy ultimately affect the vision for education for all by the year 2015. Among the education administrators interviewed, some were sceptical about Zambia meeting the 2015 target. Zambia is already bound to fail to meet the 2005 target of gender balance in education. So, their scepticism could be understood. One would agree with them, considering that as per 2000, 366 primary schools in the country terminated at Grade 4 (Ministry of Education, 2002). What this means is that after Grade 4, pupils from such schools would need to go to other schools that are far from home for Grade 5. Some pupils would need to relocate and stay with some relatives near their new schools. Sometimes it is not easy for the pupils to find places in other schools, so most of such pupils tend to drop out at this stage.

The Rhetoric of Neoliberal Education Policies

The neoliberal education policies introduced by the World Bank in developing countries are part of the larger neoliberal economic programme whose main goal is to reduce state spending on public services and in the case of developing countries so that governments are also able to continue making payments on their foreign debt (Puiggros, 2000). Buzzwords often used in the World Bank's education policy documents such as 'equity', 'capacity building', 'decentralisation' and 'efficiency' are more rhetoric than reality. As Scoppio states:

Advocates of these policies cross-nationally do not seem concerned with issues of equality, but rather with 'high standards' in education and with 'market-driven' education. Their goal is to create the efficient and skilled human capital needed to achieve higher economic performance in global markets. However, in their effort to attain their goal, they might be increasing the gap between the 'have' and the 'have-nots'. (Scoppio, 2000:9).

One of the principal recommendations of the World Bank's educational policy is that governments focus on improving primary education (World Bank, 1995). To achieve

this goal, the Bank does not recommend increasing spending on education; rather, it proposes diverting money that used to go toward financing high schools and universities in order to expand access to primary schooling. The World Bank was aware that such a plan would provoke opposition from the many people who would be hurt by this redistribution of the scarce funds. So, to justify their recommendation and for marketing purposes, the Bank made use of terms like 'equity' and 'efficiency'. The Bank's rhetoric about the need to distribute free services more equitably became apparent in education in Sub-Saharan Africa when enrolments declined in the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes.

The idea that the market can solve our social problems is a self-fulfilling prophecy-to survive on this planet with billions of people in the twenty-first century requires a level of global sensitivity and co-ordination rarely even discussed (Rosell, 1999). Klees (1999:5) further amplifies this point when he states, "To survive well and equitably requires assuming collective responsibility for our future, not leaving it to some quasi-religious pursuit of 'free markets'".

The neoliberal education policies in education are rhetorical and work to satisfy external demands rather than as 'real' processes of production of change.

Fieldwork Report

My fieldwork was conducted in Zambia from July 2003 to December 2003. During this period visits were made to the Ministry of Education national headquarters, regional and district education offices. The visits included various donor agencies, cabinet office and a few Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) dealing with education. Finally school visits to case study schools were made in two Provinces. During this period interviews were conducted with a wide range of stakeholders in education. Various policy documents were collected.

The fieldwork notes consider the experiences in schools, paying particular attention to issues of globalisation, patriarchy and gender.

Visits to schools

The first case study school is situated in the Southern Province of Zambia. The school is in Sinazongwe district. Sinazongwe district lies in the Gwembe valley and is predominantly a rural district. It has a population of 71,659. Farming in Sinazongwe is not on a large scale. This is because it lies in the valley and receives minimal rainfall that in most cases cannot support crops like maize that need high rainfall. The main cash crop is cotton, which is drought resistant. Due to inadequate rainfall, many people in the district live in abject poverty and depend mainly on relief food from bilateral, multilateral donors and NGOs.

There is a coalmine township in the district. When the mine was fully operational, it provided employment to the local community. When Zambia was pressured to implement the World Bank /IMF neoliberal policies, the mine was among the first companies to be floated for privatisation. Unfortunately there has been no serious investor to revive production. The workers were retrenched and others were sent on forced leave. The situation at Maamba mine can be described as chaotic. So, the mine is no longer beneficial to the community.

There are now only two major viable industries in Sinazongwe district. The first is the Agriflora farm commonly known as Buchi farm. It is an irrigation farm, which employs about 2000 unskilled farm workers. The number varies, during harvest times the number rises to about 3000. Agriflora is a multinational company with farms in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania.

Since Sinazongwe is prone to drought, the farm has helped the community considerably. Those who are employed at least are able to feed their families. Though the wages are very low which is characteristic of most multinational companies but workers are able to somehow survive on these very low wages. While the farm is able to provide employment for the people in the district, there are problems associated with the employment policy at the farm. The farm employs anyone with a national registration card. Due to abject poverty, parents in some cases falsely get national registration cards for their children who are not eligible, so that

they can be employed at the farm. This has posed a big problem for schools, because pupils leave school to go and work at the farm to assist feed their families. There is also the problem of absenteeism especially during harvest times. Parents who work at the farm ask school going girls to remain at home to care for their young siblings and sometimes to cook for their fathers. So, girls tend to be absent from school due to these responsibilities at home. Some teachers interviewed view the farm as a problem. When I asked one teacher about the factors that cause girls to drop out of school. The response was:

There is a Buchi farm nearby which is affecting the schooling of girls. Some girls leave school to go and work at the farm while others leave school to engage in the business of selling oranges. They buy oranges from Buchi farm and resell them at the market at a profit. The farm has not been very helpful in as far as schooling of girls is concerned. In some cases it affects boys too, especially older boys. They also get employed at the farm (Deputy Headteacher, School S3, 2003)

The other major industry in the district is the Kapenta Fishing. Kapenta is a small type of fish. This industry also employs a lot of people. However, it has an impact on the schooling of girls and boys. One headteacher had this to say:

Another factor is employment in the Kapenta drying business. During the Kapenta fishing season, which runs from February to November, many girls leave school and are employed as Kapenta driers. A few of them come back to school but most of them stop school (Headteacher, School S6, 2003)

Historically, the people of Sinazongwe district practised the matrilineal system. In this system, descent is reckoned through the female line. For example, it was either the brother or nephew and not the sons who inherited the property of the deceased man. Women did not own property. They depended on their husbands for survival. It

was however believed that a woman owned property through her sons. When a woman was too old to look after herself, her elder son looked after her.

When a woman lost her husband through death, a brother or nephew of the deceased inherited her along with the property of the deceased. A woman was more or less treated like property owned by the husband's family. If a woman refused to be inherited, the relatives of the deceased would grab all the property from her, a practice that is now commonly known as 'property grabbing'. The following experience of one of the teachers during her schooling will help show the ugliness of patriarchy in some communities and the problems it causes for some girls' schooling:

I faced difficulties during my schooling because my father died when I was in Form 3. My uncles (brothers to my father) grabbed the property my father had accumulated while in employment and also got his benefits. They completely ignored us during the time of sharing my father's property. My mother could not do anything because according to our culture, it would be considered as lack of respect for the men for her to say anything. It was now difficult for my mother to pay my school fees. One male teacher tried to take advantage of my unfavourable situation by suggesting that he would help pay my school fees if I had a sexual relationship with him. Although the temptation was very strong to agree to his suggestion, I refused. It was a very difficult situation for me and I hated my uncles who caused my problem. Fortunately, one of the Catholic sisters came to my rescue; she paid all my school fees including buying me uniform in my last two grades (Teacher, School S2, 2003)

Unlike in other matrilineal societies where marriage was matrilocal (form of marriage, in which the husband goes to live with the wife's group), the Tonga of Sinazongwe district practised patrilocal marriages (the opposite of matrilocal marriage). What was matrilineal about the people of Sinazongwe district was just the

fact that lineage was traced through the female line and that the male children were not a responsibility of the father but uncles. Otherwise, in every day life, they practised the patrilineal system. The father figure was dominant; the husband was the head of the household. The household composed of the husband, wife or wives, daughters, young boys of age less than seven years, nephews and sometimes the mother of the husband if she was too old to live on her own.

While the matrilineal system may still be practised in the district, things are changing. For example, children both boys and girls are now a responsibility of the father and sons now inherit their father's property except for very rural communities. According to the focus group of women:

The father is the head of the household. He makes decisions regarding the household. He takes responsibility of the education of the children. He decides when his daughter(s) should get married through arranged marriages. He also decides how much dowry his prospective son-in-law should pay (Focus Group, School S1, 2003)

The average dowry is about three to five cows. Cows are preferred to oxen or bulls because of their reproductive potential.

Education

Sinazongwe district has a total of 39 basic schools and has only 1 high school. The total pupil population is 17,969 with 9,860 boys and 8,109 girls. Therefore there are 1,751 more boys than girls enrolled in the schools in the district. These figures do not include community school population. The total community school population is 5,414 of which 3,542 are boys and 1,872 are girls. This means that there are 1,670 more boys than girls in community schools in Sinazongwe district. The representation of girls in some schools is very low as shown below:

Table 6.4: Gross Enrolment by Grade and by Gender for School S7-2003

Grade	G		G		G		G		G		G		G		Tota	
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		l	
Gender	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Number	26	23	23	20	24	20	25	07	20	05	27	03	31	02	176	80

Source: An extract from Sinazongwe District Education Board statistics 2003

The statistics in the school above indicate a very small number of girls from Grade 4 to 7. This shows that there are very few girls at this school who complete the primary school cycle, which is from Grade 1 to 7. According to the district education statistics, this was true of many other schools. However, in some schools the number of both girls and boys completing the primary school cycle was small. One officer at the district expressed worry over the small number of children (especially girls) completing the primary school cycle. His worry was that the children who fail to complete the cycle were likely to lapse back into illiteracy. His main concern for girls was that most of the girls who drop out of school usually end up getting married thereby ruling out any possibility of them getting back to school. As for boys, he believed that there was a possibility for them to get back to school.

Sinazongwe District Education Board had a critical shortage of desks. The total number of desks, which were available in the schools, was 3,000 and the shortfall was 2,897. Due to this shortage of desks, some children sit on the floor or stand at the back of the class. This makes learning very unpleasant.

The total number of teachers in the district was 397 of which 263 were males and 134 were females. This number included school administrators. Sinazongwe being predominantly a rural district had very few female teachers. According to the officer interviewed, the number of teachers in the district was inadequate. Some schools had critical shortages of teachers. The situation may not have changed since the Ministry

of Education was unable to employ the 9,000 newly trained teachers because of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) budget conditionalities (The Post, January 31, 2004). The statistics of school administrators show that female teachers were underrepresented in school management positions as shown below:

Table 6.5: School Administrators for Sinazongwe District by Gender-2003

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Headteachers	36	2	38
Deputy Headteachers	8	1	9
Senior Teachers	6	2	8
TOTAL	50	5	55

Source: Sinazongwe District Education Board statistics 2003

The gender imbalance in school management positions in Sinazongwe district does not show any progress of the implementation of the affirmative action policy. Almost with ten years of the existence of the policy, very little has been done. The number of female administrators in the district was distressingly low.

The first case study school

The Methodist missionaries opened the school in 1963. It was a girls’ boarding school. The purpose of opening the school was to promote girls’ education in the area. It was the first of its kind. Originally, the school catered for only upper primary students from Grade 5 to 7. When Zambia gained its independence in 1964, the government took over the management of all primary schools in the country. The school continued to cater for only girls. However, as pressure mounted to increase enrolment levels in primary schools, the school opened lower primary classes in 1965, which were mixed. The upper primary section had for the first time mixed

classes in 1965. Girls continued as boarders while boys were all day scholars. The school continued to be a boarding school until the late 1970s (*The school did not have a record of when it ceased to be a boarding school*) when the government abolished all primary boarding schools due to economic problems.

The school had a student population of 367 for Grades 1-7 distributed as follows:

Table 6.6: Gross Enrolment by Grade and by Gender for School S1-2003

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
No. of pupils	63	56	39	40	25	18	17	12	14	08	20	15	26	14	204	163

Source: School Registers for 2003

The school has also Grades 8-9 comprising of 51 boys and 30 girls giving a total student population of 448.

The enrolment dropped drastically from Grade 3 to 5 and then increased from Grade 6 to 7. According to the headteacher, the increase in enrolment from Grade 6 to 7 could be attributed to the high number of children seeking to repeat Grade 7 when they fail to progress to Grade 8 due to limited places. “The demand for repeat places in Grade 7 is very high and because places are limited, we cannot enrol all those seeking to repeat Grade 7. So, those who fail to repeat Grade 7 tend to enrol in Grade 6” (Headteacher, School S1, 2003)

The school had 8 trained teachers (7 male, 1 female), one untrained community teacher who was male. The community in the catchment area of the school employed the community teacher. His monthly stipend was very little. His main motivation was to improve his curriculum vitae to enhance his chances of entry into college. There were also three female student teachers. The student teachers were concluding their

work and were leaving at the end of last year (2003). The staff establishment of the school is 20 but had only 8 trained teachers with a short fall of 12 teachers. So, the school was critically understaffed.

The gender imbalance in the teaching staff did not augur well for the promotion of girls' education. Girls lacked role models. Both the headteacher and deputy were male. According to the headteacher, effort to attract female teachers to the school was being hampered by the deplorable state of the houses. Even the only trained female teacher the school had nearly left in 2002 because her house was in a very bad state. It was actually risky for her to remain in the house. Fortunately, the parent-teacher association (PTA) found some money to repair it. The repairs on the house were incomplete due to insufficient funds.

The school was among the few, which were on a feeding programme by the World Food Programme (WFP). The feeding programme helped in attracting children to school. Uniform was not compulsory in the school, those who could afford it wore it, while those who could not afford it were allowed to come to school in their casual wear. One teacher observed that making wearing of uniform optional was not good because children who could not afford buying uniform felt uncomfortable and some decided to stop school. The teacher was of the view that uniform should be abolished.

The class pattern of the school was 3 classes of Grade 1; 2 classes of Grade 2; 2 classes of Grade 3 and the rest of the grades up to Grade 9 had one class each. The class pattern indicated that there was a high drop out rate in the school. Both teachers and pupils acknowledged this during interviews.

The infrastructure was in a deplorable state. There had been no serious rehabilitation of the school since it was opened in 1963. One of the administrators put it this way:

This is an old school and unfortunately has not been rehabilitated for a long time. As we are talking now, the buildings are almost

collapsing; you can see that crack (*pointing to a big crack on the wall in his office*). This is one of the problems that lead to some pupils dropping out of school. The school environment is not conducive to learning. We are now looking for help from those who sympathise with our situation so that we can rehabilitate these buildings. If the school infrastructure is attractive, both pupils and teachers will come to this school (Deputy Headteacher, School S1, 2003).



Figure 6.5: An old classroom block

The teachers' houses were in a terrible state. They were old and had cracks on the walls. Some of the doors to these houses were damaged to an extent where a dog could go in the house when the door was closed. This could have been the reason one teacher complained about his accommodation in response to my question on whether he had enjoyed his career as a teacher. His exact words were:

...I have been facing accommodation problems since I started teaching. My accommodation problem is even worse now than

before because the structure I live in now is much worse than the one I had before (Teacher, School S1, 2003)

The classrooms were in a similar state with cracks on the walls and potholes on the floors.

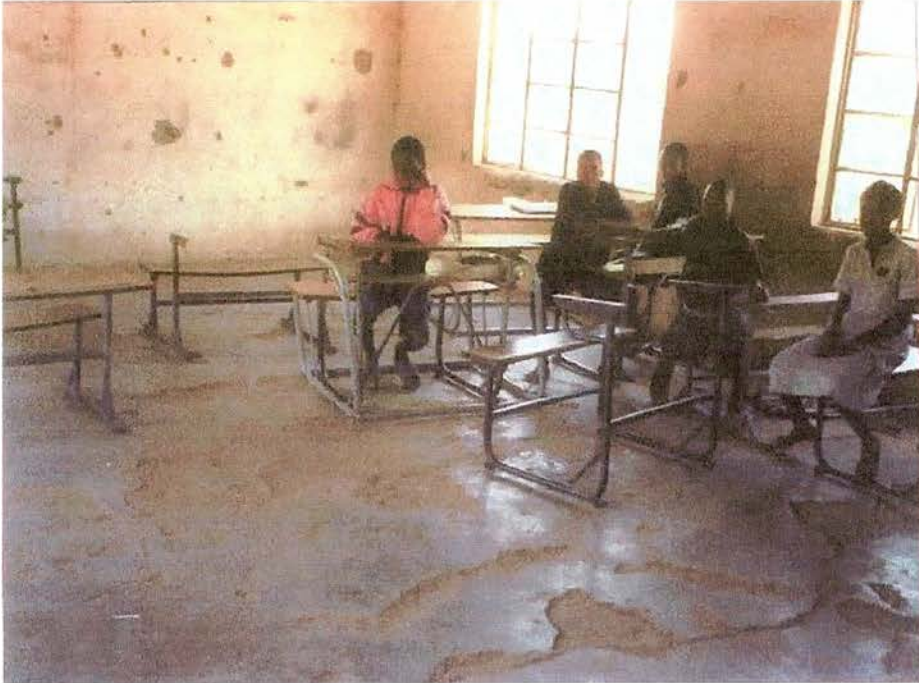


Figure 6.6: A classroom with potholes

The scattered desks in the picture, some without tops clearly show the problem of desks in the school.

The school did not have enough sanitary facilities but according to the headteacher, they were trying to do the best they could. He hoped they would eventually meet the UNICEF requirement of a toilet to every 10 girls and a toilet to every 16 boys. However, the good news was that the school had a functioning borehole, so, they had clean water.

Generally the morale of the teachers was low and due to poor salaries, which were paid late and of course, the dilapidated structures they live in made things worse.

The general impression one got from the day-to-day running of the school was that all was not well. The district education officials labelled the school as the dirtiest school in the district. There was no cooperation between the members of staff and the village communities in the catchment area. The teachers accused the community of being insensitive to the school's developmental programmes. The community on the other hand blamed the teachers for lack of initiative and leadership role in matters of school development. They also blamed the teachers for the school's poor performance in national selection examinations. According to one village headman, the school had not produced good examination results for a long time. The lack of cooperation between the teachers and the community did not help the school at all. Instead, the school lagged behind other established schools in terms of development including those, which were opened much later.

While at the school for six weeks I interviewed teachers, pupils, community leaders in the catchment area of the school, girls who dropped out of school, girls who have never been to school at all, parents of the girls interviewed in school. I also had informal meetings with some people in the villages. For example, one day I visited a funeral house where people were gathered. In the process we started discussing issues concerning education. The discussion was very informal and people were free to contribute to the discussion. I had focus group meetings with mothers of the girls I interviewed in school.

The gender differences were evident both at school and community level. At school level, there was a tendency in most middle basic classes for boys and girls to sit separately. According to one teacher, it was not a school policy for girls and boys to sit separately. The teachers have tried to discourage the gender division in the sitting arrangement in class but it seems difficult for pupils to mix. Upon inquiring why pupils preferred to sit according to gender, boys attributed this situation to reluctance

by girls to share desks with boys. Girls had different views. Some of the girls' views were as follows:

I do not want to share a desk with boys because they are very noisy and disturbing. They always want to check on what girls get in class exercises and tests. If you get a low mark, boys will laugh and within a short time everybody in the class will know your mark. (Pupil, School S1, 2003)

I do not want to share a desk with boys, because they have no manners. Boys like writing silly things in our books and sometimes they say these things to you. So, I feel comfortable sharing a desk with my fellow girls (Pupil, School S1, 2003)

I wouldn't like to share a desk with boys because boys look down on us. They think girls are dull I hate boys' attitudes. For example, when one girl got position 2 in a test, boys were teasing her saying all sorts of things. One boy told her to move from the girls' section to the boys' section since she had proved that she was more than a girl (Pupil, School S1, 2003)

I do not share a desk with boys because my mother discourages me from mixing with boys (Pupil, School S1, 2003).

The Tonga tradition discourages girls from mixing with boys and vice versa from a tender age. There is a clear gender difference in the activities and games children engage in. Girls will be encouraged to engage in feminine activities (e.g. practising cooking) and boys in masculine activities such as wrestling, playing football etc.

The comments by girls indicated that the school environment was not friendly to girls but rather hostile. The behaviour of boys towards girls amounts to harassment.

Such behaviour tends to create a feeling of inferiority complex on the part of girls. Chitsike had similar experience while at primary school in Zimbabwe. "At primary school level, I was made to feel worthless, weaker and smaller than boys" (Chitsike, 1995:19). Some teachers who fail to take deterrent action against boys who harass girls reinforce the bullying behaviour of boys. The general impression by girls was that teachers did very little to stop boys from harassing girls. One girl was actually angry with teachers for failing to discipline the boy who was troubling her. She said, she had reported a boy who was troubling her to different teachers but to her disappointment none of the teachers took action. Meanwhile the boy continued troubling her. How can such a pupil like school and perform well when her mind is pre-occupied with how to deal with the bully behaviour of the boy at school.

Girls in the schools near the case study school expressed similar sentiments. However, the experiences varied from school to school. There were also differences in the way teachers from different schools viewed boys' bullying behaviour. For example, in one school the headteacher was very protective of girls. He ensured that boys found bullying girls were severely punished. If any boy persisted with bullying behaviour, he summoned the parents to school to discuss the boy's behaviour. Some of the teachers did not agree with the headteacher's overprotective view. They felt that overprotection would create dependence behaviour among girls. 'Girls need to survive on their own at school' said one of the teachers.

There were also gender differences in the work the pupils did in the school. Girls tended to sweep the school surroundings and water flowers, which was a replication of what most of the girls did at home. Most of the girls interviewed said they swept their home surroundings before going to school. Boys were sent to fetch firewood for the feeding programme. Games were also gendered, with boys playing football and girls netball.

At village level one common practice observed was that of polygamous marriages. It looked like there were very few marriages in which a man was married to one wife. There was a case of a man with eight wives. This is a common tradition among the

Tonga people of Southern Province in Zambia. What one observed was that respect in the community was based on the number of wives a man had. The village council was composed of men with many wives. Such men were considered more competent in resolving village problems. The village council was exclusively male. Thus women were excluded from the village decision-making process.

There was a sense in which men felt they owned their wives. This feeling could be attributed to the fact that men paid bride price commonly known as lobola. The bride price does not seem to help women; the impression created is that women are sold to their husbands. So there is a tendency for men to treat their wives as their slaves who are supposed to serve them. The worst part is that the tradition even allows them to beat their wives. Violence against women is culturally accepted as a sign of love and maturity in marriage. This reminds me of what happened to my sister. She was battered by her husband and then came home to report the matter to my father. My father's response was not helpful at all; in fact it approved her husband's behaviour. She was sent back to her husband and advised to endure, as marriage was not an easy institution. My father's decision to send back my sister to her husband was not in conformity with his usual behaviour because we knew him as a loving man who cared a lot for his children. However, he was bound by the tradition, the fact that he had received the bride price from my sister's husband rendered him helpless. Culturally, once the husband paid the bride price in full, the ownership of the woman was transferred to his family. Stewart gives a similar report:

The attitude that violence against women is acceptable is one, which is shared with many other countries in the world. In Zimbabwe, however, this attitude is exacerbated by aspects of culture and tradition, such as the bride wealth system (lobola) which by 'selling' women to their husbands, reinforces the impression that the woman is the husband's property, to do with as he wishes, beating her included. (Stewart, 1995:30).

The division of labour is so unfairly distributed with women doing most of the work. When you visit the villages, you see men sitting idle under trees, in drinking places and playing a popular game in the area called 'nsolo'. While men engaged in such idling activities, women toiled in the fields, gardens and market places in order to meet the needs of the family. The women in polygamous marriages took turns to feed the husband. This kind of division of labour is reported elsewhere (Delphy & Leonard, 1995; French, 1994; Chitsike, 1995). The culture in the communities surrounding the school tends to confer a lot of power on men thus men are a privileged lot.

This is the culture that the schools transmit to the young generation. This may not usually be done consciously but through the hidden curriculum. Teachers and the children bring into schools their experiences from home which impacts on the values the schools transmit to the children. This is the reason why Longwe (1998) refers to schools in Zambia as patriarchal establishments grounded in the values and rules of a patriarchal society. She further said:

Pupils are schooled to conform, and to do as they are told. In other words, girls are taught to accept patriarchal authority, and not to ask questions or think for themselves ... Females are schooled to accept the 'naturalness' of male domination. (Longwe, 1998:24).

This was reflected in the interviews of female teachers and schoolgirls. Some female teachers blamed females for continued male dominance in management positions:

Some women decline promotion to management positions because of heavy household responsibilities (*this was more of a hypothetical view as the interviewee could not cite any examples of such women*). In fact women with families would not be effective in management positions. For example, a school manager or headteacher ought to be in school almost the whole day seeing to it

that the school is running smoothly. This would be very difficult for a woman who has to ensure that children have eaten at home and those going to school have been prepared (Teacher, School S4, 2003)

A few women who are headteachers display dictatorial tendencies especially towards their female colleagues. I would rather be led by a male head than a female one, because he would be more understanding. (Teacher, School S2, 2003).

The view that female headteachers tended to be dictatorial in their leadership style was shared by some male teachers.

Girls interviewed could not talk about their teachers freely. Most of them preferred to give a favourable view of their teachers. However, some girls were courageous enough to give less favourable view of their teachers:

Some male teachers go out with pupils (*have a sexual relationship*). One of them impregnated a grade seven girl but threatened her not to disclose that he was responsible. He told her to have sex with another man and accuse him to be responsible. She stopped school but could not have sex with another person. When the parents asked her for a man who was responsible for her pregnancy, she could not mention the teacher and claimed she didn't know. However, after much pressure, she revealed that it was her teacher. (Pupil, School S1, 2003)

According to the interviewee, the teacher pleaded with the parents not to report to the headteacher because he would lose his job and his family would suffer a lot. He promised to marry the girl as a second wife. He requested the parents to be patient with him, as he needed to go on transfer. To show that he was serious, he began to pay what is normally referred to as 'damages'. Damage is the payment made for

causing a girl or woman pregnant outside marriage. He eventually went on transfer but did not marry the girl. It was a very sad story to listen to and the parents were uneducated and could not pursue the matter further.

The second girl pleaded with me not to reveal what she was going to tell me to any teacher. Her account was as follows:

One unmarried teacher asked me to collect the exercise books after a class exercise. He then asked me to take them to his house. While at his house, he told me I was very beautiful and that he had always wanted to talk to me. He suggested that we go into his bedroom, as the matter he wanted to discuss with me was very serious. I refused and told him I wanted to leave. He tried to force me into his bedroom but I told him that I was going to scream. When he realised that I was serious, he let me go. Since then, he always looks for a reason to punish me. I wish I could move to another school. (Pupil, School S1, 2003)

When I asked the girl if she had reported the matter to the headteacher or her parents. She said the headteacher would not do anything. She was afraid to report the matter to her parents because they would ask her to stop school immediately. The girl was resigned to enduring the cruelty of the teacher. The girl further said, "The teachers here often use corporal punishment".

Socio-Economic Effects on Girls' Education

The five village communities that surround the case study school depend on agricultural produce and fishing. Crops grown by these communities include maize (on a very small scale because of inadequate rainfall in the area), millet and sorghum. They also grow cotton and sunflower for sale. For the two villages that are on the bank of Lake Kariba, fishing is the main source of income. Like every other part of the valley, these communities are prone to droughts, hence the need for relief food from the government and donor agencies almost every year. All the villages have boreholes sunk with the help of the Japanese government. The boreholes are of great help to these drought prone communities whose streams dry up in the dry season. Although some women have to walk long distances to the location of boreholes the certainty that they will find water is good in itself. A woman who has to cover a distance of 3 kilometres to the borehole had this comment to make:

The supply of water has greatly improved nowadays. When we come to fetch water, we are certain that we will find it and this makes our work easy. In the past we walked long distances and spent a lot of time at the well (*these were shallow wells dug by the women themselves*). Sometimes you could only fill one bucket. This was not enough to meet our needs at home. For example, I needed water for cooking, cleaning dishes, washing clothes and my husband's bathe. So, we used to wake up very early to be well positioned on the queue. It was a very difficult time for us. We are very grateful to the government for sinking this borehole (Woman, School S5, 2003).

The five village communities were all poor although levels of poverty varied from village to village. Those on the bank of Lake Kariba were far much better than others. This was because they could engage in fishing and gardening. One village headman, whose village was about 3 kilometres from the school, had this to say about his village:

My people are very good; the only problem facing us is poverty. I am sure you have seen the state of most of our children; they walk naked because their parents cannot afford to buy them clothes. If they find money they only think of buying food. We generally depend on chiholehole (*relief food*). Most of the children in this village do not go to school because their parents cannot afford school requirements such as exercise books, pencils and others. For example, the school recently required each child to pay K10 000 (£1.25) towards the expansion of the school. It was very difficult for most of the people to pay that fee. We do not know what the school will do to those children who failed to pay (Community Leader, School S1, 2003).

The headteacher also mentioned that people in the catchment area of the school were generally very poor almost throughout the year. According to him, World Vision gives people seed and fertilizer the cost of which they have to pay back after harvest. After paying back the no-interest loans to World Vision, they hardly have anything left for themselves to feed their families. At times the crop fails completely due to poor rainfall. During such bad spells, very few children attend school.

The village headman's and headteacher's comments could easily be confirmed by the state of the children in the five village communities. Most of the children wore rags and malnutrition had taken its toll. As one teacher put it, "You see marks of poverty all over the place" (Teacher, School S1, 2003). Although the communities were poor, the reproductive rate appeared to be very high. There were a lot of children in the villages.

Although there were a lot of children who dropped out of school and who had never been to school at all, only girls were interviewed. One village headman was very helpful. According to him there were many children who had never been to school and who dropped out of school. Since my interest was to interview girls, he took me

on a tour of his village to show me the number of girls who either had never been to school or dropped out of school was high. The total number of non-enrollee and drop out girls in the village was 215. During the tour, some girls were interviewed.

Although there were many factors that hindered children from accessing school, poverty was singled out by many as the major cause. It was cited as the main cause of children dropping out of school. The following statements by non-enrollees and drop out girls directly or indirectly reflect poverty as the cause:

I could not go to school because my parents had no money to pay school fees, buy books, uniforms and other school requirements (Non-enrollee, School S1, 2003).

My sister and I could not go to school because our father is poor. He can only afford to pay fees for our brother but it is still not easy for our father. Our brother on several occasions was chased from school because of failing to pay his school fees (Non-enrollee, School S3, 2003)

I dropped out of school because my friends always laughed at me. They laughed at me because my dress was old and torn in many places. My father could not buy me another dress because he had no money (Drop out, School S1, 2003).

My brother and I stopped school when our father died. Our mother could not afford to pay fees any longer. I now help my mother to raise money to feed the family (Drop out, School S4, 2003).

One of the non-enrollees was 12 years old and when asked why she could not go to school now that primary education was free. Her response was that she was too old to register for Grade 1. When challenged to go to school now that primary education was free, a non-enrollee in another village responded:

Although they say education is free, it is not free. My parents still buy exercise books, pens and pencils for my brother. Recently my brother was required to pay money for a school project (Non-enrollee, School S2, 2003).

There were a number of cases of no-enrollees girls, where parents could not afford to educate all their children. It appears that when confronted with such hard choices, the boy was always preferred. While the main cause cited of girls' failure to go to school was poverty, patriarchy influenced the choice of a boy.

Parents of the no-enrollees blamed poverty for their failure to send children to school. One parent (male) lamented:

Things were not like this in the past. There was a time when we were able to grow cotton and realise enough money to meet the needs of our families. The government used to subsidise the pesticides and they were affordable. Now they tell us to buy everything and the prices of pesticides are beyond our reach. They (government) have made us poor. It is very sad that we cannot send our children to school (Parent, School S1, 2003).

There is also the problem of changes to the primary school curriculum. This problem affects both boys and girls. The changes in the primary school curriculum impacts negatively on both teachers and pupils as reflected in the statements below:

The changes in the curriculum have an effect on both teachers and pupils. On the part of teachers, the problem is that just when they are getting used to the new curriculum, all of a sudden the government will introduce a new curriculum probably copied from somewhere. Now, before a teacher sees good results from an existing curriculum, she/he will be switched on to another

curriculum whose objectives and benefits one does not understand. The retraining offered to teachers to adapt to the new curriculum is not adequate. I feel teachers are being pushed from one curriculum to another without proper understanding of sometimes the old and the new curriculum. The pupils get confused with these changes (Teacher, School S1, 2003)

Yes it has. For example, teachers who trained sometime back are forced to teach new curriculum with only two days training. These days you find that a child in Grade 7 cannot read and write because of these changes. The teachers also get confused with these changes in the curriculum. These changes are bad for the teachers and pupils, something must be done and the sooner the better (Teacher, School S3, 2003).

It definitely has an effect on both pupils and teachers. It takes time for pupils to adapt to the changes; so, when there are a lot of changes they tend to get confused. On the part of teachers, it is actually difficult because when they are about to settle down and get to grips with the existing curriculum, another curriculum is introduced. So, the teachers are always learning new materials. This is a burden on teachers (Teacher, School S1, 2003).

There were however some teachers who viewed the changes in the curriculum as a positive development. Those who held such a view were mostly young teachers who had taught for a period of less than ten years. Here are some their views:

I personally feel change is necessary in life because it brings along with it challenges and a new way of doing things. So, changes to the curriculum are good for both teachers and pupils. I perceive these changes as an opportunity for both teachers and pupils to learn new things (Teacher, School S2, 2003)).

The changes to the curriculum have both positive and negative implications. But I think it is better to dwell on the positive aspect. For example, the introduction of the Primary Reading Programme (PRP) is a positive development in the new curriculum. Because of PRP pupils are now able to read and write in their local language by the end of the first grade. This was not the case before. I think the problem generally is with us teachers. We tend to view changes to the curriculum negatively and we project this view to the pupils. Otherwise change is good (Teacher, School S3, 2003).

Second Case Study School

The second case study school is situated in the Eastern Province of Zambia. The school is in Petauke district. Petauke district has a population of 200,058 comprised of 103,349 females and 96,709 males. The district is located along one of Zambia's major roads, the Great East road. The road connects Zambia to Malawi. Due to its location on a major road, it is a growing district. The major economic activities in the district are trading and farming. The major traders are businessmen of Asian origin. There is however, a growing trading business in second hand clothes commonly known as "salaula". The salaula traders are mainly indigenous Zambians. Most of the salaula traders are not local residents of Petauke district. They come from Zambia's major towns.

Petauke district is predominantly rural. This is the reason why the other major economic activity is farming. Farming is mainly on subsistence level. The crops grown are maize, groundnuts and cotton. Maize and groundnuts are food crops while cotton is a cash crop. However, surplus maize and groundnuts are sold to the Food Reserve Agency. The Food Reserve Agency is a government run organisation charged with the responsibility of food security for the country. However, due to insufficient funds, the Food Reserve Agency is unable to purchase all the surplus food crops. Since the agricultural marketing was liberalised by the previous

government as one of the conditions by the IMF/World Bank, private companies and individual business people buy the surplus food that the Food Reserve Agency fails to buy. Private companies and business people are generally exploitative. They tend to offer very low prices compared to the Food Reserve Agency. For example, in 2003, the Food Reserve Agency were offering K36, 000 (£4.50) for the 50kg bag of maize while the private buyers were offering K18, 000 (£2.25) for the same quantity.

Ethnicity

Petauke district has two major tribes, the Nsenga and the Chewa. The major difference between the two tribes is that the Nsenga are matrilineal while the Chewa are patrilineal. The similarity between the two is that both are non-polygamous.

Unlike the matrilineal society of the Gwembe valley considered in the first case study school, where marriage was patrilocal, the matrilineal Nsenga practice matrilocal marriages. The husband goes to live with the wife's family. The husband exercises very limited power over his wife. The children born out of such a marriage belong to the wife's family. In the event of divorce, the husband would leave all the children with his wife's family. He cannot claim ownership of the children. Due to the fact that the husband cannot claim ownership of the children and has limited power and control over his wife, the dowry paid by the man for his wife is very low among the Nsenga. On the other hand, the Chewa practice patrilocal marriages, where the wife goes to live with the husband's family. The husband has power and control over his wife. He is the head of the household and makes almost all the family decisions.

Both ethnic groups practice initiation ceremony for girls. The initiation ceremony for girls among the Nsenga is called *chisungu* while the Chewa call it *chinamwali*. When girls reach puberty, they are put in a house under the supervision of an elderly woman. They are not allowed to come out of the house throughout the period of initiation ceremony. The period varies, school going girls stay shorter periods in seclusion. Non-school going girls may stay in seclusion as long as two months.

During the period of seclusion, the girls are taught many issues. They are taught issues of hygiene, how to look after children and visitors, cookery and their obligations to their future husbands. The sexual aspect of marriage is thoroughly explained. When a girl has undergone the initiation ceremony course, she will be considered ready for marriage.

At the end of the seclusion period, the graduation ceremony is arranged where the graduates demonstrate some of the things they learnt while in seclusion. The graduation ceremony also serves as an advertisement that the girl(s) was or were ready for marriage. So, both men and women attend the graduation ceremony. Like the beauty contests, initiation graduation ceremonies are very popular with men. This is because the girls (graduates) usually are dressed in a way that is appealing to men. For example, they do not cover their breasts. Apart from the manner of dressing, girls also demonstrate some of the things they learnt while in seclusion. This includes suggestive dances in which they demonstrate how they would please a man in bed.

The problem with initiation ceremony curriculum is that it is taught to all initiates regardless of whether they are school pupils. Teachers expressed concern with the initiation ceremony curriculum, which they considered inappropriate to school-going girls. Some of their views were:

There is need to educate the 'alingizi' (initiation ceremony instructors) on what should be taught to schoolgirls undergoing the initiation ceremony. Certain materials that are taught are harmful to schoolgirls. For example, they are taught marital issues with special emphasis on issues concerning sexual intercourse. The problem of teaching schoolgirls such issues is that they often try to put into practice what they have been taught. The end result is that some girls get pregnant and thus drop out of school. The initiation ceremony curriculum is bad for schoolgirls and therefore needs to be revised (Deputy Headteacher, School P1, 2003).

There is need to censor materials taught to schoolgirls who undergo initiation ceremonies. Some of the staff taught is only suitable for non-schoolgirls who usually get married immediately after being initiated (Teacher, School P1, 2003).

It is not only the initiation ceremony curriculum, which is bad for schoolgirls but the whole concept of initiating girls. It has negative consequences on girls' education. This was a view expressed by some education officials and teachers:

While initiation ceremonies are good for girls preparing to get married, they are definitely not good for schoolgirls. They tend to divert their attention from educational matters to marital matters. Hence the high drop out rate for girls after the fourth grade. This is the stage at which most girls reach puberty and undergo the initiation ceremony (Education officer, Petauke district, 2003).

Initiation ceremonies contribute to girls dropping out of school in this area. When a girl has undergone initiation ceremony, the community expects her to get married. There is actually pressure on such girls to get married. For example, we have a girl in our school who after going through the initiation ceremony, the parents found a man to marry her. We have been told she will get married soon which means that she will stop schooling anytime (Teacher, School P1, 2003).

Many schoolgirls shared their teachers' concerns regarding the inappropriateness of the initiation ceremony curriculum. However, a few girls felt there was nothing wrong with the curriculum. Some of their views were:

I do not think there is anything wrong with what they teach us during the period of seclusion. The things they teach us are very helpful. They teach us to respect elders and to be responsible. They

also teach us to be hard working. We are taught that a lazy woman is a disgrace to her family and society. They also teach us sex education. I found sex education interesting because we were allowed to ask questions. I think it is the only time sex education is taught in detail. (Pupil, School P1, 2003).

Sex education is important and should continue to be taught during initiation ceremonies. In one seminar we had at school, sex education taught in initiation ceremonies was condemned. I found this unfair because in the same seminar they taught us how to have safe sex using condoms. They demonstrated using a plastic male organ how we should ensure that the man puts on the condom properly whenever we have sex. I found this embarrassing because this was done in the presence of some of our parents and teachers who were in attendance. Sex education issues are taught in privacy in initiation ceremonies (Pupil, School P2, 2003).

There is nothing wrong with the initiation ceremony curriculum. There may be a few things that seem inappropriate to pupils but it is up to us to refrain from doing such things. The truth is that we will eventually use that knowledge when we get married. The major problem I see is that people tend to condemn anything traditional but sex education taught in HIV/AIDS awareness programmes is more explicit than sex education taught in initiation ceremonies (Pupil, School P5, 2003)

There is also a problem that alangizi (initiation ceremony instructors) face as reflected in the following statement:

We have a problem nowadays in instructing girls undergoing initiation ceremony. On one hand, teachers do not want us to teach sex education. On the other hand, parents demand that we should

teach their daughters a complete initiation ceremony package, which includes detailed sex education (Initiation ceremony instructor, School P1, 2003).

Whatever views people hold regarding the initiation ceremonies curriculum or initiation ceremonies in general, they contribute to girls' absence from school for the period they are in confinement and there is a tendency for many of them to get married soon after they have been initiated.

The Chewa practice initiation ceremony for boys as well. Boys as young as eight years old are recruited into the nyau cult. The nyau cult is a secret society among the Chewa ethnic group. It is not easy to obtain information about the nyau cult due to the fact that it is a secret society. Those who undergo the nyau initiation ceremony swear on oath never to disclose what takes place in a nyau cult camp. If anyone broke the oath, they would be abducted and killed by the members of the cult. The general information known about the nyau initiation ceremony is that boys are turned into men through some kind of military training. One community leader narrated the purpose of the nyau initiation ceremony:

The nyau initiation ceremony is a tradition that makes the Chewa different from other tribes. It is an important ceremony because it makes us unique and gains us respect among other tribes. The main purpose is to turn young men into responsible adults who can defend our people. Young men are taught how to be courageous and endure hardship (Community Leader, School P1, 2003).

One of the visible outcomes of the nyau initiation ceremony is masked dancers who perform a dance known as *gule wamkulu*. The masked dancers commonly referred to, as *nyaus* are feared in the community. They are known to be ruthless. For example, if anyone strayed near their camp, he or she would be captured. If it were a man, he would be tortured and forced to join the nyau cult. If it were a woman, she

would be raped and released after sometime but she would be warned not to talk about it. The nyau initiation ceremony lasts for at least a week.

The nyau initiation ceremony affects both boys' and girls' education. Most of the schoolboys who are initiated into the nyau cult tend to stop school because they consider themselves as adults. Those who remain in school would be absent for most of the harvest season when they perform the *gule wamkulu* dance. The initiates would also be absent from school during their initiation period.

The nyau initiation ceremony affects girls' education because women and girls provide the background singing and clapping for the *gule wamkulu* dance. Girls as young as eight years old are forced to provide the background singing and clapping for the *gule wamkulu* dance. The girls do not only provide background singing and clapping, they also provide sexual services to the nyaus.

Education

Petauke district has a total of 98 Basic Schools and 10 High Schools. The total student population in the district is 38,080 with 19,918 boys and 18,162 girls. There are 1,756 more boys than girls enrolled in schools in the district. These figures do not include community school population. The data for community schools was still being compiled.

The representation of girls in some rural schools was low as shown below.

Table 6.7: Gross Enrolment by Grade and by Gender for Schools P6, P7, P8, P9-2003

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
P6	33	17	36	11	14	7	19	10	14	8	12	3	7	8	135	64
P7	27	16	17	15	30	10	14	17	9	14	22	7	14	11	133	90
P8	40	45	15	16	20	16	26	9	12	5	17	5	10	10	140	106
P9	27	33	24	14	34	22	17	13	19	10	14	7	10	5	145	104

Source: Petauke District Education Board Statistics 2003

In most urban schools, girls were well represented as shown below.

Table 6.8: Gross Enrolment by Grade and by Gender for Schools P10, P11, P12-2003

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
P10	20	22	30	63	32	50	27	45	29	15	17	19	25	11	180	225
P11	15	25	10	25	19	13	19	22	8	15	3	13	12	8	86	121
P12	24	31	22	44	18	35	15	21	11	16	8	12	16	9	114	168

Source: Petauke District Education Board Statistics 2003

While girls' enrolment in urban and some of the rural schools was either equal or higher than that of boys, the dropout rate for girls was higher than for boys.

Table 6.9: Dropout rate by Grade and by Gender for Grades 1-7, Petauke District-2003

Grade		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dropout rate	Boys	3.23	3.33	4.60	5.79	6.1	6.34	5.44
	%							
	Girls	2.84	2.79	3.61	5.49	8.20	8.36	6.74
	%							
Total	%	3.03	3.06	4.10	5.64	7.10	7.24	5.98

Source: Petauke District Education Board Statistics 2003

The dropout rates are higher for boys than girls from Grade 1-4 but the opposite is true after the fourth grade. As explained earlier by one of the education officers, most girls reach puberty after the fourth grade. After undergoing the initiation ceremony, some of the girls dropout of school due to pregnancies and early marriages.

Petauke District Education Board like Sinazongwe District Education Board had a critical shortage of desks. This was a verbal report by one of the education officers as data was still being compiled. However, there was evidence of the report in the schools I visited. For example, in one school, children from lower grades were sent home because Grade 7 students who were writing the national selection examinations were using the available desks.

The total number of teachers in the district was 727 of which 508 were male and 219 were female. The figures include school administrators. Most of the female teachers were concentrated in urban schools. One urban Basic school had 38 teachers of whom only 5 were male. Despite the fact that female teachers were in the majority, the headteacher and deputy headteacher were both male. According to one of the education officers, the 727 teachers were not adequate to cover all the 108 schools in the district. The officer was quick to mention that they had a problem of uneven

distribution of teachers between the urban and rural schools. Most of the urban schools were overstaffed while most rural schools were critically understaffed.

Female teachers were underrepresented in school management positions as reflected in the table below.

Table 6.10: School Administrators for Petauke District by Gender -2003

	Male	Female	Total
Headteachers	96	10	106
Deputy Heads	63	9	72
Senior Teachers	23	4	27
Total	182	23	205

Source: Petauke District Education Board Statistics 2003

The second case study school was opened in 1966. In 2003 it had a student population of 617 in the primary section (Grades 1-7). The distribution of the population was as follows:

Table 6.11: Gross Enrolment for School P1 by Grade and by Gender- 2003

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
No. of pupils	47	42	41	49	94	72	64	51	31	29	27	18	34	18	338	279

Source: School registers

The enrolment clearly shows that the girls were fewer than boys and that the number of girls reduced significantly after the fourth grade. So, there are fewer girls than boys who complete primary school education. The school opened one class of Grade 8 with 27 boys and 16 girls giving a total of 43. Therefore, the actual student

population in the school was 657. Like many schools in Zambia, the school had a large number of orphans. They had a total of 144 orphans most who were in school because of the support they received from various NGOs.

The staff establishment of the school is 13 but they had only 7 permanent teachers helped by 4 volunteer teachers. The community supported the volunteer teachers. Once in a while they received meagre stipends but in most cases they received food from the community. Fortunately, the volunteer teachers were qualified teachers who had completed the two-year teacher-training course the previous year. As indicated earlier, the government could not employ them because of the IMF/World Bank conditions. The volunteer teachers could leave anytime they found a job more rewarding than the job they were doing in the school. All the volunteer teachers were male. Of the 7 permanent staff, 4 were male and 3 were female. The third female teacher had actually retired but was still counted as a member of staff because she had not yet officially handed over the school to her predecessor. She used to be the headteacher of the school. So, in reality there were only 6 permanent teachers in the school. This meant that out of the total of 10 teachers, there were only 2 female teachers. The school had a shortfall of 7 teachers. The female teachers were well represented in the school administration. The headteacher and senior teacher were female. The deputy headteacher was male.

The class pattern was double stream up to Grade 4. From Grades 5-8 each grade had one class. The class pattern showed that the progression rate was unstable. The enrolment figures dwindle significantly after the fourth grade.

The infrastructure was in very good condition. Staff houses and classrooms had been rehabilitated and painted. Unlike the first case study school where the infrastructure was in a deplorable state, this one was an example of a well-managed school.



Figure 6.7: A well maintained classroom block

The school has a borehole in working condition. At the time of my visit, there was sufficient clean water. The major problem the school faced was insufficient sanitary facilities. They had only 4 pit latrines for girls and 2 for boys, which fell far below the UNICEF requirement of one pit latrine for every 10 girls and one for every 16 boys.

The school management team was well organised with up-to-date records. It was very easy to get any kind of information. The management team seems to have won the confidence of the community. The headteacher was very hardworking and had very good public relations, which helped her win the confidence of the community. The school being located in a patrilineal community, she was referred to as “a man in a woman”. There was a healthy relationship between the teachers and the community. The school is actually a model to other rural schools in the district.

The school made a lot of effort to address gender differences. For example, they ensured that there was gender balance in the appointment of prefects. The head

prefect was female and the deputy head prefect was male. Boys and girls shared responsibilities equally. Both boys and girls watered flowers and swept school surroundings. Perhaps these efforts were possible because the headteacher was female. However, the efforts to address gender differences by the school were being undermined by children's home environment. The home environment was different from that of school. At home girls fetched water, cooked and swept the home surroundings. It was a taboo in this patrilineal community for a man or boy to either fetch water or cook or sweep the home surroundings. Boys looked after cattle and helped their fathers with what is considered as male activities. So, boys treated the responsibilities at school as unique to the school environment.

While there were differences in efforts to address gender disparities between the first case study and second case study schools, there was no difference at community level. Women in both communities did more work than men. Men in the second case study equally engaged in idling activities like beer drinking. Even in the matrilineal part of the district, women still did more work than men. In fact, what makes the community matrilineal is that the husband goes to live with his wife's family and that he does not make major decisions in the home. However, it is still men who made decisions in a matrilineal community. It is the uncles and brothers to the wife who made major decisions. So, power and control was still the preserve of men.

One old man was not happy that boys were made to sweep school surroundings:

The school is turning our boys into women. They make them draw water and sweep like women. It is not good and is against our culture (Villager, School P1, 2003).

Another male parent complained that there was a lot of interference from education authorities on the traditional way of life:

They tell us not to keep girls for a long time in the house (seclusion) and that this should be done during school holidays.

According to our custom, a girl is supposed to be put in the house immediately she reaches puberty. What the education authorities do not understand is that girls reach puberty anytime; they do not wait for school holidays. What is done nowadays is no longer the real initiation ceremony. You keep a girl in the house for two weeks and you call that initiation ceremony. It is now a game and that is the reason we are experiencing a lot of divorces. It was not like that in the past when girls were taught properly (Parent, School P1, 2003).

Some women in the focus group discussion expressed similar views. Most of the women believed the period of two weeks in the house was too short. It was clear from reactions of some of the women in the focus group that they cherished the old days when there was no interference. However, there were some who thought school was important and therefore shorter periods of initiation ceremonies were convenient to schoolgirls.

In rural communities in Petauke district, initiation ceremonies affect girls' education. It is one of the factors that contribute to the high dropout rate for girls.

Like in the first case study school, poverty contributes to high dropout rates for both boys and girls. Poverty has greater effect on girls than boys because of son preference in the two communities. Girls were more likely than boys to be withdrawn from school to either look after their siblings when the mother is out fending for the family or accompany the mother on such errands.

Most of the girls in the community, who failed to go to school blamed poverty for their failure to enrol. Similarly a good number of girls who dropped out of school cited lack of financial resources as a problem. What was interesting with some dropout girls was that even those who left school due to pregnancy blamed poverty. However, the school records betrayed them because they clearly indicated that they left school due to pregnancy. So, it is important to confirm some of the interview

reports if one has to get genuine data. Teachers also cited poverty as a hindrance to children's education especially that of girls.

The problem of distance was also a big problem to girls' education in the area. Schools are far apart. Students walk or cycle long distances to school. When I was visiting one school, I was amazed at the number of bicycles that were packed under the tree shade. I had never before seen so many bicycles in one place. The picture below serves as evidence. I could not photograph all the bicycles because there were too many.



Figure 6.8: A cluster of bicycles for pupils

At the end of school day, only two bicycles belonged to the girls, the rest belonged to boys. After inquiring from teachers and pupils why so many pupils and particularly boys came by bicycles, the main cause was long distance. There were not many girls cycling to school because it was deemed not safe for girls to cycle such long distances. According to teachers, many girls from distant villages could not come to school.

For comparison purpose, an urban school was visited in Petauke district. It was one of the large schools in the district with a total population of 1441 distributed as follows:

Table 6.12: Gross Enrolment by Gender for school P13-2003

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
No. of pupils	130	134	108	114	109	114	91	104	106	89	90	77	83	91	717	724

Source: School registers

Although the total figures show that girls outnumber boys in the school, the figures for girls begin to decline after the fourth grade. Pregnancies and early marriages were cited as the main reasons for such a trend.

According to the headteacher, the enrolment of girls was good in urban areas because parents valued education, which was not the case in rural areas. So, the parents in urban areas ensured that children regardless of their sex attended school.

One teacher however, expressed disappointment at the behaviour of some girls:

Some of the big girls patronise nightclubs and bars where they provide sexual services in exchange for money. Some of them go after the truck drivers. Truck drivers are known to have a lot of money. In short, some of our girls engage in prostitution. As a result the number of girls getting pregnant is high (Teacher, School P13, 2003).

The girls interviewed expressed similar views as their counterparts in other schools discussed above. However, there were girls who expressed views that were

interesting to take note of. One girl who had been transferred from a rural school to this urban school expressed her experiences in the two schools as follows:

There are some differences between my previous school and my present school. At my previous school, we did not have enough teachers but here we have enough teachers. The teachers at my previous school were very committed to their work but some teachers here are not very committed to their work. For example, at month-ends most of them would not come to teach. So, most pupils here have extra tuition at a fee which pupils from poor families cannot afford (Pupil, School P13, 2003).

Another girl complained of the work she had to do before and after school and how it affected her schoolwork:

Yes, the work at home interferes with my schoolwork. Sometime I have a lot to do before coming to school that I get tired. In addition to work, I have to travel a long distance to school. Sometime I get very tired that I can hardly concentrate on my lessons. After school, there is equally a lot to do at home that I fail to do my homework. At school, the teacher does not give me chance to explain why I sometime fail to do my homework; so, I am often punished (Pupil, School P13).

There was also a case of three siblings all doing Grade 7. Their ages were 13, 16, and 18 years. The boy was 13 years old and his sisters were 16 and 18 years old respectively. The reason they were doing the same grade was that the older children had stopped school due to lack of financial resources. When the free education policy was introduced in all public primary schools, they went back to school.

There were 9 male and 19 female teachers in the school. As can be seen the female teachers were in the majority. The headteacher and senior teacher were male while

the deputy headteacher was female. One female teacher was not happy about the low female representation in the management team:

The affirmative action policy is not being implemented in the district. The district office is biased towards men in the appointment of school managers. At this school, there are more female than male teachers but the headteacher and senior teacher are male. The same thing is happening at the nearby basic school. It is unfair (Teacher, School P13, 2003).

The infrastructure was in good condition. Regular repairs were done to desks and buildings. This was possible because of the support the school received from parents:

The parents are very supportive. Whenever an appeal for funding is made, parents respond positively. For example, those bricks you see there, the people who moulded them were paid by the parent-teachers' association (PTA). We are planning to build a 1x3 classroom block, so that we can increase our enrolment to meet an ever-rising demand for places (Headteacher, School P13, 2003).



Figure 6.9: A heap of bricks

According to the headteacher, they are gender sensitive and this is reflected in the distribution of responsibilities to both teachers and pupils. However, due to a large number of female teachers it would seem as if most responsibilities are given to female teachers.

The records in the school were up-to-date and there was unity among the teachers. Despite the poor conditions of service, they appeared enthusiastic about their work except during month-ends when most of them would be out in town to get their salaries.

The account above gives my fieldwork experience. It was a time of learning. Some experiences were interesting while others were sad. The experiences of girls varied according to case study schools but it was clear from the girls' narrations that their time at school was not easy.

In the next chapter we shall examine how the experiences in the fieldwork report affect the education of children and in particular girls.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FIELDWORK RESULTS

Introduction

An account of fieldwork data has been presented in the last chapter, paying attention to the voices of participants in the Zambian education system. A brief outline of Zambia's education policy documents has also been given. In the next chapter, the focus will be on exploring the meaning of the fieldwork data when linked to the main theoretical strands informing this study i.e. globalisation and patriarchy. In this study it is argued that globalisation and patriarchy interact together to perpetuate gender inequalities in education. This view is well supported by evidence from the literature in chapters one and two. However, there is need to substantiate the literature with data from the field.

Therefore, this chapter addresses the core research question, "Why have gender inequalities in Zambia's basic education system persisted in spite of the effort made to address them?" The discussion begins by exploring the impact of globalisation on girls' education. Patriarchy's role in perpetuating gender inequalities in education will form the second part of the discussion. Exploration of whether attitudes to girls' education differ in different communities will constitute the last section of the chapter.

Effect of Globalisation on Girls' Education

Girls' education in developing countries gained prominence in the 1990s. As indicated in chapter 3, this was as a result of sobering statistical evidence presented at the Jomtien Education for All conference. The statistics clearly showed that girls' education lagged behind that of boys. There was a general consensus by all participating countries including Zambia that there was need to address gender

inequalities in education. It became a common practice for ministries of education in developing countries to formulate gender sensitive policies.

In Zambia, girls' education became the cliché of the 1990s among the politicians and educationists. In spite of the overuse of the term girls' education, there was very little progress made. Girls' education remains a problem in Zambia:

Zambia will not be able to achieve gender parity in schools despite government's policy on free education because of high poverty levels... Zambia still faces the challenge of increasing the number of girl children in schools... Kasanda explained that many factors have contributed to girls not being able to attend or continue with their education at the same level as boys, citing poverty and the HIV and AIDS pandemic. (Maunga, 2005:9)

The global economic agenda, which characterised the education reforms in the 1980s through the 1990s, overshadowed the campaign for girls' education. In Zambia, globalisation forces began to affect the education sector in the mid-1980s when the country embraced the structural adjustment programmes of the IMF/World Bank. The impact of structural adjustment programmes on Sub-Saharan Africa was discussed in chapter 1. However, it may suffice to mention that the type of growth linked with adjustment policies of the World Bank is unequal growth. Onimode makes this point clear:

Adjustment growth reproduces the polarised and unequal development of the world capitalist system, which is detrimental to Africa. It is constrained by the unacceptable requirement that Africa must pursue its imposed role of specialisation in primary production within the international capitalist division of labour. (Onimode, 1992:126)

Castells' account of Sub-Saharan Africa in chapter one makes Onimode's assertion clear. The adjustment policies do not benefit all the people in the recipient countries. In Zambia for example, only a few benefited while the majority were condemned to poverty.

Although there have been many education policy documents produced by the World Bank on the education development in Sub-Saharan Africa, the one with devastating consequences is the policy document entitled, "Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalisation, and Expansion" which was published in 1988. The emphases of the document were:

- The principle of cost sharing
- Promotion of private sector participation in education provision
- Improvement of quality

The implication of each of these was discussed in chapter one. This section will examine the implication of each of these on girls' education in Zambia in the light of the evidence from the fieldwork.

When Zambia gained independence in 1964, the government abolished all forms of fees in education in order to achieve the vision of wiping out illiteracy and bringing the benefits of education into every home. The government provided free education in its real sense. This was made possible by good copper prices at the London metal exchange. However, by mid-1970s the government's capacity to sustain the provision of free education was made difficult by falling copper prices coupled with other factors. The government had to seek other sources of funding to sustain growth in education and other social sectors. Zambia had to turn to the IMF and the World Bank for assistance in the late 1970s. However, the borrowing in the 1970s was moderate as the country could still manage to fund most of its development projects from internal sources. Unfortunately, by mid-1980s the economic situation deteriorated and so the country relied more on external assistance. So, Zambia relied more and more on the IMF and World Bank loans to fund its development

programmes. In return for loans, the country was required to implement the Bank and Fund endorsed economic policies. Unfortunately, the two decades of intensified implementation of the Bank and Fund adjustment programmes were a sad story of increasing debt, economic stagnation or collapse, and social crisis.

In education the principle of cost sharing was introduced in the mid-1980s. The argument for cost sharing and its eventual consequences are summed up in the statement below:

Greater cost sharing, it was hoped, would help the poor because it would mobilise more resources from better-off groups and those resources could then be used to improve services for poorer groups. For this goal to be achieved, though, the poor needed to be exempt from fees or otherwise protected. Experience in and since the 1980s has shown that the poor have not been effectively protected in many cases. Planning for new or higher fees has frequently outstripped adequate preparation and implementation of exemptions or safety nets. (World Bank, 1996:1).

The accounts of non-enrollee girls in the fieldwork report indicated that they could not go to school because their parents could not afford the user fees charged at school. The user fees reported in the fieldwork report refers to monetary contributions parents or guardians have to make towards the education of their children. The World Bank defines user fees in a broader sense:

User fees, broadly defined, include: cash payments for services; in-kind contributions such as materials or labour for construction of schools ... and illicit fees that users sometimes have to pay. (World Bank, 1996:1).

User fees among the poor households became a hindrance to the education of their children. Although non-enrolees rarely referred to the broader definition of user fees,

there was evidence that parents contributed more than fees towards the education of their children. For example, there was a case of a headteacher who said, "Parents paid the people who moulded the bricks". The bricks were for building a classroom block. There was also a non-enrollee who contested the concept of free education. She said, her parents still bought books, pens and other requirements for her brother. She also talked about her brother being asked to pay money for a school project.

Similarly, accounts of dropout girls in the fieldwork report indicated that they dropped out of school because their parents could no longer manage to meet the cost of their schooling. Teachers also expressed similar views, that the main cause for girls dropping out of school was poverty. Poverty made it very difficult for parents to pay fees or buy instructional materials demanded at school. Parents of non-enrollee and drop out girls equally pointed to poverty as the main cause of their failure to pay school levies to either send their children to school or sustain their stay at school.

It is not easy to assess the impact of the cost sharing policy on basic education due to lack of good records in most schools. Normally, children who dropped out of school because of parents' failure to pay user fees and girls who got pregnant but stayed at home without informing the school authorities the reason for their absence were grouped together into the category of prolonged absence. The school administrators cannot be blamed for this because such children did not report to school the reason for their failure to return to school. It was only through interviews of some of the affected children that the truth was discovered. Otherwise the introduction of fees either prevented some children from accessing education or caused others to drop out of school. According to Clark and Allison (1989), as the structural adjustment policies were being implemented in Zambia's education system, schooling for all was on the way out. According to the same authors, by 1989 it was estimated that four thousand children had dropped out of school because of the adjustment policies.

Although it is difficult to understand how they arrived at this estimation, the fact is that many children dropped out of school because of the introduction of the cost-sharing scheme. The fieldwork data supports this. During my fieldwork trip, I took a

tour of one village together with the village community leader and found a lot of girls who dropped out of school. Almost all the girls interviewed cited parents' failure to pay school fees as the reason for their dropping out of school. There is a possibility that some of the girls were not honest. The school did not have up-to-date records to help confirm the girls' reasons for leaving school. In the second case study school, it was easier to confirm the girls' reasons for dropping out of school because records were available. As indicated in the fieldwork report, some girls who left school due to pregnancy preferred to cite poverty as the cause for dropping out of school. The reason for this preference is that the school system and the communities tend to stigmatise girls who get pregnant. They are considered as loose and without morals.

The cost sharing policy was introduced simultaneously with other IMF/World Bank structural adjustment policies. Among these were the privatisation and liberalisation of the economy. Zambia was hailed by the World Bank as having the most successful privatisation programme in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 1996). However, reality renders the commendation inappropriate. The statements below by government leaders make this point clear:

"IMF's privatisation programme has been of no significant benefit to the country... privatisation of crucial state enterprises has led to poverty, asset stripping and job losses" (BBC, 2003).

President Levy Mwanawasa

"The private sector has failed us" (The Post, 2003).

Finance Minister Peter Magande

"We have seen investors leave workers in the cold after reaping huge profits... We need investors but we don't need them at all costs" (The Post, 2003).

Labour and Social Security Deputy Minister Chile Ng'uni

So, the privatisation programme in Zambia was not as successful as the World Bank portrayed it. On the contrary the privatisation programme in Zambia led to the

retrenchment of many workers who in most cases were not paid their retrenchment packages. It must be born in mind that these people were breadwinners in their families. Suddenly, they were unable to support their families and could no longer meet school requirements for their children. This exacerbated poverty in the country. Similarly, the liberalisation programme had its own implications on the education of children. The agricultural liberalisation programme undertaken by government in the 1990s was disastrous to the small-scale farming community:

Prior to 1991, the government was involved in the provision of agricultural credit to farmers, marketing of all agricultural inputs such as seed and fertilisers, and marketing agricultural produce such as maize grain, sunflower and cotton. With the poor performance of the economy, provision of subsidies in this process was deemed unbearable for the government budget. Thus, the state moved out of the agricultural sector in an attempt to let the market institutions take over and run the sector more efficiently. With the help of the World Bank, the Agricultural Sector Investment Programme (ASIP) was designed. (Situmbeko, & Zulu, 2004:34).

This sudden and complete withdrawal by government from the agricultural sector impacted negatively on the rural small-scale farmers. The agricultural input prices escalated and were beyond their reach. The distribution of the inputs by the private sector did not measure up to the farmers' demands. For some rural farmers who managed to procure the inputs and produced a good crop, further difficulties awaited them. The crop marketing by the private sector was chaotic. The prices offered were too low compared to the cost of inputs. A World Bank study acknowledged that the removal of all subsidies on maize and fertiliser under IMF/World Bank structural adjustment loans led to stagnation and regression instead of helping Zambia's agricultural sector (Deininger & Olinto, 2000). Many small-scale farmers were left worse off than before the liberalisation of the agricultural sector. In fact many small-scale farmers added to the already growing list of the poor.

One parent looked back to the old days when government subsidised farm inputs. According to him, he used to realise enough money to meet the needs of his family, including sending children to school. With the removal of the subsidies on agricultural inputs, he could no longer grow cotton and this has made life very difficult for the family. He had no objection to government moving out of the agricultural sector but complained that it was too sudden and did not give farmers enough time to plan for it. He blamed the government for his poverty and failure to educate his children.

The parent blamed the government for the removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs. Of course he was not aware of the global economic forces that pushed the government to take that sudden and unpopular decision that ended up hurting its people. The IMF/World Bank through its structural adjustment programme forced the government to completely liberalise the agricultural industry. This was done without due consideration of the small-scale farmer who had no means to survive in the liberalised and competitive market. One would easily agree with the statement made by one agricultural officer:

The IMF/World Bank pushed for liberalisation of the agricultural industry so that they would destroy the subsistence farming in Zambia, which was the backbone of the agricultural industry. By doing so, there are opening up markets for America's agricultural products (Agricultural Officer, Sinazongwe).

The statement was made in view of the genetically modified (GMO) maize, which the United States government donated to Zambia. The Zambian government rejected the donation because of the fear that it would affect agriculture in future. It was a big political issue, which many Zambians think led to Zambia's failure to reach highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) completion point. The recent media report by the United States ambassador to Zambia seems to confirm the suspicion of Zambians:

The United States government says it will cancel US\$500 million of Zambia's bilateral debt once the country reaches HIPC completion point (ZNBC, June 29, 2004).

The sad part is that while such global economic and political battles rage, the most affected is the girl who cannot go to school because of inadequate financial resources in the home.

Therefore, privatisation and liberalisation policies of the IMF/World Bank had negative consequences on children's education. User fees for example were incompatible with the poverty experienced by many families. With incomes falling, and unemployment rising, fees were beyond the reach of many families. It is no wonder that many girls who dropped out of school pointed to poverty as the main cause. The implication of this for girls' education is that when parents are hard hit by the effects of globalisation, they normally choose to educate a boy. As Clark and Allison put it, "There are fears that girls' will suffer particularly badly since many parents will choose to sponsor their sons rather than their daughters" (Clark & Allison, 1989: 50). Both accounts of no-enrollee and dropout girls attest to these fears.

It is clear that fees are not only a barrier to access for the poorest households, they also compound other problems. Fees can entrench and widen gender inequalities where high private costs force households to choose between a son and daughter for schooling, and have a strongly disequalising effect on society at large. The failure to provide free basic education in many low-income countries especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa means that the economic opportunities associated with literacy would be confined to a privileged few.

In Zambia the concept of son preference affects mainly rural communities. However, it would not be strange even among urban communities to find families choosing to educate a boy rather than a girl when resources are inadequate. This is a good example where globalisation and patriarchy interact together to perpetuate gender

inequalities in education. In this case, globalisation creates a conducive environment for patriarchy to thrive. When girls are denied access to education, it means they will always occupy a subordinate position to men in society. Therefore, globalisation and patriarchy complement each other to keep women in a subordinate position to men.

One of the problems affecting schools I visited during my fieldwork was the critical shortage of trained teachers. For example, the first case study school's staff establishment was 20 but had only 8 trained teachers. The second study school's staff establishment was 13 but had only 7 trained teachers on government payroll. Similar patterns were observed in schools near the case study schools. Similar experiences were reported in Lusaka. Silas Silewu, headmaster at Maano Basic School in Lusaka says:

“We have only 3 teachers, including me, to teach 526 pupils. The average class size is 70 pupils and each teacher has to teach two classes. To work effectively we need at least 12 teachers. (Lawson & Fry 2004:6)

Paul Mutaloange, the headteacher of Chisakila Basic School concurs:

“This year numbers have fallen. Parents have lost interest due to the lack of teachers,” he says. He had 2 teachers, plus himself to teach 250 pupils from Grades 1 to 7. (Lawson & Fry, 2004:6).

Such reports are common especially among rural schools. HIV/AIDS has made the situation worse. One District Education Officer said, “We spend more time attending funerals and burials of teachers than we do in the offices”. According to the same officer, the teachers who were dying were not being replaced thereby creating a critical shortage in the district. The situation may not have changed since the Ministry of Education was unable to employ the 9,000 newly trained teachers because of World Bank and IMF budget conditionalities (The Post, January 31, 2004). The World Bank and IMF seem dictatorial in the way they implement their

programmes in Zambia. They do not seem to engage in dialogue with the government. This appears to be the case when one closely looks at the minister of education's statement below:

Explaining the failure by government to employ teachers trained in 2002 and 2003, the education minister yesterday disclosed that the problem was not about lack of resources but the conditions given by the two institutions for the government not to spend more than 8% of Zambia's gross domestic product (GDP) on wages in the budget. "Those are the instructions given to government," he said. (The Post, January 31, 2004).

If the World Bank and IMF are controlling Zambia's budget, one would argue that they are controlling the country. It would seem as if the World Bank and IMF are not ready to listen to the government, hence the need for an arbitrator. This again is reflected in the minister's statement:

The minister appealed to co-operating partners (*bilateral donors*) to negotiate for the government with the World Bank and IMF on the need to have the teachers employed to avert the current shortage, which was at a provincial average of 1,000 teachers. (The Post, January 31, 2004).

Of course this is not to exonerate the government. It has the capacity to channel donor funding to financing the large government bureaucracy and at times to unproductive ventures.

It would also appear the World Bank and IMF did not consult the Ministry of Education on the programmes and projects they would support. The minister sounded so helpless in his statement:

On the logic for donors to keep rehabilitating schools and purchasing desks for schools, which had no teachers, the minister said it was difficult because donors decide on what projects they want to support. The minister said he would equally prefer that more teachers are recruited as opposed to have more desks in schools without teachers. (The Post, January 31, 2004).

As indicated earlier the World Bank and IMF now virtually define and control development programmes of most African countries. While aid should be appreciated by the recipient but when it comes with such arrogance, you wonder whether it is well intended.

There was also the problem of low motivation among the teachers in the schools visited because of the low salaries and poor conditions of service. Some teachers interviewed expressed frustration and anger at government's failure to pay them decent living wages. They also expressed unhappiness at the poor conditions of service that characterised the teaching profession. One jokingly said, "We have no conditions of service". This problem again can be traced through the World Bank/IMF policies. In the 1988 World Bank education policy document on Sub-Saharan Africa discussed above, one of the options of cost recovery was to reduce the salaries of teachers. According to Brock-Utne (2000) teachers' salaries in Sub-Saharan Africa were already too low. However, Brock-Utne made exceptions of countries like Botswana and South Africa where teachers lived well on their salaries. The proposal to reduce teachers' salaries by the World Bank is a contradiction to the Bank's position on providing quality basic education, which features prominently in all its education policy documents produced in the last two decades (World Bank, 1988, 1995, 1999).

The other issue that featured prominently in the interviews of teachers was the regular changes to the basic education curriculum. In trying to address the problem of decline in the quality of education, the donor community under the umbrella of the World Bank have been experimenting with different curricula in the basic education

sector. According to teachers' interview accounts, this has caused difficulties for teachers who have to constantly adjust and adapt to the changes in the curriculum. Many teachers felt that the retraining exercise was not adequate as it lasted for only a day or two. Some teachers felt the changes to the curriculum contributed to falling standards in Zambia's education sector.

One may ask, "What has teachers' salaries and changes to the curriculum to do with girls' education"? The argument here is that demotivated teachers will not give in their best in their work, which will have a telling effect on the quality of education. When parents are not happy with the quality of education offered to their children, they will withdraw their children from school. The son preference will normally dictate whom to withdraw from school. In a patriarchal society like Zambia, it is considered more economical for parents to either keep the girl at home or give her out in marriage. The girl does more work at home as the mother's assistant than a boy. Giving her out in marriage brings economic reward to the family (though generally to the father) in form of bride wealth, which nowadays is quite substantial.

These are realities of the effect of globalisation on girls' education in Zambia and elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa. One would wish that globalisation created a society that Kofi Annan envisages:

A health and prosperous society is not just about attaining benchmarks, but it also requires investment in people- their health, their education and their security. It takes care of all and allows all of its members to participate in decision-making⁴ (Annan, 2000)

There is need for openness and honesty on the part of the northern governments, multilateral agencies and southern governments to create such a society in a world characterised by deceit, dishonest and greed.

⁴ Speech by the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan when he officially opened the 2000 United Nations Special Assembly on Social Development.

The next section examines the effect of patriarchy on girls' education in Zambia.

Effect of Patriarchy on Girls' Education

Although girls' education in Zambia gained more attention in the last decade, early efforts to promote girls' education can be traced through the colonial period. In 1925 a policy aimed at promoting girls' education was put in place:

The Memorandum on Educational policy submitted to the Secretary of State in March 1925, by the Advisory Committee established by the Colonial Office as a direct consequence of the Phelps-Stoke's report, addressed itself to the subject. It demonstrated how urgent was the need to educate girls and women, but added: "It is impossible to overstate the delicacy and difficulties of this problem in the view of existing circumstances and traditions". However, delicate the problems, though, it was important that the work should go on. It stressed that besides the good effects of education on the health of the home and family, it was necessary that the wife should be able to keep pace with the development, in terms of education and civilisation, and damaging schisms could open up between the sexes and generations. The woman, as the dominant influence on the home and family was seen as the most powerful potential agent for an improvement in morality, especially in regard to sexual practices, and this factor needed to be recognised in her education. (Carter & Wright, 1992:125).

At the time, traditions were perceived as a barrier to girls' education. Apparently, traditions are still a barrier to girls' education in 2005 and very likely beyond. The reports of girls and women in the fieldwork chapter show how traditions have continued to be a barrier to girls' education. Patriarchy, the beneficiary from these traditions has established structures that help maintain these traditions. In Zambia,

patriarchal structures that maintain and sustain the traditions are well entrenched in rural areas.

The nature of education proposed for girls in the policy was to help them look after their homes, husbands and children. There was no indication that it would bring direct benefit to the girls and women themselves. Emancipatory type of education was deemed inappropriate:

...If in addition you educated them possibly to the same standard as boys and men, you exposed mankind to manifold dangers. They might easily become unmanageable, neglectful of the home and the comfort of their menfolk, and aspire to all kinds of unthinkable nonsense, including taking part in the government of the country! You might even end up with a woman as President or Prime Minister. (Carter & Wright, 1992:126).

So, from the outset deliberate effort was made to offer girls and women an education that was inferior to that of boys and men. Of course, the aim was to keep women in a dependent and subordinate position to men in society. Although such views were expressed in 1925, they have survived into the 21st century. The case of a girl reported in the fieldwork chapter, who passed position 2 in a test and was told by a boy to move from the girls' section to the boys' section because she had proved that she was more than a girl, clearly shows the enduring nature of patriarchy. It is important to note that the statement was made by a boy of primary school age. At his age, he was already aware of his privileged position. As noted in the previous chapter, Chisike (1995), a victim of the well established patriarchal structures at primary school in Zimbabwe, was made to feel worthless, weaker and smaller than boys. Patriarchy ensures its lessons are learnt early to have a lasting impact on its adherents.

Just as globalisation found schools as an effective means of transmitting its message, so did patriarchy. In fact patriarchy has used schools as transmission centres for its

message for ages. As noted in Chapter six, Longwe (1998) refers to schools in Zambia as patriarchal establishments grounded in values and rules of a patriarchal society. Longwe felt, females were schooled to accept the naturalness of male domination. One would concur with Longwe's assertion especially in view of the interview reports of female teachers and girls (see pages 219-220), in particular the interview report on women declining promotion to management positions because of heavy household responsibilities.

This is what Horner called fear of success. Horner (1972) argued that women experience a fear of success. According to Horner (1972), although women may want to succeed in the workplace, they are afraid that career success will mean failure in terms of home and family goals. Lessons learnt early at home and reinforced at school can be blamed for that fear in women. At home they are taught that the role of a woman is to be a good wife and mother. At school, lessons learnt at home are reinforced by offering girls a curriculum that is related to things they learnt at home. Subjects like Home Management, Needlework and Fashion and Fabrics are directly linked to responsibilities of a woman in a home. That is the reason the 1925 education policy emphasised that girls' education was important because of the good effects it had on the health of the home and family. Although it is not admitted openly in the current education policy documents, the aim of offering subjects like the ones mentioned above is to produce a good mother and wife. Besides the gender-biased curriculum at school, girls are asked to perform tasks such as fetching water and sweeping school surroundings and classrooms. These again reinforce the lessons taught at home. These lessons leave indelible marks that survive into adulthood. So, women who experience the fear of success in the workplace consider home and family responsibilities as their natural call to duty. This is the reason they have a fear of success.

Some female teachers interviewed felt female headteachers displayed dictatorial tendencies especially towards their female colleagues. One female teacher said, "I would rather be led by a male headteacher than a female one because he would be more understanding". The view that female headteachers tended to be dictatorial in

their leadership style was shared by some male teachers. According to Golombok and Fivush (1994), attitudes toward women in senior positions are often negative, with women being viewed as less capable of performing their job effectively than their male counterparts. These negative attitudes toward women in senior positions might be the cause of dictatorial tendencies observed in female headteachers. They are under pressure to show that they can perform just as well as male headteachers. Some end up exhibiting stereotypical masculine leadership styles, which are viewed as inappropriate for female leaders. Female leaders are expected to be kind, cooperative and more understanding than their male counterparts. These expectations from female leaders are due to the fact that their leadership roles are associated with their roles as mothers. So, female headteachers are caught up into this paradoxically awkward situation. If they acted kindly and tolerable, they would be considered weak and ineffective and if they acted to the contrary, they will be labelled as dictators.

Colombok and Fivush (1994) brought out another fact, which is reflected in the interview reports of some female teachers. This has to do with preference of some female teachers to be led by a male headteacher. “Additionally, there is a pervasive belief that women do not possess the appropriate personality traits and leadership skills necessary for the job, and this belief is reflected by the preference of both male and female employees for a male supervisor” (Golombok & Fivush, 1994:202). These beliefs have been passed on from generation to generation and benefit men at the expense of women. These are deeply rooted marks of patriarchy that continually paint a negative view of women to its own benefit.

Accounts of girls equally show that schools promote a patriarchal agenda in their formal and informal transmission of knowledge. For example, the interview report of a girl about a teacher who impregnated a schoolgirl (see page 220). In another account a girl narrated her experience with one male teacher. The teacher tried to abuse her but she refused. The teacher was not happy and always looked for reasons to punish her. This is despite the fact that she did not report the matter to the school authorities (see page 221).

The problem of teachers abusing schoolgirls seems to be a common practice though it is rarely reported. However, recently there was a report on the practice in the media:

...All this, however has now changed with more and more reports coming in about how male teachers are physically and sexually abusing girl students, some as young as 13 years old. And there have been cases where young girls have become pregnant because of this sexual abuse by their teachers...The situation is worse in the rural areas of the country where girls consider it a matter of prestige and honour to go out with their male teachers. The teachers, some of them from urban areas, know this and take advantage of the fact. Moreover, they also tempt the girls to sleep with them- promising them higher grades and revealing the examination papers in advance. (Fonseka, 2004:1).

According to the reporter it is the girls who have to pay the price for the behaviour of male teachers. Normally like in the case above, the teachers who impregnate schoolgirls do not get punished, they continue with their lives as though nothing had happened.

Girls in the rural communities have many struggles, at school they have to sometime cope with the bully behaviour of boys and also the predatory behaviour of some teachers. At home, they have to cope with their fathers who would rather give them into marriage than let them continue with schooling. The problems girls face makes their schooling very difficult. It could be the reason that most of the girls are underachievers. They have to grapple with a lot of problems, which deprive them the opportunity to concentrate on their schoolwork. The following accounts show how the home environment can be hostile to a girl:

My mother struggles to pay my school fees because my father stopped paying my fees when I was in Grade 7 (*At the time of*

interview, the girl was in Grade 9 which is upper basic). When I reached puberty, he wanted me to get married but my mother disagreed with him and that is the reason I am still at school. He was not happy with my mother's insistence that I should continue schooling, so, he stopped paying my school fees. It is now my mother who pays my fees. During weekends, I help her with gardening and selling vegetables at the market. It is not easy for my mother but she is very determined to educate me. I feel very bad that I have caused my mother a lot of problems. Although my father has not divorced my mother, their relationship is no longer good. He does not support her anymore; he only supports his other wife. The only good thing is he still pays fees for my two brothers. It is difficult to study at home because of too much work coupled with the unhealthy relationship between my father and mother (Pupil, School 1, 2003).

Despite all the problems the girl was going through she was doing well at school. The teachers were confident she would pass her Grade 9 examinations and qualify to Grade 10. Although there was a high possibility that the girl would qualify for Grade 10, it was unlikely that she would continue schooling because the mother would not afford to pay exorbitant fees required in high schools. If she was struggling to pay K25 000 (£3) per term at a basic school, it would be almost impossible for her to raise K200 000 (£25) per term which was the average high school fee in 2003 in Southern Province.

There was a similar issue raised in one of the focus group meetings with mothers of the girls interviewed. One woman narrated how she succumbed to pressure from her husband to marry off their daughter who was doing Grade 7:

I wanted my daughter to continue going to school but my husband wanted her to get married. I gave in to his decision because of the experience of one woman in the village. Her husband wanted to

withdrawal their daughter from school so that she could get married. She argued for her daughter to continue with schooling. Her husband eventually allowed the girl to continue schooling. Unfortunately the girl got pregnant while still at school. The husband was very annoyed and blamed his wife for the pregnancy of their daughter. He said if she had listened to him their daughter would have got married decently and would not have brought shame on the family. She was told to leave with her daughter; and the man sarcastically told them that the school was going to look after them (Focus Group, Sinazongwe, 2003).

According to most focus group members, it was very difficult for women after that incidence to argue for their daughters to continue schooling if a man decided to give his daughter into marriage.

Although the men blamed their wives for girls' high absence and drop out rates, they play a greater part. One man said:

Our daughter sometimes does not go to school because her mother asks her to help with work at home. The situation has become worse now because of too many funerals and sickness especially this new sickness (*HIV/AIDS*). We have to attend these funerals. During such times, she asks the girl to take care of her duties at home. So, for a period we are away attending funerals, the girl does not go to school (Parent, School 2, 2003).

The above statement reveals a lot about how patriarchy operates. It blames its victims. The unequal division of labour is a creation of patriarchy. It has laid very heavy household responsibilities on women. The heavy workload on women affects the education of girls in that they work as assistants to their mothers. Whenever the mother is away or sick the girl takes over all her responsibilities. In such times the girl is not able to go to school. When girls fail to progress on the education ladder,

they are blamed without due consideration to constant detractions on their schoolwork. They are labelled as incompetent and are forced into early marriages. This keeps them in a subordinate position to men. The other activity that affects girls' education is the initiation ceremony.

The initiation ceremonies for girls in Zambia are widespread. Although they differ in the way they are organised, they have a lot in common. For example, initiates are confined in the house for the period of the initiation ceremony. The period of seclusion varies. Initiation ceremonies have positive and negative aspects. The positive aspects include the emphasis on the importance of respecting elders. Even in communities that initiate boys, the importance of respecting elders is stressed. Among most Zambian rural communities, discussing sex matters was considered a taboo. Initiation ceremony was the only recognised institution where sex matters could be discussed in detail. This gave the girls an opportunity to understand their bodies and what sex was all about. In this sense, initiation ceremonies were good.

Although sex education in initiation ceremonies have been found inappropriate in some parts of the country for schoolgirls, they have been appreciated in other parts. For, example, among the plateau Tonga of Southern Province in Zambia, initiation ceremonies were considered very helpful. Girls were taught what to expect in a sexual relationship but it was emphasised to the initiates that promiscuity was dishonourable to both the girl and her family. Therefore it was emphasised that sex should be practised only in marriage. So, chastity was laudable and encouraged. However, even in areas where initiates were encouraged to practice what they were taught in sex education lessons, some girls felt it was helpful as interview reports show. The girls had a choice not to indulge in sex before marriage. They felt that sex education knowledge would prove valuable at the time of marriage. This is not to belittle the concerns expressed by teachers about the consequences of sex education taught to schoolgirls in initiation ceremonies. The concerns were real and justified. The records in the second case study school showed that there was a sharp rise in teenage pregnancies among girls who had undergone the initiation ceremonies. However, it was difficult to confirm that there was a causal relationship between

initiation ceremonies and teenage pregnancies. There was a possibility that teenage girls engaged in sex because they had reached a stage where they were attracted to the opposite sex. Teenage pregnancies were also a matter of concern in the communities surrounding the first case study school even though they do not initiate girls.

There were however, certain aspects of the initiation ceremonies that affected girls' education. For example, seclusion when done during the school term affected girls' school attendance. Initiation ceremony dances as reports of teachers showed kept girls away from school. There was also the issue of societal expectations of the initiated girls. Society expected initiated girls to get married and this put pressure on the girls to stop school. The report of a teacher in which the parents of the girl found a man to marry her immediately after being initiated serves as an example. The emphasis that girls who have been initiated are adults made them feel uncomfortable at school and because of this some girls stopped school.

Some interview reports of teachers, parents and community leaders showed that the importance of initiation ceremonies tended to override the importance of schooling. Similar findings were reported in Malawi (Phiri, 1997).

It may be necessary to pause and ask questions such as, "Who is the main beneficiary of the initiation ceremonies? Here, it is argued that the main beneficiary is the prospective husband. Girls are instructed on how to look after their home, husband and children. However, the object of the whole initiation process is the husband. Girls are taught how to cook well for their husbands and ensure that they enjoy the food. In addition, they are taught how to please their husbands sexually. That is why at the end of the initiation period, a ceremony is organised where the girls prepare a variety of dishes and men and elderly women sample the dishes. The ceremony is then marked by girls performing suggestive dances to demonstrate how they would please a man in bed. Such ceremonies serve as advertisements to would be suitors. A traditional instructor said, "It is shameful for a girl who has undergone initiation course to fail to look after her husband especially on the sexual aspect". The normal

procedure narrated by the traditional instructor is that if the husband is not satisfied with the performance of his wife sexually, he is supposed to take her back to her parents for further instruction. This applies to preparation of meals as well. Mothers who shoulder the blame dread this. To avoid going through such an experience, mothers ensured that an experienced traditional instructor was found to instruct their daughters. This is generally at a cost. According to one teacher, families spend more resources on initiating their daughters than they do on their daughters' education.

From the foregoing, it is clear that patriarchy affects girls' education in Zambia in many ways. It does so either directly by for example parents withdrawing girls from school and give them in marriage or indirectly by creating conditions that make schooling for girls very difficult and eventually these conditions lead them to stopping schooling. For example, the case of a girl who had a lot of work to do at home before going to school and this led to her failure to do her homework. Her teacher punished her for not doing the homework. She was not given an opportunity to explain why she failed to do the homework. Such situations lead to girls to drop out of school. It is therefore important that programmes aimed at addressing gender inequalities in education are designed in such a way that they tackle patriarchal structures. Failure to do so would be a waste of resources and time.

The next section will explore attitudes toward girls' education in different communities. It is important to explore these attitudes because they either facilitate or hinder girls' education.

Do attitudes to girls' education differ in different communities?

In this study, there were three different communities considered. Two communities were rural and one was urban. The two rural communities were different in terms of ethnicity, traditions and geographical location. One community was located in Southern Province in Sinazongwe district while the other was located in Eastern Province in Petauke district. The two districts are far apart. The urban community was in Petauke district.

The interview reports, some of which are recorded in the fieldwork chapter indicated that the attitudes toward girls' education in the two rural communities were similar. In both cases, parents preferred to have their daughters get married than sending them to school. However, some parents did not mind their daughters going to school before puberty. There were also some parents who believed that girls' education was as important as boys' education but these were in the minority.

There were mainly two explanations for the negative attitude toward girls' education in the two communities. Firstly, the two communities were both poor as the accounts of non-enrolees and dropout girls show. The community leaders in both communities also highlighted poverty as their main problem. So, it can be understood why parents prefer to have their daughters get married. It is an economic preference. Parents receive bride wealth when their daughters get married. The choice between sending their daughters to school and giving them in marriage is influenced among other things by economic reasons. The investment in the daughters' schooling is long term and might not materialise at all. In fact it is considered as a waste of resources as the girl was expected to get married. It would be her husband and her in-laws that would benefit. On the other hand, when a girl got married, the reward was immediate.

The other explanation was the lack of role models. There were no women in the communities who had excelled in life to serve as examples of the value of girls' education. Girls, including those who attended secondary school education settled and got married in the village. The job market in Zambia shrunk significantly after implementing structural adjustment programmes. Secondary school graduates can hardly be employed. Some parents associated schooling with poor morals and would not allow their daughters to go to school.

The urban community in Petauke is multi-ethnic. There are traders of Asian origin, second hand clothes traders from big towns, and civil servants such as teachers, nurses, doctors, agricultural officers and workers in private firms such as banks. It was difficult to interview traders of Asian origin because they were not willing to

discuss issues pertaining to their families. However, it was common knowledge in the district and province that Asians educated their daughters only up to puberty. Thereafter, they were withdrawn from school and veiled according to Islamic principles. Parents arranged marriages for their daughters. The rest of the urban community valued girls' education as well as boys' education. Some felt marriage was no longer automatic and when it was, men preferred to marry women who could contribute towards family income, as one income was no longer adequate to meet family needs. So, education of boys and girls received same attention. This could be the possible explanation for the high enrolment of girls in urban areas.

It is interesting to note the dynamic nature of patriarchy. Due to economic difficulties, men preferred women who could contribute towards family income. Parents changed their attitude toward girls' education to ensure that they were marriageable. It is also interesting to note the interaction between globalisation and patriarchy. As noted earlier, structural adjustment programmes affected the real value of incomes thereby creating economic difficulties. The economic difficulties changed men's preference of marriage partners and parents responded to this preference change. However, despite these changes, men have maintained their privileged status. Behind all these changes is the invisible hand of patriarchy.

Summary

The aim in this chapter was to address the research questions. The core question was, "Why have gender inequalities in basic education in Zambia persisted in spite of the effort made to address them?" The core question was followed by specific questions (see the introduction)

I have shown how patriarchy and globalisation affect girls' education and a brief discussion on attitudes toward girls' education in different communities addressed the core question.

It has been found that the gender policy was too general and lacked supporting policies to help with the implementation process. This led to uncoordinated implementation processes. It left gaps for the officers in the Ministry of Education opposed to the promotion of girls' education to manipulate it to their own advantage. Evidence from fieldwork showed how globalisation and patriarchy perpetuate gender inequalities in education. Evidence from fieldwork also showed how attitudes to girls' education either facilitate or hinder girls' education. In response to the core research question, this chapter has shown that the lack of attention given to the issues of globalisation and patriarchy in the effort to address gender inequalities in education coupled with a gender policy with limited monitoring procedures are responsible for the persistence of gender inequalities in education in Zambia.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The thesis has reviewed the academic literature on globalisation, patriarchy and feminism, and has attempted to show how, using a feminist critique, it is possible to demonstrate a relationship of interdependence or mutual support between globalisation and patriarchy. This relationship can be clearly seen in the consequences of policy, especially economic and investment policy of transnational agencies such as the World Bank- Sub-Saharan Africa.

Globalisation and patriarchy impact negatively on the education of girls in Sub-Saharan Africa and in particular Zambia. The consequences of globalisation as highlighted in Chapter one have been the same everywhere, massive increases in social and economic inequality and marked increases in severe deprivation of the poorest nations and peoples of the world. Television screens constantly flashed images of such deprivation from Sub-Saharan Africa just before and during the G8 meeting in Scotland in 2005.

The nature of globalisation driven by neoliberalism is that it blurs equity and social justice issues (Hill, 2003). In the areas that have previously been considered public services, neoliberals call for programmes previously conducted for the public good to be moved into the market through privatisation. The introduction of fees for services such as education and health is perceived as the only way to make these services effective and viable. However, the outcome is that only a minority of people are able to access these services. Free public education for example has an equalising effect in societies. It ensures that children can be educated, regardless of the economic status of their families and thus contributes to social equality. The privatisation of public education in developing countries through the introduction of user and other forms of fees has produced more inequality in education (Obasi, 1997; Chigunata et. al, 1998). As the fieldwork report shows, for some children in Zambia this meant stopping school or not going to school at all. Reduction of funding to the education sector by government produced similar effects. Similarly, the promotion of private

schools by multilateral agencies like the World Bank had negative consequences for equity in education. As noted earlier, privately owned schools in pursuance of profits are deliberately blind to equity and social justice considerations. Only a few who can afford to pay exorbitant fees can attend such schools. Zambia being predominantly a patriarchal society, the victims of neoliberal policies in education are girls who have to be denied an opportunity to go to school or be withdrawn from school.

Neoliberal education policies are best summarised by Kivirauma when he states that:

The prizes of the new educational policy in the “Winner-Take-All-Society” which encourages competitiveness between individuals will most apparently accumulate more than ever to the tops. The playing of the education game may start to remind us of the sports and entertainment industry where the most important goal is the success of the top stars and key players. When stepping on this kind of educational field great numbers of individuals are fighting for the gleaming prizes but only few will reach them. The majority stays outside the prize placements. (Kivirauma et. al, 2003:13).

Despite the negative consequences neoliberal policies have on equity and social justice in education, marketisation of education is important to neoliberals because of (a) the size of the market it represents and the central importance of education to the economy (b) the potential challenge education poses to corporate globalisation if it succeeds in producing critical citizens for a democratic society (Hill, 2003).

While neoliberal policies in education are experienced by both developed and developing countries, the extent to which they experience the effects varies. Developed countries have the capacity to mediate the impact of these policies while developing countries find it difficult to do so because of their highly indebtedness position. These policies come wrapped up in aid packages which recipient countries can either accept or reject. However, because of their indebtedness, recipient countries find it difficult to reject the aid packages thus accepting the neoliberal

policies. I have argued that this has limited the capacity for developing countries like Zambia to develop and implement educational policies aimed at meeting local needs. Of course this does not mean the total incapacitation of these countries to infuse 'travelling' policy with their local policies. Here a good example is the one described in Chapter Six where the Zambian government has been implementing two policies simultaneously; one tailored to meet the demands of the donors, the other tailored to meet the needs of their citizens.

I have also argued that globalisation tends to complement patriarchy because of its inattentiveness to equity and social justice concerns. Patriarchy takes advantage of this inattentiveness to reassert itself in its relentless oppression of women. The problem of gender inequalities in education must not be viewed through the narrow focus of equalising enrolment figures between boys and girls. While this is important, the problem is more than a question of numbers; it is about changing the mindset. The problem has its roots in patriarchy and unequal power relations that exist worldwide. Gender inequalities in education must be seen within this broader context. As Young puts it:

In every society women as a group relative to men are disadvantaged socially, culturally, politically and economically. They have fewer opportunities, they hold fewer political positions, most are stuck in traditionally female jobs (e.g., administrative support, sales, nursing, teaching), and, as a group, they earn and own less than men. Moreover, in every society each of these issues is intertwined with schooling. (Young, 2005:1)⁵.

Young's reference to women holding fewer political positions reminds me of the fact that all G8 leaders that met in Scotland in July 2005 to determine the distribution of the monetary resources in the world were all men including leaders of other countries that were invited to attend the meeting. All African heads of state are men. This shows that the patriarchal structure that characterise most societies is deeply rooted

⁵ A paper presented by Michelle D. Young to the CCEAM panel discussion in 2005.

and requires the type of education that makes students aware of injustice, and of socio-cultural roots of patriarchy and which encourages questioning of these issues through the curriculum. In short we need education that produces students who are critical.

Globalisation and patriarchy both have a tendency of promising the oppressed that things will get better but this rarely happens. On the contrary things tend to get worse as the evidence in this study shows in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa. We see that the problems increased during the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes. In education Sub-Saharan Africa as a region recorded a decline in enrolment ratios. The number of girls out of school in the region increased (see Chapters 3 and 4). Due to high levels of poverty in the rural areas of Zambia, which can partly be blamed on the liberalisation of the agricultural industry, fathers preferred to withdraw their daughters from school and give them in marriage to be paid bride wealth. The pressure that patriarchy exerts on girls' education is clearly documented in the fieldwork report in Chapter six.

When a specific focus on education policy in Zambia is adopted, the critical perspective of the thesis again reveals the fundamental problems facing policy-makers and practitioners in Zambia, who seek to promote girls' education. The combination of academic analysis and fieldwork produces a picture of the interrelationship of economic and cultural factors that together sustain patriarchy and challenge attempts to educate women. At the same time, the evidence from research (including the fieldwork presented here) shows both the desire of women and girls for education-and the barriers they have to overcome on a daily basis just to receive basic schooling-and the necessity of education for women and girls as an issue of social justice for them, and as away of improving the general situation in these communities. However, the problems are very severe, as the education of women and girls threatens the established order, and so is resisted by the combination of patriarchy and economic factors.

As the evidence in this study shows, the reasons for ‘failure’ to make noticeable progress with girls’ education in Zambia lie both within and beyond the Zambian state. The combination of global forces and patriarchal beliefs makes the task of educators committed to gender equality incredibly difficult, especially when the impact of poverty (and the demands of debt-servicing) and disease are taken into account. This study shows the interaction of forces at the transnational level, at the level of local policy-making, and in the lived experiences of girls in contrasting school contexts.

The conclusions that may be drawn from this thesis about the possibility of education for women and girls in Sub-Saharan Africa, and especially Zambia, are rather pessimistic. It is evident that ‘travelling’ policy enters this particular local space and connects with ‘embedded’ policy in ways that are not supportive of change. However, the argument that I want to present in conclusion is not that this thesis shows the impossibility of change, but that it is necessary to fully understand the nature of the problem if change is to take place. Girls’ education requires that the links between economic policy and patriarchy are challenged: It cannot be achieved through the provision of schooling alone.

Bibliography

ABEL (Advancing Basic Education and Literacy), (1991). Educating Girls: Strategies to Increase Access, Persistence and Achievement. Washington DC: USAID.

Acker, S. (1984). Women in higher education: What is the problem? In S. Acker and D. W. Piper (eds.) Is Higher Education Fair to Women? Guilford: Society for Research Into Higher Education.

Acker, S. (1994). Gendered Education: Sociological Reflections on Women, Teaching and Feminism. Buckingham: Open University Press

Addison, T. and Rahman, A. (2001). Why is so Little Spent on the Poor? Discussion Paper No. 2001/9, UNU/WIDER.

Alexander, N. (1998). Paying for Education: How the World Bank and IMF Influence Education in Developing Countries. Takoma Park, Maryland (USA): Globalization Initiative.

Anderson, G.L. (1989). Critical Ethnography in Education: Origins, Current Status, and New Directions. Review of Educational Research, 59(3), 249-270.

Ankerbo, S. and Hyoda, K. (2003). Education as a Means to Women's Empowerment, <http://www.ulandslaere.au.dk/Opgavestof/2003/EndeligeOpgaver> .

Apple, M.W. (1986). Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. W. (2000). Between Neoliberalism and Neoconservatism: Education and Conservatism in a Global Context. In N.C. Burbules and C.A. Torres (Eds.), Globalisation and Education: Critical Perspectives. New York: Routledge.

Ball, S. J. (1990). Management as Moral Technology: a Luddite analysis. In S.J. Ball (Ed.), Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Ball, S.J. (1993) Education Markets, Choice and Social Class: The Market as Class Strategy in the UK and the USA. British Journal of the Sociology of Education, 14(1), 3-19.

Ball, S., Bowe, R. and Gewirtz, S. (1994). Market Forces and Parental Choice. In S.Tomlinson (Ed.) Educational Reform and its Consequences. London: Cassell.

Ball, S. J. (1998) Big Policies/Small World: an introduction to international perspectives in education policy. Comparative Education, 34(2), 119-130.

- Ball, S.J. (1998). Performativity and fragmentation in 'postmodern schooling'. In J. Carter (ed.) Postmodernity and the Fragmentation of Welfare. London: Routledge.
- Ballara, M. (1992). Women and Literacy. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- BBC (2003) Zambia to re-think privatisation, BBC News on-line, 11 February, 2003.
- BBC News, 9 November, 2002, High-flying girls 'hit glass ceiling', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/default.shtm>.
- Becker, H.S. (1967) Whose side are we on? Social Problems 14(Winter), 239-247.
- Beckmann, A. and Cooper, C. (2004). Background – 'globalisation' and the new managerialism. Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies, 2(2), 1-15, <http://www.jceps.com/print.php?articleID=31>.
- Bellamy, C. (2000). Plenary Address at World Education Forum, http://www2.unesco.org/wef/en-news/coverage_speech_belamy.shdm.
- Bendera, S. (1999). Promoting Education for Girls in Tanzania. In C. Heward and S. Bunwaree (Eds.) Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment. London: ZED Books Ltd.
- Bennel, P. and Furlong, D. (1997). Has Jomtien Made Any Difference? Trends in Donor Funding for Education and Basic Education Since the late 1990s. Sussex: IDS Publications.
- Bernard, J. (1989). The Dissemination of Feminist Thought 1960 to 1988. In R. A. Wallace (Ed.) Feminism and Sociological Theory. London: Sage Publications.
- Bhaskar, R. (1993). Dialectic: The Pulse of Freedom. London: Verso.
- Bhaskar, R. (1998). The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Blackmore, J. (2000a). Globalisation, Gender and Educational Policy. Educational Theory, 50(4), 467-485.
- Blackmore, J. (2000b). Globalisation: A Useful Concept for Feminists Rethinking Theory and Strategies in Education? In N.C. Burbules and C.A. Torres (eds.), Globalisation and Education: Critical Perspectives. New York: Routledge.
- Blair, M. (1998). The Myth of Neutrality in Educational Research. In P. Connolly and B. Troyna (Eds.) Researching Racism in Education. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Blair, T. (2000). Values and the Power of Community, 30 June, www.number-10.gov.uk.

Bloch, M. and Vavrus, F. (1998). Gender and Educational Research, Policy and Practice in Sub-Saharan Africa: Theoretical and Empirical Problems and Prospects. In M. Bloch, J.A. Beoku-Betts, and B.R. Tabachinick (Eds.) Women and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Power, Opportunities and Constraints. London: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Bonal, X. (2001). Managing education legitimization crisis in neoliberal contexts: some semiperipheral evidence. Paper presented to conference on 'Travelling Policy/Local Spaces: globalisation, identities and education policy in Europe; Keele University, 27-29 June.

Bonal, X. (2002). The World Bank Global Education Policy and the Post-Washington Consensus. International Studies in Sociology of Education, 12(1), 3-21

Bonnick, G.G. (1997). Zambia Country Assistance Review: Turning An Economy Around. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Bottery, M. (2001). Education Leadership and Economic Realities. Paper presented to conference on Travelling policy/Local Spaces: globalisation, identities and education policy in Europe; Keele University, 27-29 June.

Bourdieu, P. (1999). The Forms of Capital. In A.H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, and A.S. Wells (Eds.) Education, Culture, Economy and Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boyle, P.M. (1999). Class Formation and Civil Society: The Politics of Education in Africa. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Brine, J. (1999). underEducating Women: Globalising Inequality. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Broadfoot, P. (2001). Notes and Comments. Comparative Education, 37(2), 149-150.

Brock, C. and Cammish, N. K. (1997). Factors Affecting Female Participation in Seven Developing Countries (2nd ed.). London: ODA Research Project 4532, Serial No. 9, DFID

Brock-Utne, B. (1993). Education in Africa. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Brock-Utne, B. and Tove, N. (1996). The role of Aid in Development of Education for All: A conference Report from the 1996 NASEDEC Conference held at the Agricultural University of Norway, June 16-17, Oslo.

Brock-Utne, B. (2000). Whose Education for All? The Recolonisation of the African Mind. New York: Falmer Press.

Brown, P. and Lauder, H. (1999). Education, Globalisation, and Economic Development. In A.H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, and A.S. Wells (Eds.) Education, Culture, Economy and Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burbules, N.C. and Torres, C.A. (2000). Globalisation and Education: An Introduction. In N. C. Burbules and C.A. Torres (eds.), Globalisation and Education: Critical Perspective. New York: Routledge.

Busch, A. (2000). "Unpacking the Globalisation Debate: Approaches, Evidence and Data." In C. Hay, and D. Marsh, (eds.), Demystifying Globalisation, Birmingham: Palgrave in association with POLSIS, University of Birmingham.

Byrne, E.M. (1978). Women and Education. London: Tavistock Publications
Cabinet Office, (2000), National Gender Policy. Lusaka: Gender in Development Division, Cabinet Office.

CAFOD, (1997). Women Who Lead Sheep, A Thematic Review of CAFOD Supported Women's Projects in Africa. London: CAFOD.

Carter, T.D and Wright, T.B. (1992). The Northern Rhodesian Record and a History of the Northern Rhodesia Police. Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth Central Division.

Castells, M. (1996). The Rise of the Network Society. Oxford: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (1998). End of Millennium. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Central Statistical Office, (1998). Living Conditions in Zambia-1998. Lusaka: Central Statistical Office.

Central Statistics Office (1990). 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Lusaka: Central Statistics Office.

Central Statistics Office, (2003). 2000 Census of Population and Housing: Zambia Analytical Report. 10, Lusaka: Central Statistics Office

Chigunta, F.J., Chisanga, B. and Masiye, G. (1998). Will the Poor always be with us: Poverty experiences in Zambia. Lusaka: Committee for Campaign Against Poverty.

Child, D. (1981). Preface. In M.B. Sutherland, Sex Bias in Education, London: Basil Blackwell.

Chin, C.B.N. and Mittelman, J.H. (2000). "Conceptualising Resistance to Globalisation". In B.K. Gill, (ed.), Globalisation and the Politics of Resistance. Hampshire: Macmillan Press.

Chitsike, C. (1995), NGOs, Gender, Culture and Multiculturalism. Gender and Development, 3(1), 19-24.

- Chlebowska, K. (1990). literacy for Rural Women in the Third World. Paris: UNESCO.
- Chossudovsky, M. (1997). The Globalisation of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Clark, J. and Allison, C. (1989) Zambia: Debt & Poverty. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Clifford, J. (1983). On Ethnographic Authority. Representations, 1, 118-146.
- Clifford, J. (1986). Introduction: Partial truths. In J. Clifford and G.E. Marcus, Writing Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Colclough, C. et al (2000). Gender Inequalities in Primary Schooling: The Roles of Poverty and Adverse Cultural Practice. In International Journal of Educational Development, Special Issue, Gender and Education, 20 (1), 5-27.
- Connolly, P. (1998). Introduction. In P. Connolly and B. Troyna (eds.) Researching Racism in Education. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Cooper, D. (1995). Power in Struggle: Feminism, Sexuality and the State. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- COSATU, (2000). Understanding Gender: A Struggle Within the Struggle. Pretoria: COSATU.
- Daily Mail 11 April 1998.
- Dale, R. and Robertson, L. (2002). The Varying Effects of Regional Organisations as Subjects of Globalisation of Education. Comparative Education Review, 46(1), 10-36.
- Daniel, J. (2002). Education for All in the Commonwealth: What are the issues. Paris: UNESCO.
- Deem, R. (1978). Women and Schooling. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Deininger, K. and Olinto, P. (2000). Why Liberalisation Alone Has Not Improved Agricultural Productivity in Zambia: The Role of Asset Ownership and Working Capital Constraints. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Delphy, C. and Leonard, D. (1995)., The Variety of Work Done by Wives. In A. Giddens, et al. (Eds.), The Polity Reader in Gender Studies. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln Y.S. (1994). Handbook of Qualitative Research. London: Sage Publications.

- DFID (2000). Strategies for Achieving the International Development Targets: Education for All – The Challenge of Universal Primary Education. London: DFID.
- Dickinson, J. and Russell, B. (1986). Family, economy and state: Social Reproduction Process under Capitalism. London: Croom Helm.
- Donn, G. (1994). The Need for New Methodologies: Gender and the Curriculum. In G. Donn (ed.) Gender and Development: Research Methodologies. Edinburgh: Centre of African, Edinburgh University, no. 48.
- Douglas, J.D. (1976). Investigate Social Research: Individual and Team Field Research. London: Sage Publications.
- Eisler, R. (1990). The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd.
- Etta, F. (1994). Gender issues in Contemporary African education. Africa Development, 19(4), 57-84.
- Floro, M. & Wolf J.M. (1990). The Economic and Social impact of girls' primary education in developing countries. Washington DC: USAID.
- Fonseka, B. (2004). From Sir Without Love, The Zambian, 11 February 2004, www.thezambian.com/Women.
- Forum for African Women Educationalists, (Undated). Girls' Education: Why, What, Who and How, Nairobi: FAWE.
- Foster, P., Gomm, R. and Hammersley, M. (1996). Constructing Educational Inequality. London: Falmer Press.
- Fraser, N. (1989). Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fraser, N. (1997) A Rejoinder to Iris Young. New Left Review 223, May/June, 126-129.
- Freire, P. (1972). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. London: Penguin.
- Freire, P. (1974). Education for Critical Consciousness. London: Sheed and Ward.
- French, M. (1986). Beyond Power: On Women, Men and Morals. London: Sphere Books Ltd.
- French, M. (1994). Power/Sex. In H.L. Radtke and H.J. Stam (Ed.), Power/Gender: Social Relations in Theory and Practice. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

- George, S. (1999). The Lugano Report: On Preserving Capitalism in the Twenty-first Century. London: Pluto Press.
- Gewirtz, S. (1998). Conceptualising Social Justice in Education: Mapping the Territory. Journal of Education Policy, 13(3), 469-484.
- Gewirtz, S. (2001). Interactions of the Global and the Local: a framework for comparative analysis of the relationship between 'globalisation' and education. Paper presented to conference on Travelling policy/Local Spaces: globalisation, identities and education policy in Europe; Keele University, 27-29 June.
- Gewirtz, S. (2002). The Managerial School: Post-welfarism and Social Justice in Education. London: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1976). New Rules of Sociological Method. London: Hutchinson.
- Giddens A. (1984). The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. Cambridge: Polity
- Giddens, A. (1990). The Consequences of Modernity, Cambridge. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (2001). The Question of Inequality. In A. Giddens (Ed.), The Global Third Way Debate. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Gill, J. and Johnson, P. (1991). Research Methods for Managers, London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.
- Gillborn, D. and Youdell, D. (2000). Rationing Education: Policy, Practice, Reform and Equity. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gillham, B. (2000). Case Study Research Methods. London: Continuum.
- Giroux, H.A. (1991). Postmodernism, Feminism and Cultural Politics. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Golombok, S. and Fivush, R. (1994). Gender Development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, A.A. (1996). Transforming Capitalism and Patriarchy: Gender and Development in Africa. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1970). The coming Crisis of Western Sociology. London: Heinemann.
- Graff, H. (1986). The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Society and Culture. In S.de Castel and K. Egan (Eds.), Literacy, Society and Schooling: A Reader. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Greer, G. (1999). The Whole Woman. London: Doubleday
- Griffiths, M. (2003). Action for Social Justice in Education: Fairly Different. Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Haddad, W.D.; Carnoy, M.; Rinaldi, R. and Regel, O. (1990). Education and Development: Evidence for New Priorities. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Hallack, J. (1990). Investing in the Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1983). Ethnography: Principles in Practice. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Hammersley, M. (1994). On Feminist Methodology: A Response. Sociology, 28(1), 293-300.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995). Ethnography: Principles in Practice (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Harding, S. (1986). Feminism and Methodology. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Harding, S. (1991). Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?: Thinking from Women's Lives. Buckingham: Open University.
- Hargreaves, D.H. (1967). Social Relations in the Secondary School. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hartman, H. (1997). The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union. In L. Nicholson (Ed.), The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, L. (1990). Critical Social Research. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Held, D.; McGrew, A.; Goldblatt, D.; and Perrton, J. (1999). Global Transformations: Politics, Economic and Culture. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Henry, M. (2001), Globalisation and the Politics of Accountability: issues and dilemmas for gender and equity. Gender and Education, 13(1), 87-100).
- Henry, M.; Lingard, B.; Rizvi, F.; and Taylor, S. (2001). The OECD, Globalisation and Education Policy. Amsterdam: Pergamon.
- Heward, C. (1999). Introduction: The New Discourses of Gender, Education and Development. In C. Heward and S. Bunwaree (Eds.) Gender, Education and

- Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment. London & New York: ZED Books Ltd.
- Hill, D. (2003). Global Neo-Liberalism, the Deformation of Education and Resistance. Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, 1(1), 1-36, www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=7.
- Hirst, P. & Thompson, G. (1999). Globalisation in Question (2nd Ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hollos, M. (1998). The Status of Women in Southern Nigeria: Is Education a Help or a Hindrance? In M. Bloch, J.A. Beoku-Betts, and B.R. Tabachinick (eds.) Women and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Power, Opportunities and Constraints, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Horner, M. (1972) Toward an understanding of achievement-related conflicts in women. Journal of Social Issues, 28, 129-156.
- Hurlich, S. (1986). Women in Zambia. Toronto: Canadian International Development Agency.
- Hyde, K.A.L. (1993). Sub-Saharan Africa. In E.M. King and M.A. Hill (Eds.), Women in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Hyde, K.A.L. and Miske, S. (2000). Thematic Studies: Girls' Education. Paris: UNESCO.
- IIEP, (2000). AIDS and Education in Africa, Newsletter, XVIII(1), Paris: IIEP. International Development.
- Irigaray, L. (1991). Philosophy in the Feminine, (Translated by Margaret Whitford). London: Routledge.
- Jackman, M. (1994). The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class, and Race Relations. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- James, M. (1990). Demystifying Literacy: Reading, Writing and the struggle for liberation. Convergence, 23, 14-25.
- Jejeebhoy, S.J. (1995). Women's Education, Autonomy and Reproductive Behaviour: Experience from Developing Countries. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jensen, V. (1997). Education for Sustainability: The issue of girls and women's basic education definitions. In UNESCO, Educational Innovation for Sustainable Development, Bangkok: UNESCO.

- Jones, K. and Alexiadou, N. (2001). Travelling Policy: Local Spaces paper to 'The Global and the National: reflections on the Experience of three European states' symposium ECER. Lille, September
- Kattan, R.B. and Burnett, N. (2004). User Fees in Primary Education. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Kelly, M.J. (1994). Below the Poverty Line in Education: A Situation Analysis of Girl Child Education in Zambia. Lusaka:UNICEF.
- Kelly, M.J. (1998). Primary Education in a Heavily Indebted Poor Country: The case of Zambia in the 1990s. Lusaka: Oxfam & UNICEF.
- Kenway, J., Bigum, C. and Fitzclarence, L. (1993). Marketing education in the postmodern age. Journal of Education Policy, 8(2), 105-122.
- King, E.M. and Bellew, R. T. (1993). Educating Women: Lessons from Experience. In E.M. King and M.A. Hill (Eds.), Women in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies. Washington DC: World Bank.
- King, E.M. and Hill, M.A. (1993). Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, World Bank.
- King, K. (1991). Aid and Education in the Developing World. Harlow: Longman.
- Kivirauma, J., Rinne,R. and Seppanen, P. (2003). Neo-liberal education policy approaching the Finnish shoreline? Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, 1(1), 1-17, www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=5.
- Klausenitzer, J. (2001). Travelling Policies, Local spaces – the Old and the New: Recent Developments in the Germany Education Sector. Paper presented to conference on Travelling policy/Local Spaces: globalisation, identities and education policy in Europe. Keele University, 27-29 June.
- Klees, S. (1999). Privatisation and Neo-Liberalism: Ideology and Evidence in Rhetorical Reforms. Current Issues in Comparative Education, 1(2), 1-7
- Klees, S.J. (2002). World Bank Education Policy: new rhetoric, old ideology. International Journal of Educational Development, 22, 451-474.
- Klein, N. (2000). No Logo: No Space, No Choice, No Jobs. London: Flamingo.
- Krueger, R.A. (1994). Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research. London: Sage Publications.
- Lather, P. (1986) Research as Praxis. Harvard Educational Review, 56(4), 257-277.

- Lather, P. (1991). Feminist Research in Education: within/against. Geelong: Deakin University.
- Lauder, H. et al. (1999). Trading in Futures: Why markets in Education Don't Work. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lawn, M. and Lingard, B. (2002). Constructing a European Policy Space in Educational Governance: the role of transnational policy actors. European Educational Research Journal, 1(2), 290-307.
- Lawson, M. and Fry, L. (2004). Undervaluing teachers: IMF policies squeeze Zambia's education system, www.campaignforeducation.org
- Leach, F. (1998). Gender, Education and Training: an International Perspective. In C. Sweetman (Ed.), Gender, Education and Training. Oxford: Oxfam (UK and Ireland).
- Legrain, P. (2002). Open World: The Truth About Globalisation. London: Abacus.
- Lingard, B. (2000). It Is and It Isn't: Vernacular Globalisation, Education Policy, and Restructuring. In N.C. Burbules and C.A. Torres (Eds.), Globalisation and Education: Critical Perspectives. New York: Routledge.
- Longwe, S. (1998). Education for women's empowerment or schooling for women's subordination? In C. Sweetman (Ed.), Gender, Education and training. Oxford: Oxfam (UK and Ireland).
- Madge, J.H. (1953). The Tools of Social Science, London: Longman.
- Mafeje, A. (1999). What Works in Development? Planning Meeting 2-6 February organised by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Maguire, M. (2002). Globalisation, Education Policy and the Teacher. International Studies in Sociology, 12(3), 261-276.
- Makulu, H.F. (1971). Education, Development and Nation-building in Independent Africa. London: SCM Press Ltd.
- Marchand, M.H. and Runyan, A.S. (2000). Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances. London; Routledge
- Maunga, N. (2005). Kasanda links gender inequality in schools to poverty, HIV/AIDS, The Post, 25 January 2005.
- May, T. (1993). Feelings Matter: Inverting the Hidden Equation. In D. Hobbs and T. May (Eds.) Interpreting the Field: Accounts of Ethnography. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- May, T. (1997). Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- McChesney, R.W.(1999). Noam Chomsky and the Struggle Against Neoliberalism. Global Policy Forum Newsletter, Monthly Review, April 1999.
- McIntosh, M. (1978). The state and oppression of women. In A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe (Eds.) Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production. London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul
- Mies, M. (1986). Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale. London: Zed Press.
- Miliband, R. (1984). The State in Capitalist Society: The Analysis of the Western System of Power. London: Quarter Books Ltd.
- Ministry of Education, (1977). Educational Reforms. Lusaka: government Printer.
- Ministry of Education (1992). Focus on Learning. Lusaka: Government Printer.
- Ministry of Education (1996). Educating Our Future. Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House.
- Ministry of Education (2000). The EFA 2000 Assessment: Country Reports – Zambia, [http://www2.unesco.org/efa/wef/country reports/zambia/contents.html](http://www2.unesco.org/efa/wef/country%20reports/zambia/contents.html).
- Ministry of Education (2003). Strategic Plan 2003-2007. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education, (2002). Strategic Plan: Education in Zambia 2002: Situation Analysis (Draft). Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education, (2003). HIV/AIDS Guidelines for Educators. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Finance and National Planning (2002). Zambia Poverty Reduction Paper 2002-2004. Lusaka: Ministry of Finance and National Planning.
- Mitter, S. (1986). Common Fate, Common Bond: Women in the Global Economy., London: Pluto Press
- Monbiot, G. (2000). Captive State: The Corporate take-over of Britain. London: Pan.
- Moon, B. (1996). A guide to the National Curriculum (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1993). Gender, Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training. London and New York: Routledge.

- Moumouni, A. (1968). Education in Africa. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Mulenga, A. (2002). Ministerial Address, <http://www.ZIMNET.co.zm>.
- Mupuchi, S. (2002). Poverty Levels Challenge CCF's: Operations, The Post, 12 May 2002.
- Nadeau, D. (1996). Embodying feminist popular education under global restructuring. In S. Walters and I. Manicom (Eds.) Gender in Popular Education: Methods for empowerment. Cape Town: CACE Publications.
- Naidoo, P., Savage, M. and Zesaguli, J. (2002). The Proceedings of the FEMSA-AFCLIST Gender Workshop. Durban: AFCLIST
- Neuwirth, J. (2004). Globalisation: A secret Weapon for Feminists, <http://www.feminist.com/resources/artspeech/inter/globaliz.html>.
- NIPILAR/UNICEF, (1999). Situation Analysis of the Girl-Child in Southern Africa. Papers Presented at a Workshop on the Situation Analysis of the Girl-Child. Gauteng: UNICEF.
- O'Brien, M. (1983). Feminist and Education: A critical review essay. Resources for Feminist Research, 12(3), 3-16.
- O'Gara, C. and Robey, B. (1998). Fertility Trends and factors Affecting Fertility. In N.P. Stromquist (Ed.), Women in the Third World: An Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Issues. London: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Obasi, E. (1997). Structural Adjustment and Gender Access to Education in Nigeria. Gender and Education, 9(2), 161-177.
- Odaga, A. and Heneveld, W. (1995). Girls and Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Analysis to Action. Washington DC: World Bank Technical Paper No. 298.
- Odora- Hoppers, C. (1999). In the Seas with Sharks: Experiencing Globalisation-An African Perspective. In B. Brock-Utne and G. Garbo (eds.) Globalisation-On Whose Terms? Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo.
- Odora, C. (1993). Educating girls in a context of patriarchy and transformation: A theoretical and conceptual analysis. Institute of International Education: Stockholm University.
- Ohmae, K. (1990). The Borderless World. London: Collins.
- Ohmae, K. (1995). The End of the Nation state. New York: Free Press.
- Onimode, B. (1992). A future for Africa: Beyond the Politics of Adjustment. London: Earthscan Publications.

Osuman, G.I. (1997). The Education of Women in Developing Countries. Makurdi: Osuman & Company.

Oxfam International (2004). Press release, http://www.Oxfam.org/eng/pr041001_imf.htm.

Oxfam International, (2002). Africa at the Crossroads. Boston: Oxfam.

Oxfam, (2000a). Achieving Universal Primary Education. Oxfam: <http://www.Oxfam.org.uk/policy/papers/univedu.htm>.

Oxfam, (2000b). Education and the G7: Time for a Global Initiative (Policy Paper), Oxfam: <http://www.Oxfam.org.uk/policy/papers/Okinawa/edu.htm>.

Oxfam, (2000c). Education: Global Gender Gap, <http://www.Oxfam.org.uk/policy/papers/gendgap/gendgap.htm>.

Ozga J. (2000). Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested terrain. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ozga, J. (2002) Education Governance in the United Kingdom: the modernisation project. European Educational Research Journal, 1(2), 331-341.

Ozga, J. (2003). Pressures For Convergence and Divergence in Education: Devolution in the Context of Globalisation. Paper to Scottish Educational Research Association Annual Conference, Perth, 29 November.

Phillips, A. (1997). From Inequality to Difference: A Severe Case of Displacement? New Left, 224, July/August, 143-153.

Phiri, I.A. (1997). Women, Presbyterianism and Patriarchy: Religious Experience of Chewa Women in Central Malawi. A Kachere Monograph, Blantyre: Literature Association in Malawi (CLAIM).

Ramazanoglu, C. (1989). Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression. London: Routledge.

Ramazanoglu, C. (1992). On Feminist Methodology: Male Reason versus Female Empowerment. Sociology, 26(2), 207-212.

Ramos, S. (2000). 'Institutionalised Violence Against Women and the code of Ethics'. Speech at conference on 'Global Standards in Focus', 13-15 October.

Raymond, J.G. (1980). The Transsexual Empire. London: The Women's Press.

- Reeves, H. and Baden, S. (2000). Gender and Development: Concepts and Definitions. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Reich, R. (1991). The work of nations. London: Simon and Schuster.
- Reich, R.B. (1999). Why the Rich are Getting Richer and the Poor, Poorer. In A.H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, and A.S. Wells (Eds.) Education, Culture, Economy and Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reinharz, S. (1992). Feminist methods in Social research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reskin, B. and Padavic, I. (1994). Women and Men at Work. London: Pine Forge Press.
- Rivero, J. (1999). Education and Poverty: Policies, Strategies and Challenges. Bulletin 48/ The major Project of Education.
- Rizvi, F. (1998). Some thoughts on contemporary theories of social justice. In B. Atweh, S. Kemmis and P. Weeks (Eds.), Action Research in Practice: Partnerships for Social Justice in Education. London: Routledge.
- Rizvi, F. & Lingard, B. (2000) Globalisation and Education: Complexities and Contingencies. Education Theory, 50 (4), 419-426.
- Rosell, S. (1999) Renewing Governance: Governing by Learning in the information age, New York: Oxford Press
- Roth, P.A. (1989) Ethnography without Tears. Current Anthropology, 30(5), 555-569.
- Sarup, M. (1993). An Introductory guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Scoppio, G. (2000). Common Trends of Standardisation, Accountability, Devolution and Choice in the Education Policies of England, UK, California, USA, and Ontario, Canada. Current Issues in Comparative Education, 2(2), 1-11.
- Scott, C.V. (1995). Gender and Development: Rethinking Modernisation and Dependency Theory. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Scott, M. (1989). Teach her a Lesson: Sexist Curriculum in Patriarchal Education. In D. Spender and E. Sarah (Eds.), Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education. London: Cox and Wyman Ltd, Reading, Berks.
- Seddon, T. (2003) Framing justice: challenges for research. Journal of Education Policy, 18(3), 229-252.

- Seidman, S. (1994). Contested Knowledge: Social Theory in the Postmodern Era. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sen, A. (1999). Development as Freedom. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shor, I. (1992). Empowering Education: Critical teaching for social change. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Silova, I. (2002). The Manipulated Consensus: globalisation, local agency, and cultural legacies in post-Soviet education reforms. European Education Research Journal, 1(2), 303-330
- Situmbeko, L.C. and Zulu, J.J. (2004). Zambia: Condemned to debt: How the IMF and World Bank have undermined development. London: World Development Movement.
- Sivard, R.L. (1985). Women: ...a world Survey. Washington DC: World Priorities.
- Smith, M.K. (2002). Globalisation and the Incorporation of Education, the Encyclopaedia of Informal Education, www.infed.org/biblio/globalisation.htm.
- Spradley, J.P. (1979). The Ethnographic Interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Standing, G. (1989). Global feminisation through flexible labour. World Development, 17(7), 1077-1095
- Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1993). Breaking out again. London: Routledge.
- Stewart, S. (1995). Working with a radical agenda: the Musasa project, Zimbabwe. Gender and Development, 3(1) 30-35.
- Strange, S. (1996). The Retreat of the State: the diffusion of power in the World Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stromquist, N. P. (1989). Determinants of educational participation and achievement of women in the third world: A review of the evidence and a theoretical critique. Review of Educational Research, 59(2), 143-183.
- Stromquist, N.P. (1990). Women and illiteracy: The Interplay of Gender, Subordination and Poverty. Comparative Education Review, 34(1), 95-111.
- Stromquist, N.P. (1994). Gender and Basic Education in International Development Cooperation. New York: UNICEF.
- Stromquist, N.P. (1998). Agents in Women's Education: Some Trends in the African Context. In M. Bloch, J.A. Beoku-Betts, and B.R. Tabachinick (Eds.) Women and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Power, Opportunities and Constraints. London: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Stromquist, N.P. (1999). What Poverty does to Girls' Education: The intersection of class, gender, and ethnicity in Latin America. Keynote Speech, International Conference on Education and Development (September 9-13), Oxford.

Stromquist, N.P. (2002a) Preface. Comparative Education Review, 46(1), iii-viii.

Stromquist, N.P. (2002b). Education in a Globalised World: The Connectivity of Economic Power, Technology, and Knowledge. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Stromquist, N.P., Lee, M. and Brock-Utne, B. (1998). The Explicit and the Hidden School Curriculum. In N.P. Stromquist (Ed.), Women in the Third World: An Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Issues. London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Summers, L.K. (1992). Investing in All the People: Educating Women in Developing countries. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Sutherland, M.B. (1981). Sex Bias in Education. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sutton, M. (1998). Girls' Educational Access and Attainment. In N.P. Stromquist (Ed.) Women in the Third World: An Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Issues. London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Swainson, N. (1995). Redressing Gender Inequalities in Education: A Review of Constraints and Priorities in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. London: Department for International Development.

Swainson, N. (2000). Knowledge and Power: the design and implementation of Gender Policies in education in Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. In International Journal of Educational Development, Special Issue, Gender and Education, 20 (1), 49-64.

Sweetman, C. (1998). Gender, Education and training. Oxford: Oxfam (UK and Ireland).

Tenga, T. (1999). How do we as Africans Experience Globalisation of Education. In B. Brock-Utne and G. Garbo (Eds.), Globalisation-On Whose Terms? Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo.

The Post (2003). The next six months will be very dark for Zambia, says Magande, Lusaka: 5 August, 2003.

The Post 31 January 2004.

The Post, 10 April 1998.

The Post, 10 July 2000.

The Post, 19 July 2000.

The Post, 28 January 2000.

The Post, 3 July 2000.

Thomas, J. (1993). Doing Critical Ethnography. London: Sage Publications.

Thomas, J. and O'Maolchatha, A. (1989). Researching the critical metaphor: An optimist revisionist view. Justice Quarterly, 6, 143-172.

Tikly, L. (2001). Globalisation and Education in the Postcolonial World: towards a conceptual framework. Comparative Education, 37(2), 151-171.

Troyna, B. (1995). Beyond reasonable doubt? Research "race" in educational settings. Oxford Review of Education, 21(4), 395-408.

Trueba, H.T. (1999). Critical Ethnography and a Vygotskian Pedagogy of Hope: The Empowerment of Mexican Immigrant Children. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 12(6), 591-621.

UNDP, (1995). Human Development Report 1995. Oxford: Oxford University Press

UNDP, (1999). Human Development Report 1999. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UNDP, (2000). Human Development Report 2000. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UNESCO (2001). A UNESCO Strategy for Gender Equality, http://www.unesco.org/education/educnews/20_12_12/gender.htm.

UNESCO, (1990). World Declaration on Education For All and Framework for Action to meet Basic Learning Needs. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, (1992). Education for All: An Expanded vision, World Conference on Education for All. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, (1993). A Report on the Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls. Ouagadougou: UNESCO.

UNESCO, (1993). Status and Trends: Education For All. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, (1996). Education for All, achieving the goal. UNESCO, Working Document for Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, (2000a). Making primary education universal: Issues Paper. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, (2000b). The Dakar Framework for Action. Paris: UNESCO.

- UNESCO, (2000c). Education for All 2000 Assessment: Statistical Document, World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26-28 April 2000. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO, (2002). Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Is the World on Track? Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO, (2004). Gender and Education for All: THE LEAP TO QUALITY. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNICEF (1999). The State of the World's Children, UNICEF report, <http://unicef.org/sowc99/sowc99e.pdf>.
- UNICEF, (1993). Educating Girls and Women in Africa: Pan African Conference on the Education of Girls in Co-operation with the Government of Burkina Faso. Ouagadougou: UNESCO.
- UNICEF, (2004). The State of the World's Children 2004: Girls, Education and Development. New York: UNICEF.
- USAID (1998). Educating Girls: A development Imperative, Conference Report, (May 6-8). Washington, DC.: USAID
- Vongalis, A. and Seddon, T. (2001). Futures for teachers? Unravelling global agencies development agendas in education and training and lifelong learning. Paper presented to conference on Travelling policy/Local Spaces: globalisation, identities and education policy in Europe; Keele University, 27-29 June
- Vongalis, A. (2004) Global Education Policy Directives: Impact on Teachers from the North and South. International Education Journal, 5(4), 488-501.
- Walby, S. (1990). Theorising Patriarchy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Walzer, M. (1998) Pluralism and Social democracy. Dissent, (Winter), 47-53.
- Watkins, K. (2000a). Education now: Break the Cycle of Poverty. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Watkins, K. (2000b). The Oxfam Education Report. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Watkins, K. (2002) Rigged Rules and Double Standards: Trade, globalisation, and the fight against poverty. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Webb, C. (1993). Feminist research: definitions, methodology, methods and evaluation. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 18, 416-423.
- Went, R. (2000). Globalisation: Neoliberal Challenge, Radical Responses. London: Pluto Press.

- Whitty,G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998). Devolution and Choice in Education: The school, the state and the market. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Wigg, D. (1994). In a Class of Their Own: A Look at the Campaign against Female Illiteracy. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Wilkinson, S. (1986). Feminist Social Psychology: Developing Theory and Practice. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Willis, P. (1977). Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. London: Saxon House.
- Wise, S. (1987). A framework for discussing ethical issues in feminist research: a review of the literature. In V. Griffiths, M. Humm, R. O'Rourke, J. Barsleer, F. Poland and S. Wise (Eds.), Studies in Sexual Politics No. 19. Department of Sociology, Manchester: University of Manchester.
- Wolfensohn, (2000). A time for Action: Placing Education at the Core of Development, Dakar, at WEF, World Bank: http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/wef_2000/speeches/wolfen.shtml.
- World Bank (1994). Zambia Poverty Assessment, VOL.4: Participatory Poverty Assessment Report, No.12985 ZA. April.
- World Bank, (1987). Education Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalisation and Expansion, Report No. 6934. Washington DC: World Bank.
- World Bank, (1988). Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, Expansion. Washington DC: World Bank.
- World Bank, (1995). Priorities and Strategies for Education. Washington DC: World Bank.
- World Bank, (1996a). Cost Sharing in the Social Sectors of Sub-Saharan Africa: Impact on the Poor, Discussion Paper No. 338, Washington DC: World Bank.
- World Bank, (1996b). Levelling the Playing Field, Giving Girls an Equal Chance for Basic Education: Three Countries' Effort. Washington DC: World Bank.
- World Bank, (1996c). Privatisation in Africa: The Zambian example. From World Bank Findings, Africa Region. No. 72. Washington DC, October 1996.
- World Bank, (1999). Education Sector Strategy. Washington DC: World Bank Press.
- World Bank, (2001a). A chance to Learn: Knowledge and Finance for Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, -----

wdr.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2001/04/24//000094946_01032905304794/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf.

World Bank, (2001b). World Bank Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank, (2002). Global Economic Prospects and Developing Countries, Washington. DC: World Bank.

Wrigley, T. (2003). Schools of Hope: a new agenda for school improvement. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books

www.treesong.org, (20004) Feminism.

Wynd, S. (1999). Education, Schooling and Fertility in Niger. In C. Heward and S. Bunwaree (Eds.), Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment. London & New York: ZED Books.

Young, I.M. (1997) Unruly Categories: A Critique of Nancy Fraser's Dual Systems Theory. New Left Review, 222, March/April, pp147-160.

Appendix 1

Interviews in schools and communities

Category	No. of interviewed
Headteachers	10
Deputy Headteachers	12
Male teachers	11
Female teachers	15
Education Officers	8
Pupils (Girls)	35
Fathers (Parents)	10
Mothers (Parents)	20 (Focus Groups)
Community leaders	4
NGOs representatives	3
Total	128

Appendix 2

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

The semi-structured Interview Schedules below were used just as a guide, otherwise most of the interviews actually turned out to be in-depth interviews.

For Headteachers

1. When was the school opened?
2. What is your staff establishment?
3. How many teachers do you currently have?
 - a. trained teachers (i) male
(ii) female
 - b. others (i) male
(ii) female
4. Do you have enough sanitary facilities?
5. How is the supply of teaching materials in your school?
6. Are you able to accommodate all the children seeking to enrol in Grade 1 in your catchment area?
7. If not, what do you think should be done to enable you enrol all the children?
8. Do you have a problem of pupils dropping out of school? If yes, how serious is the problem?
9. Do you think the dropout rate for boys and girls the same?
10. What do you think are the factors for
 - a. boys dropping out of school
 - b. girls dropping out of school
11. What do you think could be the possible solutions to girls dropping out of school?
12. What are your views on the readmission policy for girls who get pregnant?
13. What is the impact of PAGE in your school?
14. What are your comments on the Affirmative Action Policy?

15. Would you say you have a supportive community?
16. Is there anything else you would like to say that we might not have discussed regarding girls' education?

For Female Teachers

1. Where were you born and grew up?
2. How many of your siblings are (a) girls (b) boys?
3. Did you all go to school?
4. Is it possible to tell me your academic and professional history?
5. Did you face any difficulties during your academic and professional training due to the fact that you are a woman?
6. What are your comments on PAGE activities? Do you think PAGE is meeting its objectives?
7. Are there girls in communities you have worked in, who fail to enrol in Grade 1?
8. What do you think are the reasons for their failure to enrol?
9. Any suggestions on how to increase girls' enrolment in your school?
10. Do you have a problem of girls dropping out of school?
11. What do you think could be the factors for girls' dropping out of school?
12. What do you think could be done to keep girls in school?
13. What are your comments on the Affirmative Action Policy?
14. What do you think could be done to ensure that female teachers and administrators are found in rural areas?
15. What are your comments on the readmission policy of girls who get pregnant?
16. What are your comments on the changes in the curriculum for Primary school sector? Do they have an effect on the teachers and the children?
17. Is there anything you would like to say that we might not have discussed regarding girls' education?

For Male Teachers

1. Where were you born and grew up?
2. How many of your siblings are (a) girls (b) boys?
3. Did you all go to school? Are there any that dropped out of school and what were the reasons?
4. Is it possible to tell me your academic and professional history?
5. Have you enjoyed your career as a teacher? If yes highlight some of your memorable moments
6. What are your comments on the changes in the curriculum for Primary school sector? Do they have an effect on the teachers and the children?
7. What are your comments on the declining quality of education?
8. What are your views of the current emphases on girls' education?
9. Are there girls in communities you have worked in who fail to enrol in Grade 1?
10. What do you think are the reasons for their failure to enrol?
11. Do you think the dropout rate for boys and girls the same?
12. What do you think could be the factors for girls' dropping out of school?
13. What do you think could be done to keep girls in school?
14. Is there anything you would like to say that we might not have discussed regarding girls' education?

For Girls in school

1. How many of your siblings are (a) girls (b) boys?
2. Do all your siblings go to school? If no, how many do not and why?
3. How old were you when you started school?
4. Do you do any work at home before and after school?
5. Could you say your responsibilities at home (if any) interfere with your schoolwork?
6. Are there any girls you know, who dropped out of school? If yes, do you know why?

7. What do you think should be done to stop girls from dropping out of school?
8. Do your parents support you and are they happy that you are at school?
9. Do your parents/guardians face difficulties in meeting your school requirements?
10. Do you think teachers are helpful to girls in this school?
11. What would you like to do after completing school?
12. Is there anything else you want to say?

The rest of the interviews differed from participant to participant so it is difficult to list them down.