Educational leadership: an examination of issues and factors that promote and hinder utilization of African women in educational leadership positions.

Meria Damalisy Nowa-Phiri
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.
EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: AN EXAMINATION OF ISSUES AND FACTORS THAT PROMOTE AND HINDER UTILIZATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS.

A Dissertation Presented
by
MERIA DAMALISY NOWA-PHIRI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May, 1994
EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: AN EXAMINATION OF ISSUES AND FACTORS THAT PROMOTE AND HINDER UTILIZATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

A Dissertation Presented

by

MERIA DAMALISY NOWA-PHIRI

Approved as to style and content by:

George E. Urch, Chair

Patricia Crosson, Member

Mavis Campbell, Member

Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my children for their love, support and perseverance:

Vincent Limbani,
Bernadette Mphetso,
Tikondwe Roque, and
Lucy Joyceline Ndaziona.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation was completed thanks to the support, encouragement, and guidance of many people. It is not possible to list all those who helped, but the following must be mentioned:

Professor George E. Urch, my advisor and chair for both my comprehensive examination and dissertation committees, for enabling me to organize my study guide early, continuous editorial work on my rough drafts, and continued encouragement; Professor Patricia Crosson, member of my comprehensive examination and dissertation committees, for her critical analysis of my work, especially around the theoretical perspectives and descriptions; Professor Mavis Campbell, for her critical insights and constructive feedback; David Schuman, George Balish, and Hermina Peters for the academic support and constructive feedback; the Malawian support group for their encouragement and the intellectual discourse that we engaged in over some issues that are discussed in this document; the Department of Personnel and Management in Malawi for their support; the Ministries of Education in Malawi and Tanzania for allowing me to collect data in educational institutions; the African American Institute for administering my USAID fellowship; my interviewees for sharing their experiences and personal stories; my friends at the Center for International Education and Residential Education, for their support; and finally, special thanks go to members of my immediate and extended family for all their support, love, and encouragement, and for helping me to raise my children while I pursued my studies. You enabled me to attain my inner satisfaction. I love you, and God bless you all.
ABSTRACT

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: AN EXAMINATION OF ISSUES AND FACTORS THAT PROMOTE AND HINDER UTILIZATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

MAY, 1994

MERIA D. NOWA-PHIRI, B.Ed. UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
M.Ed. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST
Ed.D. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor George E. Urch

The subject of "women in development" has received some attention from both the African governments and donor agencies, but the focus needs to shift to African women in educational leadership. While some work has been done, most of it has concentrated on women in agriculture, health, and primary education. African women in higher education and girls in secondary schools have received little attention. Education at these levels is highly competitive and not many women and girls attain it. Hence, few women have made it to top- and middle-level administrative management positions, while the majority continue to fill teaching and support staff positions.

This study was designed to investigate issues and factors that surround African women in educational leadership positions. Guided by research questions, the study focused on factors and issues that affect African women educational leaders; the role of education in promoting and hindering women's advancement; the African woman's role in promoting and hindering her advancement, and strategies for planned change.
Qualitative methods of inquiry were used. Data gathering techniques included literature review, interviews, observation and photography. Lewin’s Forcefield Analysis was utilized to organize recurrent issues and factors.

Hindering factors included: a high drop out rate for girls due to social problems; a low achievement rate due to multi-roles and that the education system contributes negatively to girls’ and women’s attainment. Promoting factors included: girls’ and women’s perception of their future, their willingness to break traditional barriers that are detrimental to women’s success, challenge acceptance, support, ambition, and perseverance.

The study concludes with some recommendations and an action plan. They include changing women’s attitudes toward their roles, educating society on the value of educating girls and women, encouraging and preparing women with potential for leadership positions, providing enabling services such as day-care facilities, forums, summer institutes, organizing task forces, opening a women’s center where women in education can begin to critically discuss women’s issues, creating a roster for women in educational management, inclusion of more women in policy-making positions, training of educational policy makers, and that African women educational leaders should provide leadership to change societal definitions of African women’s roles.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>XIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS</td>
<td>XIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOSSARY</td>
<td>XV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orgins of the Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the Study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delimitations</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the Study</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section A: Major Issues and Factors Affecting African Women Educational Leaders</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A General Introduction</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues and Factors Affecting African Women Educational Leaders</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using Theories to Explain</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership and Leadership Theory</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust and Rapport</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visibility</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Advocacy Role</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VIII
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Women’s Education and Professional Development</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background Information: Malawi and Tanzania</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Education Systems in Malawi and Tanzania</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Education System in Malawi</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Education System in Tanzania</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Economic and Cultural Factors</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Access to and Participation in Educational Leadership Positions</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section B: An Examination of the Role of Education in Promoting and Hindering African Girls’ and Women’s Advancement</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trend for Girls’ Education</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Policy</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School Education</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher and Technical Education</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy on Unmarried Women Teachers</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Policy</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Boundaries, Opportunity and Career Mobility</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Design</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Review</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sample</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Organization and Analysis</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems Experienced</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. DATA COLLECTED, ISSUES SURROUNDING AFRICAN WOMEN EDUCATIONAL LEADERS</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data Analysis Through Organization Development Frames  .  234

Viewing the Phenomenon Through the Structural or Rationale Frame  .  234
Viewing the Data Through the Human Resource Frame  .  234
And What Does One See Through the Political Frame?  .  236
The Symbolic Frame  .  237
The Systems Theory and the Cybernetics Model  .  240

Data Interpretation  .  242

Education of Girls and Women  .  242
Educational Policy  .  245

Data Evaluation: Of what Value are the Data?  .  246

To the African Woman  .  247
To the African Man  .  247
To the Parents and the Community  .  248
To the School Teacher  .  248
To the Educational Policy Maker  .  248
To the Funding Agencies  .  249

Conclusions and Recommendations  .  250

Specific Recommendations  .  267

Girls' Education  .  268
College and University Education  .  271
Family, Culture, and Community  .  272
The Woman Herself  .  273
Educational Policy  .  275
Recruitment and Placement  .  277

Implications  .  281
And Now What? Utility of the Findings  .  281
An Action Plan  .  281

APPENDICES  .  283

A. SUMMARY OF PLANNED ACTIVITIES AND TIMEFRAME  .  284
B. REVISED SCHEDULE OF PLANNED ACTIVITIES  .  286
C. LETTERS TO THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, MALAWI AND TANZANIA  .  288
D. CONSENT FORM: JUNE, 1992  .  290
E. INTERVIEW GUIDE  .  292

BIBLIOGRAPHY  .  296

XI
### LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Employment Population by Occupational Category, and by Gender Excluding Agricultural Employment (Percent of Column beneath population figure)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. University of Malawi: Enrolment by Course, Year of Study, and Sex, 1989/90</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Primary Education STD. VII Enrolment and Percentage by Age Distribution in Public Schools 1987-1991</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Organization Structure for the Respondents Where are the Women in the Institutions?</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Viewing Factors/Forces that Promote and Hinder African Women’s Advancement Through Kurt Lewin’s Force Field Analysis</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Force Field Analysis and Strategies for Change</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XII
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Map of Malawi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Map of Southern Africa</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Completion Rate of Primary Age Children</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>History of the 1982/83 Cohort</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Staff Meeting Plan: Chang’ombe TTC, August 18, 1992</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photograph</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Judith’s Office, First Interview Scene</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Conference Room, Second Interview Scene</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Interview Scene, Stella Maris Secondary School</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Interview Scene, Stella Maris Secondary School, July 28, 1992</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Demonstration Materials, Stella Maris Secondary School</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Staff Meeting, Chang’ombe Teachers’ College</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aisha’s Office, “The Blood of Jesus Cleans Us All”</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. “Kazi za Mwanamke Zisizo Na Ujira” (The Work that Women Do, Does Not End)</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. “Anza Kuzaa Watoto Ufikiapo Miaka 20” (Start Bearing Children When You’re 20)</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Southern Region Staff List, Malawi</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Tutors in Teachers Colleges, Tanzania</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

Bureaucratic model: Structures are hierarchical, lines of communication can be high or flat, and have both loose and tight couplings or connections. Functions include planning, controlling, coordinating (Birnbaum, 1988); and authority is highly centralized. Bolman and Deal use the term “structural approach” (1990).

Collegial model: Emphasizes consensus, sharing power, common commitments and aspirations, consultation, collective responsibility and deemphasizes status differences (Birnbaum, 1988).

Cybernetic approaches: An attempt to view leadership from an institutional/organizational perspective where different models or lenses may be used to view how leadership is enacted. For instance, bureaucratic, collegium, and the political models or frames.

Educational leadership: Viewed as a dynamic and creative process that provides direction, exercises initiative, is risk-taking, empowers followers, and creates situations that facilitate participation of the followers in order to attain institutional goals; as well as ensuring attainment of both individual and institutional growth.

Factors: Conditions, requirement for performance, etc.

Girl: The term is used to refer to young female adults within upper primary and secondary school age group.

Growth: Capacity for improvement that leads to fullness and change.
Human growth: Greater realization of human potential whose utilization could be maximized through imparting enabling skills and creation of self-organizing structures or situations (Korten & Klauss, 1984).

Innovation: Any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms (Barnett, 1953; Hoffman & Roman, 1984).

Institutional development: Includes staff, students, and the institution itself.

Issue: a point under dispute (Webster, 1990).

Leadership style: Leadership style theorists define leadership as the behavior of an individual when he/she is directing activities of a group toward a shared goal (Adams & Yodar, 1985; Hemphill & Coons, 1957).

Three leadership styles usually discussed are: democratic, autocratic, and laissez-faire.

Organization development: Used to refer to techniques for planned change affecting both human resources and the system as a whole.

Participatory approaches: Basically, the ability to involve others, co-workers, and/or followers in planning and decision-making.

Primary school: The term used by many African school systems to refer to elementary school.

Principal: The title used for the president of a school.

Secondary school: The term used for high school.
Staff development: Something that teachers do for themselves. It is growth oriented and works to increase the range of alternatives (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1983).

Supervision: Includes effective supervision, guidance, and ways to adapt clinical supervision to the African institutions.

Trait theory: Advocates of this theory contend that leadership is determined by the personality characteristics of the person or persons who influence group members (Adams & Yodar, 1985).

Situation/Contingency theory: Advocates of contingency theory assume that certain traits and capacities are crucial for effective leadership in one situation and not in another. Focus is on characteristics of the task and the situation or social context in which leadership is enacted (Adams & Yodar, 1984; Blanchard, 1990; Lippitt, 1982;).

Transactional leadership: Leadership as a dynamic process of mutual influence between leader and followers directed toward attainment of mutually established goals (Adams & Yodar, 1985).

Transformational leadership: Leadership as an engagement in which leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality (Shrewsbury, 1986).

Political frame: Views organizations or institutions as networks of special interest groups. Use coalitions, conflict, and bargaining to translate power into action. Power is crucial in making decisions and prioritizing activities in situations where resources are scarce.

Symbolic frame: Is concerned with cultures and rituals, concepts of meaning, belief, and faith.
The Teachers' Grading System in Malawi:

T4: Certified to teach after 8 years of primary plus 2 years of teacher training (phased out).

T3: Certified after 10 years of schooling plus 2 years teacher training.

T2: Certified after 12 years of schooling plus 2 years teacher training.

T1: Promotion Rank acquired by years of service (10+) and by interview. (Anyone from above grades can get it).

Diploma: Certified after 12 years of schooling plus 3 years teacher training.

B.Ed. Certified after 12 years of schooling plus 5 years teacher training.
INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of the research was to develop a better understanding of issues and factors that affect African women in educational leadership positions and to identify strategies that could bring forth some positive change. Toward that end the study did the following:

1) investigated the factors that promote as well as those that hinder utilization of African women in positions of educational leadership;

2) examined the role of education and that of the woman herself in promoting and/or hindering women’s advancement; and

3) determined cost-effective problem-solving programs and appropriate interventions.

Field work was conducted in Malawi and Tanzania using interview, document analysis, photography, and other data-gathering techniques. An extensive library search was also undertaken.

Origins of the Study

My idea to pursue a doctoral program began in 1985 after I was inspired by two women from the United States who were in their
late forties. The inspiration reinforced my earlier determination to pursue higher education and confirmed my realization that, as a woman, the best way to pave the way to move up the promotion ladder was through attainment of better and higher levels of formal education.

From the age of thirteen, my determination was shown when I refused to go to a teachers' training college in favor of secondary education. Had I gone to college after completing the primary cycle, I would have studied for two years and graduated with a T4 Teaching Certificate. I would have been qualified to teach the lower primary level--standards one and two (grades one and two). I felt too young and immature to go for training. Fortunately, I passed the primary school leaving examinations so well that I was selected for Providence Secondary School, an all-female Catholic school. After four years of study, I was one of the few students selected for Soche Hill College. Three years later, I graduated with a Diploma in Education. I was eligible to teach at secondary school level (High School). After five years of teaching, I decided to go back to college as a non-traditional undergraduate. Two years later, I graduated with a Bachelor of Education and went back into secondary school teaching. I taught for two years and was posted to the Malawi College of Distance Education (Malawi Correspondence College and Broadcasting Unit). Seven years later, in 1984, I was awarded an International Development Agency (IDA) Fellowship to pursue graduate studies leading to attainment of a master's degree in Education. I was admitted to the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.
In 1985, I came in contact with the two American women referred to above. Both had held very responsible positions, but felt they needed to return to school and increase their knowledge and capacity by pursuing a higher degree. I was fascinated by their determination, diligence, and the amount of practical experience that they were able to share with the class. I decided to follow their example and applied for admission into the doctor of education program. However, I had to return to my country, Malawi, in Southeast Africa at the end of the sixteen month period that I had to pursue my master's program. Although I had been admitted into the doctoral program in 1985, I could not complete it then. I returned to Malawi with "unfinished business."

While at home, I searched for opportunities to return to the United States and complete my studies. Luckily, an advertisement appeared in The Malawi Daily Newspaper from the Personnel Management and Training Department calling for applications from Malawians who were interested in pursuing Ph.D programs. I sent an application. Later, I was invited to an interview for an African Fellowship Graduate Program (AFGRAD). I was one of the four Malawians who were awarded Scholarships, but the first to take up the Fellowship because I still had a place at the University of Massachusetts. I was treated as a returning or continuing graduate student. Out of the four prospective graduate students, two women and two men, only two (one man and one woman) met all the admission requirements. The other two never made it.

During the interviews in Malawi, I was asked a question that kept recurring in my memory. It was about my area of study,
whether I was going to study "women in development" or not. At that moment my response was, "No, I'm interested in utilization of human resources, not women's studies." I was more interested in the effective use of human resources, both women and men, not just women. So, when I drafted my program of study, most of my courses were from the organization development division, though my admission was in the Center for International Education. Thinking about my major and minor areas of study, I finally decided that my major was going to be organization development (OD) and international education would be my minor. Through my minor, I decided to study women's issues. Finally, when it was time to write my comprehensive examination, I began to think seriously about the situation of women in Africa, particularly our role in education and educational leadership.

I decided to look at the leadership issues, and the place of women in educational leadership positions from an OD perspective. Finally, I decided to explore women's issues further based on what I had learned from the literature on women, especially the noted gaps on African women educational leaders. Above all, I wanted to share part of my story, having worked in educational leadership positions for over seven years while exploring other African women's experiences. I finally settled for "Educational Leadership: An Examination of Issues and Factors that Promote and Hinder Utilization of African Women in Educational Leadership Positions." I approach the study from an organizational development and international education perspective.
Figure 1
Map of Malawi

* Areas Where Data were collected through Interview *LL Lilongwe,
*BT Blantyre, *ZA Zomba
--CZ Chiradzulu
CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Despite deliberate efforts by different governments to improve the position of women in Africa, many still hold peripheral positions. Women are underutilized and underrepresented at top- and middle-level administrative/management positions of responsibility, power, and decision- making in government, private, and non-governmental organizations (NGO) (Kalyati, 1990; Mbilinyi, Mbughuni, Meena, & Olekambaine, 1991). Disparities and deprivation (UNDP, 1991), or unequal and differentiated treatment between men and women have continued. This dissertation focuses on factors and issues that lead to this condition of underutilization and explores strategies for positive change.

While the UN's Decade for the Development of Women has had some positive impact, a critical assessment of the position of African women shows that many are worse off today than they were in 1975 (Anthrobus, 1985; Okwesi & Kainja, 1991). Different reasons have been cited for this deterioration, such as the use of modern methods in agriculture and the whole idea of adopting or importing technology from industrialized countries, commonly known as technology transfer (Banda, 1990; Bourque & Warren, 1987; Chirwa, 1990; Coombs, 1985; Stamp, 1989). Men were taught how to use the imported technology, especially in agriculture, while women were left out. Traditionally, African women have been
involved in subsistence farming, and they have been the main producers of food. The introduction of modern technology has changed the situation and left the women in a disadvantaged position.

Women's low completion and high attrition rates in formal education are another factor that have affected African women negatively (Chirwa, 1990; Kalyati, 1990; Ministry of Education Statistics, Malawi, 1990-91; Ministry of Education Statistics, Tanzania, 1987-1991; Olekambaine, 1991). Critics of formal education contend that girls and women have a high drop-out rate and, in some cases, a lower performance rate than boys and men because of a lack of support from parents and teachers, low aspirations (Gilmartin, 1982), and low societal expectations (Chirwa, 1990; Sandler & Hall, 1988; Sagaria, 1988). For example, the African society expects a girl to be obedient and hardworking; she is expected to be home and to help her mother with "maternal" or "feminine" chores—to look after a baby brother or sister, to fetch firewood and water, to go to the maize mill, to clean the house, to cook, and so on. Many parents, and in some cases the girls themselves, see little value in education (Summer Interviews, 1992).

In addition, there are negative attitudes toward girls' education and girls in general. Historical, cultural, socio-economic, traditional, and tribal values have been a major hindrance to girls' education and women's advancement (Chirwa, 1990; Lamba & Gondwe, 1990; Mbilinyi et al., 1991, Mkandawire, 1990; Nowa-Phiri, 1985 & 1992; Okwesi & Kainja, 1991; ).
Teachers have favored the boys' section in schools where the sitting arrangement segregates boys and girls (Davison & Kanyuka, 1990). Comments such as "girls are not good at mathematics" have been made by both male and female teachers, and some girls and women have unfortunately believed that they cannot do mathematics and science subjects but can excel at subjects like home economics.

Other researchers and writers have noted and discussed different hiring and promotional procedures for men and women (Goldberg, 1986; Okwesi & Kainja, 1991), and selection and placement of staff. Instead of establishing and utilizing standard procedures, different procedures have been used when considering the promotion of women. In some cases, even when women have higher professional qualifications, more experience, and have performed better than men during selection interviews, they have not been hired for senior positions. We learn that:

Women who attain an education level comparable to men must surmount daunting hurdles in the employment arena. A survey conducted among women managers and students enrolled in the management training programmes in UNIMA (University of Malawi), revealed that most women are denied management positions upon graduation because of the selection process which tends to show preference for men. (Okwesa & Kainja, 1991, p.17)

Inadequate research and data that highlight real problems affecting women, and methodological problems have also hindered women's advancement (Banda, 1990; Okwesi and Kainja, 1991). Additionally, there is a lack of trained and skilled personnel, especially in educational management (Chileshe, 1984; Kalyati, 1990; Mkandawire, 1990; World Bank, 1988).
The use of imported models and structures, introduced by the missionaries and colonial powers from the fifteenth century onwards, perpetuates dependent/independent relationships between industrialized and nonindustrialized countries (Coombs, 1985; History of Education, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1990). Most of these imported models, however, do not fit the needs and plans of nonindustrialized countries, but perpetuate the dependent/independent relationship. This, in turn, perpetuates women's dependence on men in most of the nonindustrialized countries.

Furthermore, many of the studies on women and girls have been conducted by ministries other than Education, such as Ministries of Agriculture and Health, and Departments of Community Development and Social Welfare. At the university level, most of the available literature is from political scientists, and the studies about women tend to concentrate on the sociology and psychology of women. As a consequence, the approach has tended to concentrate on issues of women's health and women in agriculture while neglecting women's educational issues. The problem is further noted in policy statements, most of which tend to either be silent or include sparse mention of programs specifically aimed at improving the status and conditions of women.

Women tend to be invisible in development policies. A review of the 1987 Statement of Development Policies in Malawi revealed some inadequacies. There was some scanty and imprecise mention of women's education and no specific issues were addressed. For example, under "Technical and Vocational
Education," the only mention of women was, "Improve Technical Educational Opportunities for Women"; under "The Decade Ahead . . ." it stated, "The level of participation of women in secondary education will be increased through administrative and organizational action . . ."; and under "University Level," (Education Development Plan 1985-1995 Summary), the statement that seemed to include women stated, "Ensure that equity of opportunity and access to all colleges is maintained for all those who meet the entry requirements of the University." The lack of specificity in addressing women's educational needs can be viewed as a deliberate effort by planners and policy makers to ensure that women are confined to traditional domestic roles (Okwesi & Kainja, 1991). It is therefore essential to consider and discuss the factors that surround African women educational leaders.

Despite all these problems, some African women have made it to top- and middle-level management positions. In Malawi these positions now include a woman Minister of Education, a Deputy Principal Curriculum Developer (both have held the positions for less than a year), a couple of principals of teachers' training colleges, a few headmistresses and deputies of secondary schools, department heads (especially for secondary schools), and section heads. Though the numbers are low, they serve as positive models and could be an inspiration to many aspiring women. But their success stories need exploring, especially since not much is known about what makes an African woman a successful educational leader. Such an inquiry may lead to a discovery of some driving forces (Lewin, 1948), enabling and coping skills (Korten & Klauss, 1984).
and strategies that educational institutions could build on to improve the position of African women.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to develop a better understanding of issues that affect African women in educational leadership positions and to explore and identify strategies that could bring forth some positive change.

Specifically, the study investigates factors that promote, as well as those that hinder, utilization of African women in educational leadership positions; examines the role of education, society, and the woman herself in promoting and/or hindering women's advancement; and recommends strategies for change.

**Research Questions**

The study is guided by the following primary questions:

1. How was the study conducted? What methodology was used? How were the data collected?

2. What are the major issues that affect educational leadership in African countries?

3. What major factors hinder utilization of African women in educational leadership positions?

4. What are the driving forces that enable African women to successfully serve in educational leadership positions?
5. To what extent has education promoted advancement of African women educational leaders?

6. To what extent has education hindered advancement of African women educational leaders?

7. How has society promoted or hindered the advancement of the African woman?

8. How has the woman herself promoted or hindered her advancement?

9. What makes an African woman successful once placed in a position of educational leadership? What blocks her advancement?

10. What should be done to change the situation? Who are the change agents? What constraints do they encounter?

11. What key recommendations can be drawn from the study?

Significance of the Study

Many African countries view education as an investment that contributes to social, economic, and even political development (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989; Mvula et al., 1989; Psacharopoulos,
Therefore, considerations aimed at improving educational services for African women appear to be both crucial and critical. However, the issue of educational leadership in Africa does not seem to have been given much thought. Though there is a great deal of creative literature and research on leadership theory and models, most of the studies were conducted in industrialized countries. The literature is therefore biased toward western societies. Also, the literature that is written from an African perspective does not quite address the issues of educational leadership. For example, *The Unsung Heroines* (Ngaiza & Koda, 1991) presents a vivid description and analysis of life histories of seven Tanzanian women. Issues discussed include polygamous family life, marriage and life, marriage and divorce, education, education and religion, economic activities, "patriarchal oppression and capitalist exploitation," and others. The life historians were advancing their personal cause, they were not telling the stories for the stories' own sake, but they were convinced that somehow something should be done about women's roles in Africa (Ngaiza, 1991).

Perhaps of most importance is the timing of the study. There is currently a great interest in women's issues in many African countries, such as Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Mali, Gambia, and Senegal, to name a few examples. International donor agencies are also interested in women's studies and the role of women in development. However, decisions on what to do and what programs to offer are in many cases constrained by nonexistent and/or inaccurate data. It is therefore hoped that
findings and conclusions from this study could provide some
direction for future studies and possible solutions to some of the
issues.

Delimitations

This study is focused on the utilization of women in top-and
middle-level administrative/management positions in educational
institutions in Malawi and Tanzania. Participants included
institutional principals, deputy principals, heads of departments
and sections, and a few lecturers and students.

The study was constrained by time limits, other commitments,
and geographical distance. I could not embark on a year-long
research venture. Therefore, I planned to spend ten weeks doing
my field work--eight weeks in Malawi and two weeks in Tanzania.
Again, I was unable to spend all of the planned ten-week period
due to bureaucratic processes in both Malawi and the United
States. The data were finally collected in five hectic weeks.

In addition, the literature review relies, to some extent,
on studies that had been conducted in industrialized countries,
especially the United States.

Organization of the Study

The dissertation has eight main chapters:

Chapter One: Statement of the Problem defines the problem
and the purpose of the study; presents primary research questions;
and discusses the significance and delimitations.
Chapter Two: Review of Literature provides some theoretical background, evolution of leadership theories, issues surrounding educational leadership in Africa (especially those pertaining to women in educational leadership positions), problems encountered in the literature search process, and some conclusions.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Research Design explains the methods, techniques and procedures that were used in the planning, data gathering, and management processes. The chapter includes a paragraph that discusses problems that were encountered in gathering the data and strategies that were used to manage the problems.

Chapter Four: Data Collected: Issues Surrounding African Women Educational Leaders presents an overview of the data that were collected through some women role models. Apart from demographic information, the chapter includes participants' views of the role of society in promoting their advancement. The chapter also narrates stories of struggles and success as presented by the African women who were interviewed.

Chapter Five: The Role of Education explores the role that formal education plays in advancing a woman's aspirations, career opportunities, and growth within educational institutions, as well as how it may negatively impact on girls' and women's advancement.

Chapter Six: Factors that Promote and Hinder Girls' and Women's Advancement presents participants' views of the factors that promote and hinder utilization of African women in educational leadership positions.
Chapter Seven: Strategies for Change presents strategies that were suggested by the participants to change the situation.

Chapter Eight: Data Analysis, Conclusions and Recommendations discusses the findings, draws conclusions from the data, and presents some recommendations and an action plan. Appendices and the Bibliography follow this chapter.

Chapter Summary

The subject of "women in development" has received some attention from both the African governments and donor agencies, but the focus needs to shift to African women in educational leadership. While some work has been done, most of it has concentrated on women in agriculture, health, and primary education. African women in higher education and girls in secondary schools have received little, if any, attention. Education at these levels is highly competitive and not many women and girls attain it. Hence, few women have made it to top- and middle-level administrative management positions, while the majority continue to fill teaching and support staff positions. The need for further research in this area can not be stressed enough, because the more women educational leaders we have, the better our chance to educate more people.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Although in the past twenty-year period a great deal of literature on women has been produced, most of it is written by and for women in Western countries. Also, most of the literature that is available in nonindustrialized countries concentrates on women at the grassroots level, such as women in agriculture, women and literacy, and, to some extent, girls’ education. Little information is available on African women in educational leadership. This problem is not unique to the African situation, as Shakeshaft reported:

Although there are a number of recent books focusing on the topic of women in management in the business world, very few focus on the topic of women in educational “leadership.” Shakeshaft (1987 and 1989) reported, Some excellent publications have focused on women administrators (Klein and Brannigan, 1980; Ortiz, 1982; Schmuck, Charters, and Carlson, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1987), but missing from this literature is a comprehensive synthesis of current research on women in positions of formal educational leadership. Further, no book addresses the inadequacy of organizational theory, love, and advice for women. Nowhere has anyone presented a large-scale analysis of the ways in which theories and advice based upon male samples and male experience may not be appropriate for women. (1989, p. 10)

The situation is worse for the women that this dissertation focuses on—women from the nonindustrialized countries of Malawi and Tanzania. There is no book that has been written, and no comprehensive research has been done, on women in educational leadership in either Malawi or Tanzania. This lack of appropriate literature required that I review unpublished conference papers,
draft reports, a few published documents from both Malawi and Tanzania, and findings from the pilot study; I also reflected on the many years that I worked in educational leadership positions in Malawi. Literature, research work, and reports from industrialized countries, especially America, were also used, and the information was extrapolated where necessary.

Okwesa and Kainja (1991) analyzed the situation of women in Malawi, surveyed the country’s development policies, and produced the Human Resources and Institutional Development Project Report. The report is the first comprehensive document to tackle gender issues and to develop an action plan. Both the report and the action plan are important tools for future development efforts for women. However, apart from highlighting the issues surrounding women in general and pointing out shortfalls in the policy statements, the tools concentrated too much on the role of the National Commission on Women in Development and did not address the issue of women educational leaders. The report discussed the current structure of the National Commission (which is under the umbrella of the Department of Community Services) and its limitations. The study proposed a new structure and strategies for implementing the proposed structure, and it presented an action plan to ensure implementation of the recommendations.

Similarly, the World Bank has produced books, discussion papers, reports, a bibliography, and other documents on development and women’s issues. The documents are limited to issues that are of interest to funding agencies rather than those determined by the African women themselves. In addition, most of
the writing and reports on women concentrate on women at the grassroots level, such as women and literacy, and girls' education. The presence of women in educational leadership or administration is not yet a funding priority. Therefore, the documents have limited utility as far as this topic is concerned.

There also are a number of unpublished papers that address gender issues in general. These papers contain some background information and provide an overview of the issues. For example, Chirwa (1990) pointed out that negative attitudes toward women are rooted in culture, history, and tradition. These variables affect girls' and women's education negatively. Girls' and women's education lags behind that of men; women have a higher drop-out rate than boys and men; and women have limited opportunities to enter vocational skills programs. In Malawi by 1977, only 44% of the female population had attained formal education, compared to 64% for men. Government policy and limited financial resources were some of the factors that blocked women's advancement. For change to take place, both men and women need to change their negative attitudes (Chirwa, 1990; 1977 Census).

Chipande (1986) and Chirwa (1990) further discussed women's limited access to financial resources and their lack of skills, and pointed out that most women tend to be skilled in domestic crafts as opposed to commercial crafts. The writers attributed women's low skill level to low literacy levels, which limit the extent to which new skills could be imparted. In addition, women are also affected by frequent pregnancies, inadequate access to
appropriate technology (such as that used in food processing and agriculture), and low participation in settlement schemes.

Issues surrounding the misconception of the term "development," lack of data on women's issues in Malawi and other nonindustrialized countries, inadequate recognition of women's participation, women in patrilineal and matrilineal settings, and methodological problems (when conducting research on women) were raised and discussed by Banda (1990). In addition, Lamba and Gondwe (1990) presented a historical background to the issues that women face. Tracing the issues back to the pre-colonial period, they discussed traditional values and customs. They pointed out that, from the time Malawi became an independent country in 1964, women were still in subordinate situations. They asserted that efforts made during the post-independence period have had a positive impact on women; for instance, deliberate efforts, such as the introduction of a quota system, have ensured that at least 30 percent of secondary positions are filled by women. However, though one of these authors was a policy-maker and the other one a planner, their paper did not discuss the effects of some current policies on girls and unmarried teachers; these policies, which I think contribute in some major way to the girls' high drop-out rate, are discussed later in this study.

Mkandawire (1990) addressed the issue of women in agriculture and women as "domestic engineers," and pointed out that, although there is a specific policy for women in agriculture, needs of rural women have received little attention. Reasons for this restricted attention include problems encountered
in reaching out to the women (especially those in rural places), inadequate staffing, and traditional barriers. For instance, it is not easy for male extension workers to work with women, and there are an inadequate number of women extension workers to reach out to all the needy women.

The aim at this point is to show that, although there is literature out there, most of it provides general information, addresses women at the grassroots level, and does not tackle the issue of African women in positions of educational leadership. Therefore, the hope is that this study will not only contribute to the existing body of knowledge, but that it will further illuminate critical issues for educational leaders, political leaders, and other leaders and interest groups that are concerned with the development of women.

Based on the work that I did prior to the field work and after data collection, the literature review is guided by the framework of sections A and B. Section A is a discussion of major issues and an analysis of factors that affect African women educational leaders; specifically, the discussion is broken into the following sub-themes:

1) major issues and factors and factors affecting African women educational leaders;

2) African women’s education and professional development; and

3) women’s access to and participation in educational leadership positions.
Section B is an examination of the role of education in promoting girls' and women's advancement. The section is broken down into three sub-themes:

1) the trend for girls' education;
2) educational policy; and
3) organizational boundaries, opportunity, and career mobility.

Section A: Major Issues and Factors Affecting African Women Educational Leaders

A General Introduction

Today, women constitute the majority of undergraduate students in U.S. colleges and universities, with many studying on a part-time and re-entry basis. For instance, in 1986, women earned half the bachelor's and master's degrees that were awarded, as well as 27.5 percent of the professional degrees, and 32 percent of the doctoral degrees (National Center for Education Statistics, 1986 & 1988). Many more are becoming professionals. Professionals are accorded a great deal of honor, respect, and status in society, which is a sign of their value and the recognition that professionals are highly educated. Their specialized training allows them to draw on a body of knowledge unavailable to lay people (Kaufman, 1984). However, it is not clear that women enjoy all the advantages their male colleagues enjoy. It is noted that, even when they are willing and able to
make the commitment to a professional career, most women find themselves located in subsidiary positions within prestigious professions. They hold positions that do not accord them the autonomy, prestige, or type of pay that is associated with a professional image (Kaufman, 1984).

Researchers in industrialized countries have discussed the following variables as factors that contribute to the different levels of development between men and women: leadership styles (Chodorov, 1978; Kaufman & Peters 1983; Sadler & Hall, 1986); low aspirations (Gilmartin & Ross 1982); devaluation of women's work (Sadler & Hall, 1986); dual or different hiring and promotional practices (Sagaria, 1988); societal expectations; curricula (Chamberlain, 1988; Shrewsbury, 1989); as well as women's different ways of knowing (Blyth et al., 1986; Gilligan, 1982).

But what are the issues that affect African women educational leaders? What are the factors that explain the phenomenon?

**Issues and Factors Affecting African Women Educational Leaders**

Many women in Africa are still overworked. Most still hold peripheral positions that do not offer attractive remuneration and benefits, for instance, food preparation, wood and water gathering, and child rearing (Chirwa, 1990; Lele, 1975). Rogers (1980) called it "domestic engineering." Lewis et al. (1990) also reported that

Many women do work as primary teachers. A large proportion of educated women of all ages with good secondary school qualifications are in teaching. Further, an even larger
share of new secondary school graduates appear to be entering teaching. But of all the advanced formal training opportunities available in Malawi (including the university of Malawi), only 25 percent go to women. . . . Within the primary education subsector, women hold few of the choice positions. For example, a promotion to T1 in the teaching service is accompanied by a good salary increase and other benefits, but women are mostly overlooked when these merit promotions are awarded (only 11 percent of T1 teachers are women). Moreover, a very small share of women are ever promoted to headteachers or to good positions in the District Education Offices. (p. ii)

Despite unattractive work conditions, many women remain in the teaching profession. Some take nursing or clerical jobs, while very few hold top- and middle-level administrative/management positions. Both groups of women have to tend to all household chores. It appears that, while women in the industrialized world are ready for phase two of consciousness-raising--during which training is aimed at educating men about the needs of women (and now of men themselves)--most women in Africa are getting ready for their own consciousness-raising. They themselves need to become aware of inequitable distribution of resources due to gender differences, subordination, and other oppressive issues.

African women's issues are rooted in culture, tradition, and low levels of education and training. Lewis, Horn, Kainja, Nyirenda, and Spratt (1990) conducted a three-week study in Malawi on "Constraints to Girls' Persistence in Primary School and Women's Employment Opportunities in the Education Service." The study was designed to increase people's understanding of policy and institutional constraints which affect female persistence in primary school and female employment in the education sector.
They discussed girls' and women's access to formal schooling and employment in the primary sector with some detail. They noted that there is inequitable access to primary, secondary, and even tertiary education between males and females in Malawi. They also noted that women tend to be discriminated against in the workforce, though their report did not substantiate this point.

The report presented detailed information covering education in the primary sector, including the status of women teachers and administrators. For instance, they stated that the primary subsection is the largest single employer of educated women in Malawi:

In 1988 there were approximately 25,000 adult women... with a JCE [Junior Certificate Examination] in Malawi, and about 7,000 women with an MSCE [Malawi School Certificate Examination--"O" Level equivalent]. In that year there were about 4,000 JCE-level teachers [T3--Junior Certificate plus two years teachers' training], representing 16 percent of all female JCE holders in the country; and there were 1,240 MSCE-level teachers [T2--"O" Level plus two years teacher training] representing 18 percent of all women with an MSCE. (Lewis et al., p. 33)

While the study documented issues and discussed factors that affect girls at the primary school level at some length, some of the statements, such as those about low academic performance of girls on examinations, have been linked elsewhere to gender-biased attitudes of teachers in the classroom (Lewis et al., 1990, p. i), but they leave the reader wondering what those attitudes were, where the study was conducted, what sort of questions were asked, and the general approach to the study. There is, therefore, a need for another study to cover the remaining areas so as to fully understand the issues and factors affecting women in Malawi.
Mbilinyi, Mbughuni, Meena, and Olekambaine (1991) from Tanzania produced a report evaluating the educational system. They confined their work to primary, secondary, adult, vocational, and technical education. Equity issues and factors were highlighted. The evaluation team placed increasing emphasis on evaluating the educational system from the point of its transformative potential, its effectiveness in changing or encouraging change in oppressive gender relations both within and without the school environment. Despite the universal primary education policy, inequitable distribution of students was noted even at the primary level. As in Malawi, more girls than boys dropped out of school, and girls generally did not perform as well as boys. Reasons for girls’ lower level of participation included lower pass rates, fewer girls than boys selected for secondary education, and a much lower percentage of girls selected for the tertiary level. Economic, socio-cultural, and institutional factors were also seen to affect females’ education and employment opportunities.

The two reports are a major contribution to the literature on gender issues in Southern Africa, but they do not tackle the issue of underrepresentation of African women in educational leadership positions. Indeed, not as many women have graduated from the university with degrees as men, but not all men who are in educational leadership positions have more than one degree. The number of Malawian women who hold senior administrative management positions is too small compared to that of men. As shown in Table 1, the largest share of women work in sales (34.3
percent), followed by production (26.7 percent); almost 10 percent are in the professional, technical, and related work category which includes teachers. Only 170 women, or 0.2 percent of the working women, are managers or administrators (Lewis et al., 1990). Factors that lead to this situation include less education and training, involvement in many more non-labor market responsibilities, and employer skepticism (for details, read Lewis et al., 1990, p. 30).

Table 1

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female as % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Technical, and Related</td>
<td>10,549</td>
<td>19,864</td>
<td>30,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Related Workers</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.934.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and Managerial</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>3,385</td>
<td>3,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Related</td>
<td>8,269</td>
<td>33,599</td>
<td>41,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Related</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.519.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>37,473</td>
<td>57,915</td>
<td>95,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>21.639.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>23,185</td>
<td>60,201</td>
<td>83,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>18.927.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production, Trans.</td>
<td>29,254</td>
<td>157,510</td>
<td>186,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations, Laborers</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>42.315.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL*</td>
<td>109,408</td>
<td>332,474</td>
<td>441,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL*</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.024.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total for females does not include 508 workers in unspecified occupations.

Discussing equity issues under "New Concepts and Priorities," Coombs, (1985) perceived development as improvement of all people’s quality of life, especially for the poorest and most disadvantaged and the vulnerable groups of women and young children. More equitable distribution of resources was viewed as not only a moral imperative but an imperative for healthy economic growth and future political stability. But most people’s quality of life was not a priority. Development in post-independent Africa has benefitted only a few people. One would expect a lot of positive change to take place following the United Nations Decade for the Advancement of Women, but most women in Africa remain illiterate (Kalyali, 1990) and outside the wage market. Peggy Anthrobus, one of the leading writers on feminist issues and critique of development, reported that

The decade was a journey of self-discovery and breaking silences and forging new strengths. For most, this experience led not simply to pursuit of goals for personal advancement, but to a new commitment to struggle for the ending of oppression, injustice, and violence of all kinds at all levels: in our homes, in our places of work, in our communities and countries, and in our world. . . . The economic crises of the late seventies, still continuing today, ensured that at a global level women were actually worse off in 1985 than they had been in 1975. (Anthrobus, 1985, p. 5)

Indeed, some few women have made it to the top administrative or management positions as secondary school headmistresses, teachers' college principals (presidents), and directors of a few private companies, but the majority remain in secondary and non-remunerative jobs. Whether or not it is by
choice that women opt for staff and instructional positions that continuously enable them to interact with students is yet to be determined. For example, until 1989, there were eleven top administrators at the Ministry of Education and Culture in Malawi, and none were women (Ministry of Education Statistics, 1989). In 1990, a woman was posted to assume the deputy principalship through external horizontal transfer rather than through internal vertical mobility, but she only served for a few months and then was posted to another ministry. In addition, there was one woman acting principal of a teachers' training college and less than ten women heads of secondary schools from a total of approximately sixty heads. But things are changing as we approach the mid-1990s. The new developments include the appointment of a woman Minister for the Ministry of Education and Culture, and one woman has attained the P5 grade, which is two grades below that of Deputy Principal Secretary, the highest rank a civil servant can hold in a ministry apart from that of the Senior Principal Secretary office of the President and Cabinet. Change is occurring at a very slow pace.

Examining the issue of societal expectations, one notices how the gender of a person influences the perception and evaluation of his/her work achievement. For example, in a U. S. study first done in 1968 and replicated in 1983, college students were asked to rate identical articles according to specific criteria. Authors names were clearly male or female, but were reversed for each group of raters:
What one group thought had been written by male, the second group thought had been written by female, and vice versa. Articles supposedly written by women were consistently valued lower than when the very same articles were thought to have been written by males. (Goldberg, 1986, p. 6)

In another study, department chairs were asked to make hypothetical hiring decisions and to assign faculty rank on the basis of vitae. For vitae with male names, chairs recommended the rank of associate professor, but the identical vitae with female names merited only the rank of assistant professor (Fidell, 1975, Sadler & Hall, 1986). These studies show that in academic as well as in other settings the same professional accomplishments are seen as superior in quality and worthy of higher rewards when attributed to men than when they are attributed to women (Sadler & Hall, 1986). Not only do these studies show unequal treatment between men and women due to gender differences, but also a tendency to perpetuate androcentrism and patriarchy. What can the women in higher positions do to stop the perpetuation of these ills? What of those women in lower echelons—what role can they play? What should be done?

Leadership style is one other variable of concern. Some writers have argued that leadership styles differentiate women administrators and leaders from men. They state that male personality and behavior characteristics have "executive presence," described in sociological literature as "male managerial behavior" (Kaufman & Peters, 1983). The model is characterized by adjectives such as "aggressive," "authoritative," "firm," "just," "rigorous," "hard-nosed," and "masculine"—not
"soft," "expressive," or "nurturing." The primary quality of leadership that is sought is generally associated with men and male styles of behavior since the mental image of a leader held by most people is male (Sandler & Hall, 1986).

Men's leadership styles build around selves in separation while women's styles build around selves in connection (Chodorov 1978; Gilligan, 1982). Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) and other writers have talked about women's ways of thinking and doing things in a connected manner as opposed to doing them separately. However, a consideration of what happens in institutions shows a lot of connectedness and the existence of overlapping structures. A great deal of consultation and collaboration takes place between men not necessarily in offices, but at golf clubs, football games, civil service clubs, or at other places that men frequent. These are the places where men meet, get to know each other better, and establish networks and what one colleague called "Malawian men's culture." The connections established during these informal meetings have lasting effect. They bond the men, and they create a mechanism that offers opportunity for support to the men. As one friend confided, "These are the places where decisions are made."

As selves in separation, men display a lot of "independence" and "objectivity" when dealing with women's issues. They separate themselves from the object while women display the opposite. Harrison, Silverstein, and Andrews pointed out:

The patriarchal world is a universe built by selves in separation, where the individual form, rather than the community of relationships, is of utmost importance. . .

31
every cause, rather than being completely interconnected; change occurs linearly and progressively, not cyclically and concurrently. It is a universe that is hierarchically ordered, information going from "top" to "bottom" as orders or instructions, not as a web in which all is interwoven. In this universe the main interactions are competition and domination, rather than exchange and mutual empowerment. (1989, p. 279)

Yet, is reality not heavily concerned with connectedness, from global down to single institutional levels? The informal settings, the systems and subsystems that constitute the whole, do they function in isolation? Are there bonds, signs, or symbols of connectedness, inter-connectedness, and collegiality in educational institutions? If yes, what then is the function of this male phenomenon? What function do such concepts and constructs as collaboration, partnership, consortium, and consultation play? Do they stop to function only when dealing with women, or is it a misconception of how institutions and organizations function? Is the fight over whether one's leadership is masculine or feminine the real fight? What would happen if we recognized assets and disabilities that men and women have, and searched for a more embracing theory to talk about them?

I do not have answers to the questions raised above, and I doubt if answers from one person would be adequate. The challenge is in involving and engaging the mind, the mental process of determining different possible explanations, and finally, being able to settle for the best explanation. For example, how might a feminist respond to the questions? How might an educational organization development specialist respond? What about a general administrator, what approach would be feasible for him/her? What
about the woman who is not a feminist, how would she respond? Would one approach be adequate?

Using Theories to Explain

Many people have asked whether my study is guided by feminist theory. I make reference to different theories using "theory triangulation." The study is not guided by one theory because none is comprehensive and inclusive enough. Patton (1988, p. 108-109) defined theory triangulation as the "use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data." I use theory triangulation to explain the phenomenon and, later, to interpret the data. For example, the feminist theory that is defined as a consciousness of all the forms of women's oppression and a commitment to work against them (Anthrobus, 1987) leaves out oppressed men--though some feminists think it allows for their inclusion--and the self-exclusion of some women. Cole (1993) discussed feminism from a historical perspective. She traced it back to the feminist movement which is based on the belief that men and women are equal as human beings and that women should receive equal pay or "recognition" for equal or better work.

While acknowledging the good work feminists from both industrialized and nonindustrialized countries have done and continue to do, African feminists and educators need to pose such questions as:

1) What does feminism mean to us?
2) What needs should be addressed?
3) Is Western feminism what we are striving for?-- if yes, is it appropriate considering that our needs may be different in some, if not many, ways?

African women educational leaders need to exercise caution in their approach to feminism and women’s development issues. “We do not want to carry on the stigma that feminism can be synonymous with lesbianism” through “androgynous trends in clothing and hairstyles” (Cole, 1993) and homosexuality. We need to put it in its context and address African women educational leaders’ real needs, such as how an African married woman could do well once placed in an educational leadership position. What should be done to increase the number of women in educational leadership positions? This calls for a theory that is not misconstrued and that can aptly be used to explain the problems. Such a theory should to some extent be Africa-centered without necessarily being ethnocentric.

Asante (1991), Keto (1991), and other authors talk about the need for Afrocentricity--being pro-African, valuing being African, reconnecting thoughts and minds to Africa, and reconstructing knowledge from African history and experiences. Maintenance and survival are no longer adequate terminologies to pass on to the next generation. Afrocentricity is a concern for some, a possibility for others, and an imperative for the Africans of the world (Welsh, 1991). To the extent that it talks about “reconnection” and “interconnectedness,” Afrocentricity can help African-Americans explore their selves and center. To the extent
that it advocates an understanding of one's culture, origin, and values, it can be used to discuss African women's issues. But the approach should not be exclusive of other people's histories and cultures. It has to be inclusive of different people, cultures, religions, languages, and experiences. If Afrocentricity simply means the study of the world of Africa and the African diaspora—a move away from the Eurocentric approach—we run the danger of being "ethnocentric" (Cole, 1993). Just as many outside people mistake Africa for a country, an Afrocentric education that covers nothing but Africa, could be too limiting, especially for the Africans centered in Africa.

Being concerned with women from an organizational development perspective, I further considered using androgyny and organization development theories. The androgyny paradigm recognizes shortfalls for both men and women and their need to learn to become androgynous. Men need to develop intuition, the ability to express emotion, and support systems; and they need to learn to decrease their exhibitionism and jockeying for power with each other. Women, on the other hand, need to learn analytical and assertiveness skills (Sergent, 1982). Though African women are at different developmental levels than women from the West, the fact that androgyny acknowledges existence of limitations in both men and women could be used to discuss African educational leaders' problems in their own context. But more needs to be done to improve this concept, especially around what women should learn and other problems that women face.

35
Leadership is viewed and defined in different ways. It can, for example, be defined as influencing people to strive willingly for group goals (McCurdy, 1959; Terry, 1960) or as getting the job done through people (Thomson, 1959). Cribbin defined it as:

the ability to gain consensus and commitment to common objectives, beyond organizational requirements, which are attained with the experience of contribution and satisfaction on the part of the work group. (1981, pp. 12-13)

Cribbin's definition includes some key phrases such as "the ability to gain" which implies that leadership is an influencing process that enables leaders or managers to get their people to do what must be done willingly. The leader influences, but she/he is also influenced by the followers--an aspect that is often forgotten by some leaders. "Consensus and commitment" are essential attributes to attain the set goals and objectives. The aim is to produce results that surpass the ordinary expectation of the organization or institution. Such an expectation enables the leader to draw superior results from average people. From the above, it may be concluded that leadership is a multiplier factor (Cribbin, 1981).

There are other definitions. An examination of some reveals similarities, connections, as well as slight differences. Some tend to emphasize one aspect of leadership while others tend to be more holistic. Regardless of the difference, I am interested in a view that is holistic and comprehensive. Such a perspective calls for integration of eclectic and cybernetic approaches (Adams &
Yodar, 1985; Birnbaum, 1988). Eclectic and cybernetics approaches may be defined as an integration of theories and organizational models or frames that view relationships and interrelationships which exist in institutions. Combining eclectic and cybernetics approaches is a move away from short-range and atomistic approaches that focus on leader-follower relations while neglecting the leader-follower-system relationship (Lippitt, 1982). What does such an approach mean to educational leaders? What is educational leadership? How can the integrated approach translate into educational leadership? Approaching educational leadership from an organizational development perspective, I define leadership as a dynamic process that provides direction, exercises initiative, is risk-taking, empowers followers, creates situations that facilitate participation of the followers to attain institutional goals, and ensures attainment of both individual and institutional growth.

Sandler and Hall (1986) highlighted the following seven leadership issues: leadership, trust and rapport, visibility, isolation, lifestyle, advocacy, and access. A brief discussion or story of each follows.

Leadership

One notes that the "mental image of a leader held by most people is male"; and many institutions have had male leaders. Members still cherish that and, when a woman president is appointed, they experience anxiety or even fear at the prospect.
Even the community around the institution is surprised with the news that there is a woman president at their college.

When a man and a woman enter a room, very often those present tend to assume that the man is the higher-status person, or the leader. Women educational leaders accompanied by a man are often mistaken for his support person or junior colleague (Sandler & Hall, 1986). Cole (1993) pointed out that in the past if a woman had a career it took a back seat to her husband's. In the new era, while the man may or may not earn the most money, the woman may have the higher status and her career in some respects may take priority over the man's. But as Cole asked, what does it mean when the woman has a career and takes the front seat, while the man may or may not have one and has to take the back seat? What does it mean to the family and to society when the woman may have higher status with a career that may take priority over his? Such cases are still rare in Africa, but African women and men need to begin to prepare for these changes. For a long time, people have prepared women for that supportive role, as supporters of their husbands; they have been taught what to do to help the man in his official functions, but nobody knows how to help the woman get ready for her official functions. She does everything and ends up with a double or triple day. When this does not happen, the concept of her being "a good wife" is questioned.

The struggle over long days is one that we women need to seriously consider; we must ask ourselves, to what extent we entrap ourselves in sexist notions and behaviors? What does it mean when we proclaim, "I'm in charge of the kitchen" or, "I
cannot head this school because I'm a woman? What message do we send to our children when we color code them—pink for girls and blue for boys. When we buy toys, we carefully select trucks and planes for boys and dolls for girls. What does it mean when we continually invite girls to help us cook, clean dishes, and help with all the "feminine" chores while the boys watch sport videos, listen to sportive commentaries with their fathers, or to watch a football game? What can we do to change this socialization process? The intent is not to respond to these questions but to simply raise them so that whoever reads this piece can engage in her/his own dialogue or discourse around the issues.

Trust and Rapport

Two important qualities needed by colleagues and groups of people that work together are trust and rapport. Administrators in academe, as elsewhere, are chosen by those people who are already in power because these people can be relied upon and trusted to choose people they know will advance the values of the institution (Sandler & Hall, 1986). People are comfortable and find it easiest to communicate with those most like themselves. Thus, the tendency is to limit managerial jobs to those who are socially homogeneous. Social certainty compensates for some other sources of uncertainty in the tasks of management (Kanter, 1977; Sandler & Hall, 1986). As long as this thinking stands, many women will continue to serve in peripheral positions. It will be difficult for most women to be placed in, or hired for, top leadership positions so long as men meet at golf clubs, football
pitches, and other informal settings to make decisions. Women are not available where men make decisions. Women cannot use the same type of jargon that is used by the "good old boys"; women do not know the so-called "Malawian men’s culture." There is a need to recognize that there is strength in difference. People whose thinking and way of life is different could help the existing groups see the other side of problems and introduce innovative ways of doing things differently. To use the Johari Window (Luft, 1982) concept, women could see the "blind spots" that those who belong to the team, the men, may not see. If it is true that women communicate differently and that they have different ways of knowing (Blythe et al., 1987), then involving women with potential in decision-making positions could be enriching to an institution.

Decision-makers need to create a balance between academic credentials, work experience, capability, and homogeneity if institutions' standards are to be maintained. Hiring and promotion practices that are heavily based on homogeneity such as regionalism and sexism affect work standards and the reputation of an institution in one way or another.

Visibility

Because of their small numbers and newness in their positions, women are more likely to be treated as tokens, may be more visible, and over-extended by being given more responsibility than power, and they may at times not get support from their superiors. As tokens, they are treated as representatives of their class and at times as exceptional performers. Thus, if they
make a mistake, or fail to measure up to expected male-set standards, the conclusion is that nobody is surprised; after all they are women. What can the women educational leaders do to debunk the myth that women cannot do as well as men?-- in the real world some women leaders have done a much better job than some men. What will it take for women in educational leadership positions to challenge some of the values, traditions, and beliefs?

Isolation

As noted earlier, women educational leaders are fewer in number than those holding faculty positions, and they face more isolation than women faculty members. Neither men nor women may want to deal with women educational leaders. Further, women in educational leadership positions may not have access to information networks and feedback loops regarding their work, and may be completely cut off from the informal channels of information about institution-wide issues, problems, challenges, directions, and politics (Sandler & Hall, 1986).

Lifestyle

As one moves up the promotion ladder, socializing and lifestyle become important. The leader is expected to entertain various groups of people. But most people are comfortable with the traditional model of husband/wife, with the husband as leader and the wife as support. Institutional leaders, board members, and others become concerned about how they would feel with a woman
in a leadership position, and how a single woman would manage that position. They are not sure how to treat a male spouse who in this case plays the role of support rather than that of leader (Sandler & Hall, 1986). What should be done to change the board members' perception? Could orientation programs be organized and implemented? If yes, what could be the content of such programs?

The Advocacy Role

Due to the issues stated above, women educational leaders need to support one another and forge ahead in encouraging those aspiring to leadership positions. Some women are strong advocates. As such, some men tend to fear them, view them as threats, and do everything possible to frustrate them. Remarks like "You're becoming a threat to men" have been made by men directly to me. The fewer women there are the more difficult they have found it to respond to sexist remarks like the one above. Even during interviews, I've had to respond to such questions as, "What will happen to your children if you go back to college?"

"My husband will be responsible."

"Why not your mother?"

"She did her job, she raised me. It is now our responsibility, mine and my husband's, to raise our children--after all he's very supportive that I should go back to college, and I see no problem."

However, one does not have to have an experience to be an advocate. When the situation is known, some women leaders have successfully handled the advocacy role through their actions and
policy recommendations (Sandler & Hall, 1986), but in many cases nothing is done. One woman principal revealed how she tries to involve other women,

...you see, they let me down. They don’t have a commitment. You know when we go for block teaching practice, team leaders are not expected to come home every weekend. But the women that I’d recommended could not stay at their center during weekends. I had to tell them that they were letting me down. So, until we change, until we develop a commitment, it is difficult to be in educational leadership positions. (Summer Interviews, 1992)

Access

While women have gained access as college undergraduates, and even graduate students, most continue to choose traditional programs such as education, nursing, and home economics. Many have not yet gained access to positions of power and influence.

We learn that:

Access to top leadership positions is still a problem for women; in general. . . until such positions are shared more equally by both sexes, the strengths, talents and concerns of women will not receive the attention they deserve. (Sandler & Hall, 1986, p. 15)

But what will it take for women to have more access? What should men do? What should the women themselves do? Some writers have commented on the need for both men and women to change their attitudes. However, we need to carefully examine and determine what we mean when we talk about men and women changing attitudes.

For instance, what direction should men take or follow? What about women? Are there times when a common approach could be used for both men and women?
Connected to the issue of attitude is that of women’s aspirations or lack thereof. Women need to develop an interest in pursuing graduate level education and to be willing to break cultural beliefs that reinforce male domination (Sen & Grown, 1985). Women must begin to explore those courses that have traditionally been male-dominated such as mathematics, sciences, engineering, environmental studies, computer and information sciences, and others. That way, more opportunities will open up for them, and gone will be the days when certain subjects were for male or female only.

The situation seems to be the same for most women worldwide. Gilmartin and Ross (1982), in a study on the status of women in the United States, found that women are overrepresented in some places as teachers but underrepresented as administrators. There were twenty male and only three female top administrators at the University of Massachusetts during the 1989/90 academic year (Graduate School Bulletin, 1989/90). The position slightly improved to nineteen men and four women in the 1991/92 academic year (Graduate School Bulletin, 1991/92). Epstein (1970) stated, “no matter what sphere of work women are hired for or select, like sediment in a wine bottle, they seem to settle to the bottom” (Kaufman, 1984, p. 353). It appears that both men and women have bought into this statement, as what is happening in most places seems to be fulfilling this stereotypical thinking. Sandler and Hall (1984) further pointed out that, even where women have done well in moving up to middle- and top-level administrative positions, there still exist “micro-inequities.” These are
behaviors that are so small they can go unnoticed. However, it is not the seriousness of these micro-inequities that is of concern, but their frequent occurrence. A few years ago, people talked about the "glass ceiling" that blocked women's upward mobility. For change to occur, women need to challenge some of these myths, practices, and expectations. They need to reach a different level of understanding and operation. Indeed, some women have succeeded in breaking through the "glass ceiling," but they are very few.

African Women's Education and Professional Development

African women and girls... show plenty of intelligence, and many of them have ability and initiative, but what of the training of these latent powers? (A Record of the Work of UMCA, 1941, cited by Lamba and Gondwe, 1990).

If the above assessment of the African woman’s intelligence represented a significant recognition of the need for her educational upliftment, what has happened? What is the explanation for the continued lament over low achievement levels (Olekambaine, 1991) and underrepresentation of women in positions of educational leadership? What became of this early assessment of an African woman’s potential? Or was this assessment contrary to cultural and traditional expectations? If this was the case, can an assumption be made that educational planners and decision-makers have deliberately offered a type of education that has strengthened cultural and traditional beliefs? What of the influence of colonialism, how has it helped uplift or perpetuate the African
woman's oppression? What is the place of an educated African woman in independent African countries? What major factors hinder utilization of African women in educational leadership positions?

To what extent has education promoted advancement of African women educational leaders? To what extent has education hindered advancement of African women educational leaders? These are some of the questions this section explores. But before considering the education systems of the two countries, Malawi and Tanzania some background information about the two countries is necessary.

**Background Information: Malawi and Tanzania**

Malawi is a small agricultural country that is situated between Tanzania on the north, Mozambique on the east and southwest, and Zambia on the west (see Figure 2). It is "45,745 square miles, the size of Pennsylvania", her population was estimated to reach 9,080,000 by 1990" (World Almanac, 1991, pg. 730), and is located in the southeastern part of Africa.
Figure 2
Map of Southern Africa
Formerly known as Nyasaland, Malawi was a British Protectorate from 1891 and part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland until 1958, when it became self-governing. It became independent on July 6, 1964, and attained Republic status in July of 1966. Until the June 14, 1993 referendum, Malawi had been a one-party state. The constitution has now been revised to accommodate some of the results and conditions of the referendum, which included formation of other political parties and the holding of general elections within twelve months. The general elections are set for May 27, 1994.

On the other hand, situated on the coast of East Africa, Tanzania is more than twice the size of California, with an area of 364,886 square miles. By 1982, its population was 17.5 million and 95 percent of the people were in rural areas. Of the total labor force 6.8 percent comprised wage earners (Kokuhirwa, 1982). Its neighbors include: Kenya on the northeast; Uganda on the north; Ruanda, Burundi, and Zaire on the west; Zambia on the southwest; and Malawi and Mozambique on the south. The population was estimated to have reached 26 million by 1990 (World Almanac, 1991). Tanganyika, as the country was formerly called, was the center of Arab slave trade. Maybe due to its location, it attracted a number of Europeans. Portuguese sailors explored it in the 14th century, but settled further south in Mozambique. Then came the Germans, who formed German East Africa in 1885. Tanzania was joined by Ruanda and Burundi (Ruanda-Burundi) in 1899. Ruanda-Burundi fell to Belgium in 1916 and became two
independent countries in 1962. Tanzania became independent in 1961 and assumed Republic status in 1962. It merged with the Republic of Zanzibar in 1964. Since then the name changed to the United Republic of Tanzania. Kiswahili and English were its official languages. In 1967 the Government decided to change to socialist and self-reliance ideologies. Banks and many industries were nationalized and Kiswahili became the official language. In line with one of the principles of socialism, nine million people moved to cooperative villages, the Ujamaa. These villages were intended to become social, economic, and political units responsible for organizing and improving their own living conditions and becoming a community for all purposes. Tanzania was moving toward a unique form of village structure that was unprecedented in Africa, if not in the world. By 1982, there were over thirteen million people living in these villages. The Villagization Act of 1975 gave these villages legal powers to establish the village government, which consisted of a village council and the following committees: Finance and Planning; Production and Marketing; Education, Culture and Social Welfare; Works and Transport; and Security and Defense (Kokuhirwa, 1982).

The Education Systems in Malawi and Tanzania

As Coombs (1985) reported, after independence, many African countries resorted to educational measures that drastically increased the output of graduates. It was easy to take a census of university graduates in the early sixties. The number of
graduates from the Universities of Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) in 1980 alone far exceeded the total stock of graduates from these universities twenty years earlier. Similar impressive gains had been witnessed by many other nonindustrialized countries, though Malawi's remained under control following its policy of gradual increase based on the manpower requirements.

Critical worldwide problems in education, such as quality and relevance, equality of access, education and employment, and efficiency and finance, are not solely educational problems, because educational systems do not exist in a social vacuum. The tasks they perform and their success are often strongly conditioned by environmental factors in a local culture. As many people ("culture-carriers") from nonindustrialized countries attained and continue to attain further education in countries other than their own, some inconsistencies have been experienced. Using education to transfer knowledge, values, and traditions has been problematic, especially in relation to women's education. The tendency for some women has been to stick to the traditional culture and not adapt the foreign or western culture. On the other hand, colonial influence coupled with opportunities to learn in foreign countries led to the introduction of African universities that were carbon copies of the universities of the colonial powers. In other words, people felt a "university system appropriate for Europeans brought up in London... was also appropriate for Africans" (Africa Watch Report, 1991, p. 9).
However, utilitarian types of universities emerged on the African continent after the late seventies following a National Policy Paper on Education that was presented by a Nigerian Minister of Education in 1978. "The paper urged universities to produce a high level of manpower to meet the needs of the economy, to develop 'proper value-orientation,' to use the talents and expertise in the universities for national development, and to encourage a spirit of service in the students" (Africa Watch Report, p. 12). Though this marked a departure from the first models, two other consequences were that state funding and control of universities began; and this has had negative consequences for intellectual development.

The Education System in Malawi

The education system in Malawi comprises eight years of primary, two to four years of secondary, and two to eight years of tertiary education. Of the eight million people, less than fifty percent are literate, and less than five percent are in the formal employment sector. About 43 percent of primary-school age children attend primary school. Merely 3 percent of older children attend secondary school, and less than 1 percent make it into the University (Davison, 1992). The formal education is basically an 8+4+4+2 system; that is, eight years elementary + four years secondary + four years undergraduate + two years graduate (where possible).

The primary education is by far the largest level, enrolling close to 1.6 million students in over 2,700 schools. However, the
net enrollment is around 60 percent, while the net entry enrollment is 30 percent (Gondwe, 1992). Though girls constitute 48 percent of the total enrollment in standard 1 (grade 1), less than 30 percent progress to standard eight, the last year in the primary level. The net enrollment at secondary-school level is much lower, (only 2 percent of the total standard eight enrollment) because secondary education is aimed at economic development rather than meeting social demands. Between 28 percent and 30 percent of the total number of students enrolled in public secondary schools are girls. However, some students attain secondary and higher education through other avenues such as distance education (previously known as correspondence education) and private secondary schools. The Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE), the only government institution that offers distance education, teaches through different media: printed materials, radio broadcasts, and classes at established study centers and night secondary schools. Over 28,000 students registered with the MCDE during the 1990/91 academic year; 99.85 percent, or 27,984 students, registered for Junior Certificate courses, while the rest spread between Malawi Certificate, Primary, and Teacher Education programs. Though the current educational statistics (MoE, 1989 & 1990; MCDE Prospectus, 1991-92) do not break down the total enrollments by gender, it appears most of the students who enroll with the MCDE are male. There are now 20 private secondary schools enrolling about 6,200 students (Gondwe, 1992); again, the statistics were not broken down by gender.
Manpower requirements dictate university and college entry enrollments. As of April 1992, about 2,900 students had registered for the different university constituent colleges (Bunda, Chancellor, Polytechnic and Kamuzu Nursing) and about 600, or 22 percent, were women (1990/91 statistics used to estimate female enrollments); 2,909 were in teacher training of which 981, or 34 percent, were women; and approximately 800 were in technical colleges (Gondwe, 1992; MoE, 1989 and 1990). It is not known how many women were in technical colleges because the statistics were not broken down by gender. The statistics presented by Gondwe and the Ministry of Education should be used with caution because not all the statistics are broken down into female/male ratios (see Table 2).

The University of Malawi was opened in 1965, one year after the country attained independence. It has five constituent colleges: Chancellor College, the main campus, is situated in Zomba, the former provincial capital; the Polytechnic, a business administration college, is located in Blantyre, the main industrial city of the country; Bunda College of Agriculture and Kamuzu Nursing College are in Lilongwe, the new capital city. A medical school had been planned for opening in Zomba, but was finally opened in Blantyre, next to the country's largest government hospital, Queen Elizabeth Central Hospital. Total enrollment has increased from 2,331 in 1989 to 2,685 in 1990, including 321 (16 percent) and 574 (27 percent) women, respectively. The high increase may be due to the increase of female enrollment at Kamuzu Nursing College, which increased from
22 in 1989 to 201 in 1990, while the male enrollment dropped from 197 in 1989 to 22 in 1990 (Education Statistics, 1990; calculated from Table 84, p. 96).

Table 2

University of Malawi: Enrolment by Course, Year of Study, and Sex, 1989/90

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
<th>Year 6</th>
<th>Year 7</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manda College of Agriculture</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of Science in Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancellor College</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Arts</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Science</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Social Science</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Education (Science)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Education (Humanities)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Education (Public Admin)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Law (Hons)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Sc. (Allied Chemistry)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Sc. (Allied Chemistry)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Sciences</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Business Studies</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Engineering</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Management Studies</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Public Health Inspection</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Science (Tech. Educa.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Law, Technology</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Commerce</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Sciences (Engineering)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamuzu College of Nursing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Nursing &amp; Certificates</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Midwifery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54
At the other colleges female enrollments also increased but, as stated earlier, not as high as at the Nursing College. Women’s enrollments increased in the disciplines of Education, Agriculture, and Business Studies. The increase is higher at the diploma level than at the degree level where the numbers have increased at a much slower rate. The pattern confirms what other writers and researchers have concluded about women’s education—that women tend to opt for the Humanities, Education, and Nursing programs.

However, while in the Western countries the pattern could be based on the woman’s own choice, the story is different in Malawi and Tanzania where centralized systems of selection are used. Though students in Malawi indicate three preferences, the final placement is based on the overall performance during national examinations, which students take after four and six years of secondary education in Malawi and Tanzania, respectively. Lewis et al. (1990) describe the process as simple, though the process does not result in an equitable distribution of places between male and female students at the tertiary level. What then should be done to increase female enrollments in the other disciplines? How would the output figures affect the country’s manpower requirements? Or is this the level that is indirectly affecting the male/female ratios? What about the educational policy—how does it contribute to this imbalance?
The Education System in Tanzania

Tanzania has a high literacy rate; 87 percent of the pupils attended primary school, and 85 percent of the population was literate by 1987. This high literacy rate is partly due to Tanzania's political ideology of socialism and self-reliance. Through this ideology and political guidelines, adult education became a vehicle with which the country’s development was pursued:

Nonformal education was accorded its present status and its role in development after 1967 when a comprehensive political ideology was formulated. Ever since, nonformal education has been seen as one of the major instruments in achieving the kind of development envisaged in socialism and self-reliance. (Kokuhirwa, 1982, p. 6)

Adult education was viewed as critical because it could have immediate impact -- unlike the children’s -- and because it had impressive results on the country’s adult literacy level.

Primary school follows a seven-year cycle, during which students progress from standard one to standard seven. The curriculum is aimed at meeting the needs of the majority of people in rural places and preparing children for a productive life. Following the Musoma Declaration and other education reforms of 1967, Universal Primary Education (UPE) was one of the major reforms to impact on the young people. It was not made compulsory that every seven-year-old boy or girl had to be in school. As shown in table 3, pupils joined school as late as fifteen years old, and the drop-out rate was quite high, especially for girls (Olekambaine, 1991).
The real effects of UPE began to be felt after a law was passed in the early 1980s to enforce compulsory enrollment and attendance. "The female ratio rose from 42 percent of total enrollment in 1974 to 49 percent by 1984. Full parity in access was reached in 1985" (Olekambaine, 1991), though girls' drop-out rates continued to be high. Over 70 percent of children attended primary school by 1977, and the percentage increased to 98.5 percent by 1991, with girls accounting for 48.5 percent (Best, 1992).

Table 3

Primary Education


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2350</td>
<td>4423</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>2624</td>
<td>4459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>30293</td>
<td>56381</td>
<td>14.51</td>
<td>26337</td>
<td>47657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>56088</td>
<td>103995</td>
<td>26.76</td>
<td>52320</td>
<td>95243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>56402</td>
<td>110165</td>
<td>28.35</td>
<td>54442</td>
<td>104238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>33674</td>
<td>71596</td>
<td>18.42</td>
<td>35535</td>
<td>75714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>16654</td>
<td>41828</td>
<td>10.76</td>
<td>15635</td>
<td>39288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>195782</td>
<td>388653</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>186981</td>
<td>366728</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57
Secondary school education lasts six years. It is punctuated by a government examination at the end of the fourth year. The curriculum is adapted to local needs, but priority is given to technical and practical subjects. Though enrollment for both girls and boys is high in the primary sector, only a small percentage of girls make it to the secondary-school level. Students take government examinations at the end of the seventh year. While in general, examination scores are declining, girls' performance is much lower than the boys in all the examined subjects: English, Kiswahili, mathematics, and general knowledge, which combines history, geography, civics, and the sciences (Olekambaine, 1991). After analyzing the results of about two hundred standard seven students, Ndabi (1985) found that the boys' performance was better than that of the girls' in all subjects. The girls' performance was 12 percent below that of boys in general knowledge and 31 percent below boys in mathematics (Olekambaine, 1991). As in Malawi, the reasons for girls' low performance include low aspirations, multi-responsibilities after school, school environment, and parents' and teachers' attitudes toward girls' education.

Enrollment in public secondary schools is limited and highly competitive. It is based on manpower requirements and has had a steady increase from 5.7 percent in 1977 to 10 percent in 1991 (Best, 1992). More secondary school pupils now study in private schools, especially girls:

As government policy shifted to allow more private school expansion, private schools have mushroomed. By 1989, there
were 195 private secondary schools, compared to 131 public ones. (Kalunga, 1990)

And

Since 1981, form 4 private school places have doubled, from some 7,000 to 14,350 in 1988, compared to the much slower increase in public school sector from 8,500 to 9,200 places. (Mbilinyi, 1991, p. 50)

Mbilinyi found that, in 1984, 51 percent of secondary-school girls were in private schools and that utilization of private schools and the use of a regional quota have had a positive effect on girls' education. From 1981 to 1988, the female ratio in form 4 places rose from 37 percent to 42 percent in private schools, while in public schools it increased from 31 percent to 34 percent (Mbilinyi, 1991). The pattern of female access to forms 5 and 6 is similar. Mbilinyi further argued:

The government has failed to expand form 5 and 6 places to keep up with the demand, and one result has been a drop in female enrollment from 23% in public form 6 in 1981 to 19% in 1988. But there has been a corresponding increase in female enrollment in private form 6. (Mbilinyi, 1991, pp. 50-51)

However, instead of promoting "equal access" to secondary school education, the use of private schools has promoted "greater inequality," because it is the wealthy people, as opposed to the ordinary, who can afford to send their daughters and sons to private schools. Children from middle-class households and from the more educationally developed regions have greater access to secondary school places at lower and higher level (Mbilinyi et al., 1975, 1976; UNESCO, 1981). Some critics argue that since the elite have succeeded in circumventing the quota system, it no
longer serves a useful purpose and should be dropped (Cooksey & Ishumi, 1986; TADREA, 1989). Others (Malekela, 1983; Mbilinyi, 1991) feel that without the quota system regional and ethnic disparities would be much greater, especially for girls:

Without [the quota system] no girls would be qualified from Mafia, and only three fourths and one half respectively of those in Coast and Iringa. Instead of removing the quota system, donors and government need to respect and support the popular demand for radical expansion of post-primary education. Expansion of publicly-supported secondary school places in an equitable manner could be combined with revision of selection procedures, including the closing of the “back door” to entrants utilizing position and patronage to gain access to schooling. The examination system would also need revision. Studies elsewhere have documented that examination performance is related to the level of school and family resources. This situation invalidates the use of examinations as true indicators of intelligence or even schooling potential. (Mbilinyi, 1991, p. 52)

The University of Dar es Salaam is the main institution that offers higher education in Tanzania. Specialized training is provided by other institutions. As at the secondary school level, the goal is to satisfy manpower needs in all sectors of the economy. Female enrollment “has fluctuated and declined in response to different policy interventions and economic environment” (Mbilinyi, 1991, p. 52). For instance, when the Musoma Resolution (1974) abolished direct entry into the University after the 6th form, eligible students had to serve for two years to acquire work experience. This way, higher education would not only be based on the paper examinations but practical experience, too. After two years’ work, eligible students needed supportive recommendations from employers and local party leaders. The Musoma Resolutions impacted negatively on women. “During its
first year of implementation, there was a 71 percent drop in female enrollment and only 9 percent of mature age intake that year were women" (Mbilinyi, 1991, p. 52).

Many women failed to attain University education either because they got married, had children, or, once married, lacked support or permission from husbands to continue their education. Employers, including managerial personnel, were less supportive of women applicants; and they often demanded sexual services from women in exchange for their support. Starting in 1977, women were allowed direct entry into the University. As a result, there has been an increase in female enrollments especially of young unmarried women (Mbilinyi, 1991; Kokuhirwa, 1982).

Other factors that have affected women's enrollment in higher education include a shortage of qualified applicants due to poor examination results at the form 6 level, the growth of alternative tertiary educational opportunities outside the Ministry of Education, and students' preference for more vocationally-oriented courses. For instance, there were 264 post-secondary institutions in the late 1980s, and only 17 percent were administered by the MoE (Mbilinyi, 1991; UNESCO, 1989). Admission requirements were lower in these other institutions, and training periods were shorter. The high failure rates in some fields, such as the faculty of Medicine where only 10 out of 60 first-year students and 10 out of 20 finalists passed in 1989/90, also contributed. Another factor that discouraged a number of women from enrolling at the University of Dar es Salaam main campus was Punch, a form of graffiti that has increasingly subjected girls to
sexual harassment (Mbilinyi, 1991). Consequently, there was general under-capacity enrollment and low female-male ratios at the University of Dar es Salaam.

In summary, various writers have discussed different issues and factors, such as the following: socioeconomic (Kerner, 1988; Mbilinyi, 1973 & 1974; MoE statistics, various years; Olekambaine, 1991); cultural (Ibid.), historical (Kokuhirwa, 1982; Lamba & Gondwe, 1990); educational policy and curricula and the education system itself (Mbilinyi, 1991; Okwesa & Kainja, 1991; Olekambaine, 1991); resource constraints or, more aptly, unequal distribution of resources (Malawi MoE statistics, various years; Mbilinyi et al., 1991; Okwesa and Kainja, 1991; Tanzania MoE statistics, various years); and others. The factors are referred to in different ways by different authors, for example, as hindering forces (Kurt Lewin, 1948), engendering characteristics (Mbilinyi et al., 1991), barriers, and others.

Socioeconomic and Cultural Factors

Perhaps the best description of the role of culture and the socioeconomic factors that affect African women is that presented by Koda and Ngaiza (1991) in The Unsung Heroines. They present an extensive record of the life histories of seven Tanzanian women. Each person’s life was told to and recorded by another, who edited and wrote the life story as though it were an autobiography. The women’s histories emphasize experiences and requirements of ordinary women as opposed to those of men or even women in power, because
Women do not appear in standard history books; one can read accounts of prehistorical man, of the political and economic changes during the slave era, or colonial empires and the Zanzibar Sultanate, or, more recently, the history of TANU and CCM in building the nation of Tanzania. But women, either as individual actors in this large historical stage or as a gender affected by and affecting changes, do not often appear. Standard histories belong to the public domain where women are not immediately visible participants in war, politics, trade and matters of state. (1991, p. 1)

Different themes were discussed, but the main ones included: dominant (upper class) and subordinate (disadvantaged) culture grouping, patriarchial relations, capitalist exploitation, virginity, bridal price, marriage, children, divorce, religion, income generating, adult education, and politics. Most women belonged to the subordinate group because of their financial dependence on men. On their own, even women of the upper classes were and still are unnoticed and taken for granted as supporters of important men and so are unimportant; in this way, they too belong to the subordinate culture group.

Discussing patriarchial and capitalist relations, the authors pointed out that, prior to colonialism, males headed families and were the patriarchs; women worked longer hours than men, and men exercised increased control over wives. Like patriarchy, capitalist relations allocated men and women to different positions both in production and reproduction. Peasants and women were exploited—low wages were paid while capitalists made profit. "Capitalists make profit at the expense of their labor (peasants and women); prices paid for market value did not reflect real value of laborer power expended on it. Female labor subsidizes...lives" (Koda & Ngaiza, 1991, p. 4).
All the women attended traditional schooling; two of them also obtained formal education. Though "investigator triangulation" was used, and each story formed its own chapter, all women talked about their early life, and whether or not they attended formal school. As one reporter recorded:

Eva did not go to school, neither during her childhood nor later. In many ethnic groups in Tanzania, formal education was not for girls. A girl learned from her mother the skills necessary to make a good future wife . . . . If a girl got married and failed to cook or look after her husband and the house, she was sent back to her mother to be trained. (p. 20)

The literature discussed socioeconomic, cultural, and historical factors, role expectations of girls, and how, both through the traditional and formal systems of education and through the socialization process, the girls are taught. Mothers, sisters, aunts, grandparents, and the wise women of the village teach the girls at home and through initiation ceremonies to be hard-working and to take on "heavy burdens of work at home" (Olekambaine, 1991). The sexual division of labor has some historical roots. All agricultural production and household chores were in the hands of women, who tilled the soil, sewed, weeded, harvested, cooked, cleaned the house, fetched water and firewood, and looked after the children (Mkandawire, 1990). In patrilineal societies, men owned land and cattle which they apportioned to their wives upon marriage (Kokuhirwa, 1982) to use for the production of food for the family. Cattle was allocated to women for dairy needs, and, as such, women's access to land and cattle was limited to consumption. In matrilineal societies,
women had some property, such as goats and cows, that they may have earned from their parents after tending to some of these domestic animals.

Women are valued as objects of exchange value in some societies where bridal worth, pregnancy, and adultery fines are collected. The fines, however, do not increase due to the girls' level of education (Olekambaine, 1991).

Discussing traditional education, Kokuhirwa (1982) argued that traditional education prepared the young for appropriate roles that they could play as adults. To that goal, a practical life-long type of education was offered. Education aimed at survival of the society through perpetuation of customs, norms, and the old and tired ways of doing things. It was mainly through nonformal education. Every adult was a teacher. Older men and women decided what boys and girls should learn at each developmental stage: pre-puberty, puberty, marriage, first pregnancy, after the first child's birth, and grandchild's birth (discussions with the author's grandmother, elderly women in general, and reflections on the author's own life experiences). The elders involved were regarded as custodians of the cultural heritage; they guarded the societal values of the clans to pass them on from one generation to the next (Kokuhirwa, 1982; Muro, 1979). Because men took responsibility for the education of boys and women took responsibility for that of girls, critics of traditional education point out that such an education promoted segregation between boys and girls and, later, men and women. While the education developed a sense of duty in the boys, it
molded girls into hard-working and submissive future mothers (Mbilinyi, 1972; Muro 1979). Kokuhirwa (1982) argued that the education system was responsive to the social, economic, and political context of the time. Since both women and men decided when to offer what type of education, and they equally designed the unwritten curricula, there seemed to have existed an equitable distribution of power during the pre-colonial period. However, distribution got lost with the introduction of formal education. Until much later, men attended formal education while women remained at home. When women had access to formal education, it was limited. Their education focused on "domestic roles." In most cases the girls' curricula included Domestic Science or Home Economics, while boys and men went for metal work and woodwork—schools streamed boys and girls into metal/woodwork and home economics respectively.

Women's Access to and Participation in Educational Leadership Positions

By early 1980, women represented fifty percent of the world's adult population and one third of the official labor force; and, although women performed nearly two thirds of all working hours, they received only one tenth of the world's income and owned less than one percent of the world's property (Copenhagen Program of Action, 1980). Nearly ten million women, or one in every five of those employed by the mid-1980s, held professional/managerial positions (Kaufman, 1984). However, most of these women were in the lower echelons of
administrative/management positions. But things are changing. Since the late 1980s, more women have pursued undergraduate- and graduate-level programs. Women constitute the majority of undergraduate students in U.S. colleges and universities, with many studying on a part-time basis. For instance, in 1986, women earned half the bachelor's and master's degrees that were awarded, as well as 27.5 percent of the professional degrees and 32 percent of the doctoral degrees (National Center for Education Statistics, 1986, 1988).

The situation in nonindustrialized countries is different, though the number of women attaining secondary and tertiary education is also increasing. In Malawi, for instance, girls/women take approximately 33 percent of secondary school places and less than 20 percent of the university places (Lamba & Gondwe, 1990). Tanzania, on the other hand, has experienced fluctuations. The percentage of girls in public schools proceeding to secondary and eventually university has shown an increase from 31 to 34 percent, while there has been a decline in the university-level enrollments from 10 percent in 1976/77, up to 27 percent in 1979/80, and down to 19 percent in 1988/89 (BEST, 1989; Mbilinyi, 1991 Muro, 1982).

In frustration, many women have attained secondary and high school education through private schools. The female proportion in the nongovernmental school sector has grew from 31 percent in 1986 to 41 percent in 1988. But some private schools tend to offer an inferior type of education in some East African countries. For instance, in Tanzania, it was reported that
private schools are generally inferior to public schools in every dimension of education. Teachers were less qualified. Most private schools lacked adequate teaching aids and equipment, such as textbooks for students, and many could not provide quality instruction in basic math and science subjects. As a result, fewer subject combinations could be provided especially at the "A" Level. Such schools have become part of a second-chance, inferior school system which acts as a safety valve to relieve public pressure on the government and donors for more public schools (Mbilinyi, 1991). It appears that, instead of promoting equity through opening up private secondary schools, the private schools have not provided quality education to the girls and women.

Despite the above example, many more women, especially in industrialized countries, are becoming professionals, whose specialized training allows them to draw on a body of knowledge unavailable to lay people (Kaufman, 1984). However, it is not clear that women enjoy the same advantages as their male colleagues. It has been noted that, even when women are willing and able to make the commitment to a professional career, most find themselves located in subsidiary positions within prestigious professions. They hold positions that do not accord them the autonomy, prestige, or pay level that is associated with the professional image (Kaufman, 1984; Okwesi & Kainja, 1991). Even when they are given a fair share as top administrators, there still exist "micro-inequities."

Other writers and researchers have made similar observations while engaged in different studies in different countries. For
instance, in a study on the status of women and minorities in education conducted in the United States of America, Gilmartin and Ross (1982) found that women are overrepresented in some places as teachers but underrepresented as administrators. Shakeshaft (1989) attributed this underrepresentation to the history of educational management, as well as to the fact that the literature on the sociology of administrators is one-sided in its focus; she also pointed out that women administrators have never been in the majority.

A look at the number of women in school administration since 1905 reveals constant male dominance in all positions except in the early days of the elementary school principalship. Information by sex is just not available for all years, resulting in a display that includes figures at uneven intervals.

This latter observation gives us some clues as to how gender has been viewed in an official capacity in a nation that compiles statistics on the most minute facets of everyday life. It is not only difficult but, in some cases impossible to find the number and percentage of women administrators or teachers for a particular year or geographic location. Although the numbers are available, they usually have not been compiled by sex.

Accurate records of sex differentials in school administration are important for a number of reasons. Incomplete information on representation of women in school administration makes it easier to believe that the situation is more conducive to women's flourishing but, conversely, by not being able to cite figures on the number of women in formal leadership positions in
schools, it becomes more difficult to identify, and thus remedy, the condition of underutilization of women in schools (Shakeshaft, 1987, 1989).

Above all, teaching was "woman's natural profession" and women were described as the solitary possessors of the nurturant, receptive qualities necessary to be both a teacher and a mother (Shakeshaft, 1989; Skar, 1973). By 1980, 57.2 percent of the teachers in the United States were women and by 1990, 70.1 percent were women. Women were assuming leadership positions within the field of education; yet as schools began to evolve into hierarchical organizations, the majority of positions of formal leadership were occupied by men (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Different variables or factors have been determined by both researchers and writers on women's issues that attempt to explain the different levels of professional attainment, advancement, and development between men and women. As stated in Chapter One, they include leadership styles (Chodorov, 1978; Kaufman & Peters, 1983; Sadler & Hall, 1986); low aspirations (Gilmartin & Ross, 1982); devaluation of women's work (Okwesi & Kainja, 1991; Sadler & Hall, 1986) dual hiring and promotional practices (Sagaria, 1988); historical, colonial, and traditional factors or values (Lamba & Gondwe, 1990; Mbilinyi et al., 1991; Okwesi & Kainja, 1991). However, more research needs to be done, especially in the area of educational leadership, to determine the factors that make African women educational leaders successful. There is also a need to find out whether the factors listed above are the real factors which limit participation, and whether there are additional ones.
Mbilinyi and her colleagues (1991) expressed concern that the number of African women in leadership positions may decline as a result of focusing on basic education. On the other hand, Okwesi and Kainja (1991) and Olekambaine (1991) highlighted the low level or absence of education as well as long hours of work with unattractive remuneration and benefits as additional factors. Eighty percent of women’s time is spent on food production (agricultural activities) and ninety percent on food processing (storage and preparation is done by women). They fetch water and firewood, manage the home and many small-scale businesses. On top of the household chores, a good number may work as primary-school teachers, nurses, library assistants, and/or clerical employees. But what of those women who have attained college degrees—where are they?

It appears that, even when women attain university-level education, they still cannot move up to the high echelons at the same pace as men do. A survey that was conducted at the University of Malawi with Malawian women and students revealed subtle and discriminatory practices. The survey showed that:

Women who attain an education level comparable to men must surmount daunting hurdles in the employment arena. . . . [M]ost women are denied management positions upon graduation because of the selection process which tends to show preference for men. Further, the typical and desirable cultural image of a Malawian woman is not one of aggressiveness and competitiveness but one of total submission, which is in contradiction with the qualities of a good manager.

In the few cases where women have been offered managerial positions their talents have not been fully [utilized]. Cases have been cited when these women have been denied promotions or higher status commensurate with their positions because of their sex.
Because of these positions, women's representation at senior levels, in both the public and private sectors, is comparatively low... There are only 5% women working as administrators or managers in Malawi (Okwesi & Kainja, 1991, p. 17).

Though it is not clear whether the five percent referred to above accounts for all women employed in both public and private sectors, it is clear that women's access to and participation at the University was, and still is, low. Between 1965 and 1990, the University produced 9,589 graduates and, of these, only 1,707, or 17.8 percent, were female (Davison 1992). About 20 percent of first-year students were female but, by the fourth year, women only accounted for 15 percent.

Once they enter college, female students have an uphill battle to overcome attitudes of sexism that persist in the classroom that follow them to the student center and hostels. Female students who have managed to make it to Chancellor College, have largely come from single-sex secondary schools (Hiddleston, 1991). Once they get into gender mixed classrooms where lecturers are overwhelmingly male and female students are a minority among their more assertive male peers, they tend to "fade" orally, although they do as well as males in written work. Equally significant socially, they meet a male student body who on average prefer women with less education than themselves, because women with less education are generally more easily controlled, in their opinion. What exists among many male students is a stereotype of university female students as independent, morally loose and uncontrollable, a stereotype that female students find insidious and contrary to the perceptions they have of themselves as hardworking, achievement-oriented scholars. (Davison, 1992, p. 2)

In addition, female students had inadequate female role models to emulate. Few women were visible in the departments, at the university campuses, and in the statistics. For instance, between the 1985/86 and 1988/89 academic years, Bunda College of
Agriculture had only four females filling academic line staff positions out of a total of 50. On average, Chancellor College had twenty female academic staff out of a total of 160 staff members. There were at most 14 female staff members at the Polytechnic, while, naturally, there were many at the Nursing College. As a result, female students rarely came in contact with female lecturers. The chances of seeing women of professorate rank were almost nonexistent. Only two women in the entire university held such a position. A handful had achieved senior lecturer status, but the majority were lecturers, including those who held doctorates (Davison, 1992). It was further noted that even in other sectors, despite the relatively high levels of women's participation in the labor market, agriculture, health, and other sectors, women still lagged behind men in most of the occupational categories (Kalyati, 1990; Lewis, et al. 1990). Women had not been effectively recognized as participants in developmental processes (Banda, 1990; Ngwira, 1986, 1987, 1988). Though Ngwira argued that women had not been fully recognized as equal partners in development in many nonindustrialized countries, including Malawi, she failed to determine the factors that had given rise to such a situation (Banda, 1990). Indeed, there were vehicles that had been formed to promote women's participation in development such as the National Commission for Women in Development (NCWD), Chitukuko Cha Amai m'Malawi (abolished in 1994), the Nurses' Association, Home Economics Teachers' Association, and the newly formed Business Association of Women. But so long as the real factors that hinder women's participation...
remain undefined or unknown, little progress, if any, will be realized. Some writers have identified the following as factors leading to inadequate attention: the lack of information on women, the lack of a clear conceptual framework (Banda, 1990), and inadequate research on women.

It is also worth noting that most of the work that has been done in Malawi has looked at women in agriculture and female-headed households. However, the issue that the authors concentrated on was female-headedness and not women (Banda, 1990; Chipande, 1983; Chirwa, 1990). Ngwira (1987) looked at women in relation to access to extension education and agriculture inputs and noted that some programmes were weak because they did not address women's needs. It appears that the lack of information on what the actual needs of the women are leads to perpetuation of the use of stereotypical curricula that define home economics as a course to be taken by women while men study woodwork and other technical subjects.

Chirwa (1990) discussed income-generating opportunities and constraints for women. She pointed out that women are also involved in nonagricultural production and services. Women sell fish, clothing, merchandise, firewood, and craftwork. They are also involved in thatching grass, brickmaking, and butchery. Women are also responsible for such domestic duties as the nurturing and socialization of children and maintenance of a healthy and hygienic environment. Chirwa also briefly discussed the following constraints: attitudes toward women; education government policy on women and development issues; limited
finances, skills, and marketing; frequent pregnancies; and inadequate access to appropriate technology.

Apart from tracing the source of negative attitudes toward women back to culture, history, and tradition, Chirwa suggested that change could occur if men were sensitized and if women got "over their complacency and faint acceptance of their lot. Only then will they (women) develop their personality, competence and freedom" (Chirwa, 1990, p 3). Sensitize men to what? Chirwa did not elaborate. Is it to the fact that women are overworked in the home but are not recognized for their work? Or are the men to be sensitized to women's need for further training? If yes, which men will need this kind of education?

Discussing girls' education, in Malawi, Chirwa (1990), like other writers, pointed out that women's progress in the generation and development of financial resources is constrained by their limited education. Girls' education is affected by, among other factors, a high drop-out rate. For instance, of the female 43.4 percent of students that were in grade four in 1984, only 31.8 percent progressed to grade eight in 1988; 11.6 percent had dropped out (Chirwa, 1990; Mkandawire, 1989). While acknowledging the fact that the Ministry of Education and Culture is aware of the girls' drop-out problem, Chirwa suggested that more research should be conducted but did not explain the research focus. Also, she did not discuss the issue or issues that affect girls and women at secondary or tertiary educational levels or those in leadership positions.
Government policy on women in development issues had been limited to home economics and health. Okwesa and Kainja (1991) discussed "the invisibility of women in development policies." They pointed out that women in Malawi were marginalized by a failure to integrate them into development programs and projects. Men received training and credit and all the extension services that went with cash-cropping. Development policies mentioned women, but the issues they addressed were stereotyped. The policies perpetuated the view that women should be confined to traditional domestic roles, and they were "scanty and imprecise" (Okwesa & Kainja, 1991, p. 20). The authors recommended inclusion of a women's component in the development policies and development of explicit policies for women. Although it might be considered the first document to consider women's issues at some length and suggest strategies for change, the document fell short in relation to women in educational leadership. It did not address issues that graduate teachers or women who hold professional degrees, such as a bachelor's or master's degree in Education, face. It seemed to concentrate on the role of the National Commission on Women in Development and its constraints. Though concerned with the upliftment of women, the same observation is true of the Human Resources and Institutional Development Project (HRID):

The HRID project had funded a new post of Assistant Registrar for women of UNIMA (University of Malawi) which will act as a bridge between the University and the higher grades of secondary school. It is intended, both to provide counseling for girls so that they will graduate and enter University, and for guiding girl students at the University toward meaningful course and career choices. In addition, the project has funded research on areas such as "Effectiveness of Extension Services in Reaching Rural Women
with Timely and Appropriate Information," and supported master's and Ph.D. level training directed to providing a cadre of skilled women (and men) who will play decisive roles in the WID subsector. (Okwesa & Kainja, 1991, p. 23)

Indeed, different activities to address issues affecting women and development are in progress, but most of the activities are outside the Ministry of Education and Culture. Activities with which the Ministry of Education and Culture is currently concerned are aimed at general improvement of the system, especially primary education.

Section B: An Examination of the Role of Education in Promoting and Hindering African Girls' and Women's Advancement

The Trend for Girls' Education

Girls' participation is low in most African countries even where universal primary education (UPE) is implemented. Some writers attribute this low enrollment to the lack of clearly defined policies on girls' education (Hirschmann, 1984; Okwesa & Kainja, 1991), attitudinal barriers, (Hirschmann, 1984;), and education (Valsa, Verghese, Chadwick, & Charnes, 1984). Those who view education as a barrier are concerned over the failure of formal, nonformal, and informal types of education to prepare girls and women for more participation. Education has discriminated against girls and women and perpetuated patriarchy (Verghese, Chadwick & Charnes, 1984). While it may be true that education may have contributed to patriarchy, has it really discriminated against girls and women in schools and colleges? We
note that though girls may account for 45 to 50 percent of first-
year enrollments in Malawi, in the second year the percentage
begins to decline due to high repetition rates (Williams, 1992),
socio-cultural problems, and other factors. For example, Okwesa &
Kainja (1991) reported that because of girls' status in the family
which is usually low, a girl may be denied opportunity for
education when resources are inadequate. Lamba and Gondwe (1990)
traced the inequality of educational opportunity between boys and
girls back to 1875 when the first western type of school was
opened in Malawi; they stated that

Women's needs received no serious consideration in the early
colonial educational plans. . . . female education was to fit
the woman into her society. . . . The African girl needed an
education that kept her intact in the traditional social
setting. If the Western education had a liberating effect
on women. . . it posed a threat to traditional male
supremacy to defy the expected female subservience in a
male-dominated society. (Lamba & Gondwe, 1990, p.1)

But most African countries have attained independence and
assumed responsibility for their education. What is the trend in
the post-colonial, independent Africa? As noted earlier, there are
many factors that contribute to girls' and women's "under-
development": early pregnancies and marriages, lack of school
fees, lack of support from parents and the community, lack of
interest from the girls for higher education, teachers' negative
attitudes toward girls' education (Kalyati, 1990; Okwesa and
Kainja, 1991; Nowa-Phiri, 1985), and socioeconomic problems
(Chirwa, 1990). Williams (1992) conveniently summed up the
factors:
In no low-income country in the world do girls enjoy the same access, persistence, and achievement as boys (Abel, 1991).

Research in Malawi indicates that girls are disadvantaged in a number of ways. Parents often see less benefit to educating girls than boys. Thus, parents are less likely to keep girls in school than boys, particularly when direct costs are high (Davison & Kanyuka, 1990; Okwesa & Kainja, 1991). Teachers' and parents' expectations are often lower for girls than for boys (Malewezi, 1988; Thaulo, 1981; Kainja & Mkandawire, 1990).

Ethnographic studies of classrooms... have found that some teachers teach to the boys' side of the room, ignoring the girls. Girls spend more time at home on household duties such as gardening, cooking, cleaning the house and surrounding area, looking after siblings (Nowa-Phiri) and thus spend less time on homework (Davison & Kanyuka 1990). Parents give girls fewer exercise books than they give boys (Malawi Primary School Quality Study Report, 1989). Due to all these factors, girls see... limited educational and occupation futures for themselves than do boys (Lewis et al., 1990). Textbooks are biased against girls (Kamwendo, 1984). In many countries, including Malawi, girls come under increasing pressure to leave school on puberty. In addition, repetition prevents girls from attaining higher levels of education. Though students' repetition rate is high in Malawi compared to other "nonindustrialized" countries, generally more girls repeat than boys. For instance, only one third of the boys and less than one quarter of the girls survived to the final year of primary school in the proper time... By age 13 pupils are supposed to be enrolled in standard 8; most girls, however, do not survive that long (Williams, 1992, p.15).

[Some girls repeat classes while others] drop out of schools because of early marriage, pregnancy, lack of fees, lack of parental and community support, lack of school fees, lack or loss of interest, opportunity costs and both parents' and teachers' negative attitudes towards girls' education (Okwesa & Kainja, 1991, p. 15).

These findings are both interesting and shocking. Clearly, girls' education is affected by many factors and not only the education system, though it does contribute. As far as parents' attitudes, we need to distinguish between those who support girls'
education and those who do not. There are parents who encourage and support girls’ education, especially those who have some formal education and who have seen positive women role models. We also need to distinguish between urban and rural situations.

Repetition is another major factor. It increases the dropout rate by discouraging pupils and their parents, as well as by helping to convince them that continuing school is not the best alternative (Williams, 1992). Pupils drop out, especially girls, due to failure or poor performance during national examinations: standard 8 primary-school leaving examinations (PSLE), junior certificate examinations (JCE), and Malawi Certificate of Education examinations (MCE). To provide some equity at the secondary-school level, the Ministry’s policy of access has been changed. Until recently, girls accounted for 33 percent of secondary school enrollments, but it has been recommended that the girls’ percentage be increased to 50 percent of the enrollments (Hauya, 1993). To ensure that quality girls fill up the ratio, there is a need to offer special counseling and support programs in the senior classes (grades) from standard 5 to standard 8. This way, the girls will be well prepared for entry into secondary school. Even at the secondary-school level, girls should be assisted through specially designed support programs and counseling services to enable them to succeed, proceed to tertiary level, and remain in college until successfully graduating.
Figure 3
Completion Rate of primary Age Children
Standard & School Year

xxxx Girls ///// Boys

Figure 4
History of the 1982/83 Cohort

Source: MOEC, Education Statistics (various years). Compiled by Williams, 1992, p. 4.
At the primary-school level, Malawi has implemented a policy of open access based on parents' ability to pay fees for their children. A full primary-school cycle lasts eight years. From the mid-1980s to early 1990, serious discussion and consideration centered on gradual removal of fees for standards one through four. It was hoped that removal of direct fees would increase enrollments, especially for the girls. However, parents would still be responsible for all indirect fees to supplement the inadequate school supplies such as textbooks, exercise books, and writing materials. Removal of school fees should therefore be seen as one way to start addressing the problem of girls' low enrollment, but this decision would not lead to a one hundred percent net enrollment of the girls.

The Ministry of Education was also planning to register all children of school age for purposes of monitoring entry and retention. In addition, bursaries for needy students, especially girls, were also being considered, and the (United Nations Development Programme) UNDP would be responsible for giving out the bursaries. Other policy decisions at this level included undertaking a Primary School Quality study and reviewing the curriculum. However, even with all these changes, girls will still drop out of school due to social reasons. Currently, any girl who becomes pregnant is expelled from school. Consequently,
as long as this policy stands, girls will drop out or be expelled from primary school.

Secondary School Education

At the secondary-school level, the Ministry has continued to use a quota system to ensure a "higher percentage of girls participation" (Lamba & Gondwe, 1990). Girls’ secondary schools were expanded under the second International Development Agency (IDA) Education Project. Also, a quality study was planned to determine girls’ achievement. As stated earlier, secondary education is aimed at meeting economic demands rather than social demands. As long as this policy stands, Malawi will continue to offer a restricted type of education.

Boys and men responsible for impregnating a girl or a woman do not receive equal punishment. If known, they are required to appear in a court of law and they remain innocent till proved guilty. In many cases, parents agree not to reveal the name of the boy if he too is in school. Informal agreements or even traditional ceremonies may be carried out privately. The parents of the boy may promise to help the girl till delivery time and in some cases beyond delivery time so long as their son is in school. The reasoning behind this kind of arrangement is to enable the boy to have a good education in the hope that in the future he would be able to get a job and support his wife—if they end up getting married. But in many cases, the boy changes his mind, and the girl is left to fend for herself. There have also been cases where the girl’s parents have been so angry at their daughter that
she has not been permitted to return home. In cases where the boy
has also refused to help, the girl has experienced a great deal of
misery and even turned to prostitution. As Tesha (1985) stated,

The African girls' plight is more exasperated by the
possibilities of unwanted pregnancies and early pregnancies
and early motherhood out of wedlock, with little or no
economic means to support themselves and their children. As
African societies tend to be harsher to the unmarried mother
than to the unmarried father, a girl in such a situation may
even be forced to flee her home due to embarrassment and the
feeling of rejection from her family, peers and community as
a whole. In her desperation, she may even be driven into
worse situations such as more pregnancies, illegal
abortions, infanticide, prostitution as an economic
alternative... and sexual exploitation and harrassment in
her efforts to gain entry into training and employment
opportunities. (United Nations Economic Commission for
Africa Report, 1984, p.)

Therefore, though the above policy statements were carefully
thought out and based on the country's constraints and needs, the
education of girls and women is affected by a high drop-out rate.
Girls/women do not only drop out because of school fees; some drop
out because of pregnancies and early marriages. The current
policy on this issue has a negative impact on both girls and
women. As a consequence, not only will girls continue to drop out
of the primary-school cycle but out of the secondary-school level,
too. Apart from considering a more positive policy, other areas
should also be considered. Policy statements that put both girls
and boys on equal terms and that go beyond this social problem,
one that include counseling services and family or sex education
and its impact on girls should be considered. The current policy
needs to be reviewed if girls' and women's education and training
is to improve.
Teacher and Technical Education

There are eight teachers' training colleges in Malawi; seven are co-educational, and one is for women only. In the seven coeducational colleges, about one third of the enrollments are women. All the three technical colleges are coeducational, but women account for less than one quarter of the total enrollments (Education Statistics, 1990). A recent study that examined utilization of technical colleges recommended an increase of the women's enrollment to 40 percent. If the current policy on pregnant female students does not change, women will continue to withdraw from college and apply for readmission when they are ready to resume their studies. Some of the college students are married, and they, too, have to withdraw once they become pregnant. Once students withdraw, they do not always return to complete their program of study due to various reasons such as not being able to study effectively because of the interruption, fear of shyness, and in some cases, feeling ashamed.

Policy on Unmarried Women Teachers

Unmarried women teachers are suspended once they become pregnant "out of wedlock." They receive half pay at the time when they probably need the money most to support themselves and prepare for the new baby.

University Policy

The University of Malawi is enforcing a policy of gradual expansion based on manpower need. About 20 percent of the
students are female. When a woman is pregnant, married, or single, she has to withdraw from college, and is required to apply for readmission twelve months after the child’s birth. Readmission is not automatic, and is not guaranteed. It is based on previous performance and other selection criteria. As a consequence, even at this level, women continue to drop out because of social problems, though the drop-out rate is low. Women who drop out and reenter take two years longer to graduate since they cannot apply for readmission till the baby is twelve months old.

Organizational Boundaries, Opportunity and Career Mobility

Once placed in a position of educational leadership, one expects good opportunities for further advancement and career progression. But that is not always what happens. There are horizontal and vertical organizational boundaries that incumbents of leadership positions have to cross. Schein (1976) and Ortiz (1982) defined organizational boundaries as elements that act upon an individual, male or female. The organizational boundaries can be grouped or classified as hierarchical, functional, and inclusion.

Hierarchical boundaries separate individuals or groups into hierarchical levels—rank or grade levels. For example, a move from a teaching post to an administrative post of principal or headmaster entails crossing a hierarchical boundary. The functional boundary separates individuals or groups by type of
duty or function. For instance, people in the finance department and those in the academic department are separated by the functional boundary. The functional boundary further separates people and groups into departments, sections, or divisions. It falls into specialization grouping and may be referred to as horizontal separation. People who are in one department, section, or division cross the functional boundary once they decide to move from one department, section, or division to another. While special knowledge and skills may be required and acquired through education and training, the move is horizontal, not vertical.

On the other hand, inclusion boundaries separate individuals or groups by their degree of centrality, or closeness to the organizational core positions. For example, a move from principalship to superintendent in the U.S. education system, or from headmaster to assistant regional education officer in Malawi, is a move that brings the incumbent closer to the core position of school board member or regional education officer, respectively. Such a move may be promotional, a reward, and may be viewed as an improvement for the person. In turn, the person gains visibility and importance as he/she moves closer to yet more senior positions. Both driving and restraining forces may be experienced from the different groups that the incumbent interacts with horizontally as well as vertically. For instance, while soon after moving to a more senior position, such as that of regional education officer, ministry officials and other regional education officers may serve as a liberating and supporting system, others may become restraining forces. One learns to work with
contradictory and competing forces or agents. To succeed one must possess certain qualities or characteristics such as the following:

1) Personal commitment to advance;

2) The ability to view mistakes, experiences, and shortcomings as a process of learning;

3) The ability to maintain a realistic view of a leadership position with its characteristics of limitations and possibilities;

4) The ability to adjust or readjust to demands of the various groups; and

5) Possession of essential attributes that enable individuals to permeate through the boundaries (Ortiz, 1982).

In order to permeate through the hierarchical boundary, attributes such as seniority, merit, personal characteristics, types of attitudes held, and sponsor are critical. The functional boundaries filter more through specific competencies acquired through education, training, and development. Attributes for the inclusion boundary are complex and fuzzy. They include competencies, personality, seniority, and willingness to play a certain kind of political game. Mastery of these attributes enables the player to become a member of the "inner circle," or core positions.

Most women from nonindustrialized countries are constrained by low levels of educational attainment, inadequate opportunities for further education and training, and inadequate networks. Even where women are not badly constrained, they remain at the instructor or teacher level while men administer to adults.
Women are at the central headquarter offices, they mainly fill staff support positions and not line positions. Lewis et al. (1990) reported that

Among the working population, the overwhelming majority of women (93 percent) and a large majority of men (76 percent) were engaged in agricultural activities in 1983. Except for sales (2.3 percent), production (1.6 percent), and the services (1.4 percent), few women work outside of agriculture. . . the largest share of women working in the formal sector are in sales (34.3 percent), followed by production work (26.7 percent), and then the services (21.2 percent). Nearly 10 percent of all working women are in the professional, technical and related work category (which includes teachers). In the entire country (Malawi), only 170 women are working in the capacity of managers or administrators. In comparison, men tend to be somewhat more evenly distributed across the occupational categories, although nearly half are concentrated in the production, transport, operators, and laborers category.

Women tend to have less education and training than men. Unfortunately for women, employment opportunities and the earning associated with working depend upon education (Lewis, et. al., 1990, pp. 29-30).

The 1983 National Labor Survey results showed that 58 percent of the population and 64 percent of the employed women had never attended primary school. In contrast, only 29 percent of the men and 31 percent of the employed men had no formal education. Also, only 20 percent of the women attended four years of primary school in 1983 compared with 45 percent of the employed men. In addition,

Women have more non-labor market responsibilities than men. Besides lower levels of education, another disadvantage for women--including childbearing and childcare. Even women working in jobs with significant demands are expected to run the household and care for its members. (Lewis et al., 1990, p. 30)
Rather than stress the point that women are disadvantaged, I feel this is a clear testimony to the women’s capacity to function in multi-roles. But women are not recognized for their capacity; instead they are taken advantage of and given more and more of those duties that do not lead to gaining visibility and importance. How could women’s capacity be utilized by decision-makers so as to enhance women’s opportunities? Could provision of more day-care facilities enable the women to better manage their chores? These are some of the questions to be addressed by decision-makers.

Continuing the discourse on Malawian women, Lewis and colleagues further pointed out that

Employers are skeptical of women’s commitment to their jobs. [Another] factor affecting women’s opportunities in the labor market is negative perceptions of women as employees which appear prevalent in Malawian society. Their perceptions may be based on experience, but appear to have evolved into stereotypes. For example, the perception that more women tend to be less educated than men is correct. However, it is inappropriate for employers to assume that each woman seeking employment is poorly educated. Women are considered less stable and committed to their jobs than men because it is common for them to follow their husbands when they are relocated and resist relocation for their own jobs. Frequent pregnancies are considered disruptive to the work environment, particularly when they are followed by maternity leave. (1990, p. 30)

But do all women lack commitment? Also, men’s movements from one place of work to another cause women to move, yet the skepticism is only directed toward women. Why not include everybody—men and women? Whether this is a commitment or survival issue, there is a need to consider ways to make women’s work, jobs and careers, better managed than is the case now. Husbands and wives need to
take responsibility in planning the size of their family. A good policy exists that enables women to go on maternity leave on a full salary for three months if other criteria are satisfied. The rest has to be decided upon by the family itself. Could husbands and wives engage in a dialogue to determine the size of their family? What role could parents, uncles, and other members of the African extended family system play? These are some areas to be explored in the future.

Though there is not much direct evidence, underrepresentation of women in educational leadership is partly caused by gender discrimination. Similarly, Lewis et al. reported:

First we can focus on the two thirds of the employed population with less than "four" years of education, which includes 80.3 percent of working women and 54.6 percent of working men. However, among those who obtain between four and eight years of primary school, only 11 percent of women managed to find work in other occupations, whereas over 25 percent of men with this level of education obtained work in other occupations, in particular as production or transport workers, operators, or laborers. For those with a university level education, 29 percent of women found professional or technical work, or administrative or management work. Nearly 65 percent of men with university level education found work in these occupations. These differences suggest that some degree of gender discrimination may exist in the formal sector in Malawi. (1990, pp. 31-32)

While supporting the view that women may be discriminated against in job recruitment, it is not clear why fewer women than men who graduated from the university got jobs. The authors did not elaborate as to whether the women who did not get employment were denied employment because of their gender or because they decided
to do other things or become engaged in other business. All in all, the authors provided a good picture of the position of women and girls in Malawi insofar as education and employment is concerned. Their report contains valuable information which includes an annotated bibliography and data, but it did not provide explanations for some of the conclusions and positions presented. Some inaccuracies, too, were noted. Therefore, one wonders what kind of conclusions one would come up with if the study were to be replicated. In concluding this section, it seems there are more elements that affect women than men. Women are blocked by all the organizational boundaries: hierarchical, functional, and inclusion.

Chapter Summary

This chapter supports the view expressed by Shakeshaft (1987, 1989) on the inadequacy of literature on women in educational leadership. Indeed, a great deal of literature has been produced during the past five- to ten-year period, but most of it discusses women in general, women and development, and women in academe with little focus on women in administration.

The chapter has specifically discussed girls' and women's education as a vehicle to employment, employment opportunities for women in education, effect of culture and religion, the education systems in Malawi and Tanzania, educational policy and organizational boundaries. In the review, both the strengthening and restraining forces were explored.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Theoretical Framework

The study draws its theoretical concepts and constructs from the literature on leadership, organization development, and women's studies. Therefore, many of the concepts and constructs had to be adapted to the African context.

Research Design

Basically, the inquiry utilized qualitative methods. Triangulation or multi-methods and techniques were employed to reduce bias and increase the validity and confirmability of the findings. Denzin (1978) provided a detailed discussion of how to triangulate and outlined four types of triangulation: 1) data triangulation, which utilizes several data sources; 2) investigator triangulation, or the use of more than one investigator; 3) theory triangulation, or different theoretical perspectives, frameworks, or constructs (but this is said to be problematic and is rarely discussed because it is deemed impossible in reality); and 4) methodological triangulation, which facilitates use of multiple methods in an examination of a social phenomenon. In this study, data and theory triangulation were used.
Data Collection

Since I was concerned with issues of relevance, such contextual factors as geographic location, timing, political and social climate of the countries where data were collected had to be considered in a timely manner.

Data were collected through a number of techniques: pilot study, literature review, photography, interviews, document analysis, and observation. Data-triangulation or multi-techniques were used to reduce bias (rather than eliminate it, as suggested by some authors) and to increase the credibility, dependability, and confirmability of the findings (ACVAFS, 1984; Mathison, 1988; Patton, 1990). Since even the scientific methods can be biased, the strength of these techniques lies in collection of confirmable data through multi-techniques.

Pilot Study

Once an interest emerged to do an inquiry on the issue of African women in educational leadership, I conducted a pilot study at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst using an interview technique. Three women and two men were interviewed. The technique was selected based on its power in providing human conversation or interaction (Patton, 1990). Conversation leads to unfolding of inner issues, while interviewing provides the richest source of data in the shortest time and has greater reliability than any other form of data gathering because of the face-to-face contact (ACVAFS, 1982). It is from that perspective that the technique was again used during the field work in Malawi and
Tanzania. At times I was surprised by the honesty and disclosures from both women and men, but more so from women. It felt as though many had been waiting for such an opportunity to share their experience. This was probably due to the fact that an African woman was interviewing fellow African men and women; the trust level was high.

The pilot study was conducted in the Spring of 1991 using a heuristic, humanist perspective (Patton, 1990). The essence of using a heuristic approach lies in the sharing of the researcher's and clients' experiences. In contrast to other pilot studies, this was for issue identification and the aim was to determine whether leadership problems exist—especially those pertaining to women—and to assess the feasibility of conducting field research in one or two African countries.

In-depth interviews were used. The interview began with broad questions that were posed in an informal conversational manner. Depending on how the interviewee responded, appropriate supplementary and clarifying questions were asked. These supplementary and clarifying questions focused on issues that emerged and led to discussion of the issues in some depth. The essence of this pilot study lies in its confirming the existence of issues that I was interested in investigating. In addition, it laid a foundation for this dissertation.

**Literature Review**

In the literature review, primary sources of material in the form of government documents were used. In addition, books,
published and unpublished reports, articles, dissertations, and other materials were obtained from the Five-College library system, especially the University of Massachusetts, the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., colleges in Malawi and Tanzania, the Malawi College of Distance Education, and Institutes. In addition, a few other documents were obtained and analyzed: government publications, reports, statements of development policies, staff lists, students' reports, and annual reports. Due to time constraints, no attempt was made to do research in the government archives.

Photography

Photography provides visual vignettes, portraits, stories from people's environments and lives, and mirrors of reality of people, buildings, and places (ACVAFS, 1984). Taking pictures of rooms, buildings, and group interview participants released the researcher from the necessity of making lengthy descriptions of some of the interview scenes. Each interviewee's permission was sought before taking pictures. While interviewees felt uncomfortable being photographed, they were generally agreeable to my taking pictures of the room and any posted information. There was only one instance in which the interviewee felt I should not take pictures of the interview scene because it was a government building; but the data collection had been cleared by the research unit, and once the interviewee was reminded of that fact--at which point we both smiled--she allowed me to take the pictures.
Interviews

Interviews were the main data collection technique used during the field work. Three types of interviews were conducted: individual, group, and pair. All the interviews were semi-structured, and an interview guide developed from the research questions was the main instrument used during individual interviews. Its use varied from respondent to respondent based on their life experiences, position, and emerging themes and issues. The aim was to provide open-ended questions without providing respondents with a categorical list of possible responses, and to hear from the respondents themselves (Patton, 1991). A different format was used with the group interviews. Once a question was asked, respondents answered, a discussion followed, and, in some cases, personal stories were used to elaborate and/or substantiate.

While some planning had been done for the individual and group interviews, the pair interview occurred unexpectedly. I entered the room expecting to find one interviewee. Surprisingly, there were two people: the head of the unit and an assistant who had been acting head before the other was hired for the position. For a minute or so, I felt uncomfortable. Despite my apprehension, the pair interview turned out to be one of the best interviews conducted during the five-week period. When a question was posed, the pair took turns responding, and each clarified and complemented the other’s response.

To ensure accuracy in recording responses, I audiotaped the interviews. Using a tape recorder minimized distractions, as I
was responsible for asking questions, listening, phrasing and rephrasing some of the questions, and framing appropriate follow-up questions to emerging themes and issues. However, though a tape recorder may ease the researcher's work and in a way save time, I only used it with the respondents' consent. Some people were suspicious of the outcome of the tape recording and felt uncomfortable with its use during their interview. It was therefore necessary to take detailed field notes in some cases (ACVAFS, 1982; Ngaiza & Koda, 1991).

The Sample

There are no set rules for sample size in qualitative research, as the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observation and analytical capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size (Patton, 1990).

Sixty-seven people were interviewed: forty-seven from Malawi and twenty from Tanzania. They included thirty-two women—twenty-two Malawian and eight Tanzanian. Out of the twenty-two Malawian women, five were college students and four were secondary-school girls. While the college students were randomly selected, the secondary-school group was purposefully chosen; it comprised two student leaders and two students. The rest of the interviewees included five male students, five lecturers (two female [F] and three male [M]), nine unit heads (5F and 4M), twenty-six department heads (8F and 18M), one headmistress, two male deputy
principals, two female assistant regional education officers, two male regional education officers, three principals (1F and 2M), and one male deputy principal secretary.

Fifty-seven individual interviews were conducted plus two group interviews and one pair interview. One group interview was conducted in Malawi with the secondary-school students. The second group and the pair interview took place in Tanzania with college lecturers and ministry officials respectively (see Tables 3 and 4.)

Issues that needed consideration, especially during the planning phase, centered around how to select the sample, how to conduct a successful interview, access to some key people and distant places, confidentiality, and building rapport. As stated, I used different techniques and procedures, and even with thorough planning, moments of frustration were experienced. They ranged from people not being available at the time that had been arranged to the canceling of some appointments due to last minute changes in transportation arrangements.
Table 4

Organization Structure For the Respondents
Where are the Women in the Institutions?

[Diagram showing the organizational structure with roles and gender indicators]

KEY

Female  Male

Source: Created by the Author

101
**Limitations**

There are always some trade-offs required by humans' capacity and ability to grasp the complex nature of social reality (Patton, 1990). In this study, reality necessitated making considerations based on how much of the leadership phenomenon I could study with two research assistants within five weeks—initially, the study was to have lasted ten weeks, but, due to bureaucratic formalities both in Malawi and in the United States, there were some delays that impacted on the timeframe. This led to narrowing the topic down to gender and equity issues that affect African women educational leaders, thereby leaving out the many other issues with which educational leaders in Africa are grappling.

The second trade-off centered around the boundary problem (Guba, 1978; Patton, 1990). The issue was what to aim for, depth or breadth. Being interested in doing a qualitative research, the choice was for depth and not breadth. To that effect, a few questions were included in the interview guide. The interview procedure began from an informal conversation (ACVAFS, 1984 Patton, 1990) and progressed to more specific and focused questions. The amount of depth varied depending on the knowledge level of the respondents.

The third trade-off centered around the problem of utilizing the participant observation method while conducting interviews. The problem was in knowing how much to be involved and when. My decision was to be involved only when necessary, to watch for
appropriate moments to share, and to seize them without disrupting the flow of the interview.

Data Organization and Analysis

Guided by the research questions, after transcribing, data were finally organized into broad categories or themes that formed chapters 4 through 7. Chapter 4 deals with general issues that surround African women educational leaders and the role of society. Chapter 5 continues to present the data and deals with the role of education; and chapter 6 presents other factors that promote and hinder utilization of African women in educational leadership positions. Chapter 7 presents strategies for change.

Problems Experienced

Due to political and bureaucratic processes, communication delays were experienced, and last-minute adjustments had to be made to the schedule (see Revised Schedule in Appendix B).

Travelling from place to place was also a problem. The planned procedure whereby a government or institutional vehicle could be used on the basis of buying fuel and paying overtime to the driver was unsuccessful. The Ministry of Education and Culture and some institutional heads refused the use of their vehicles. Because of this I was forced to use public transportation and taxis on many occasions. It was frustrating in some situations and covering the planned schedule proved a bit difficult. This in no way discredits those times and moments when
both regional education officers and colleagues provided free transport.

Inadequate notice to interviewees was another problem. Some people honestly told my research assistant or the desk officer that they were busy and did not have time to meet with me. Others, however, expected to meet with me, but were not available on the interview day despite the fact that appointments had been made and confirmed, and memos had been issued by department heads or desk officers explaining what I was doing and requesting them to meet with me. The most frustrating experience in Tanzania was walking from office to office to check with the people as to whether they could meet with me or not on the day that interviews were to be conducted. On two different occasions in Malawi people were not available though appointments had been made and confirmed. This happened once in Tanzania.

**Chapter Summary**

Basically, this chapter has described the methods, techniques, and procedures that were used to manage the research process, problems encountered in the field and strategies that were used to manage the problems and how the data were finally organized.
CHAPTER IV

DATA COLLECTED: ISSUES SURROUNDING AFRICAN WOMEN EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, data were grouped into broad categories or themes that formed chapters four through seven. This chapter presents a sample of women models and deals with the following questions:

1. How did you get to your present position? (Describe your educational and professional achievements.)

2. What major challenges have you had to deal with during the past two years?

3. How did you cope during your most challenging times? (Describe your strengths)

4. How has society promoted or hindered your advancement?

For confidentiality, fictitious names will be used, and when necessary, titles too. Names have no significance in this dissertation, but the person’s gender and position do.

Representative Sample Interviews

Ellen was one of the many women who attended Lilongwe Girls' Secondary School in the Central Region. After obtaining her "O" Levels, she was selected for the University of Malawi. Ellen graduated with a Diploma in Education three years later. She taught home economics, biology, bible knowledge, and agriculture at various secondary schools before she won a Canadian Scholarship to study for her first degree. She studied at the University of
Mount Saint Vincent and graduated with a Bachelor of Home Economics degree in 1986. Upon her return to Malawi, she worked as a curriculum developer at the Malawi Institute of Education, as a Home Economics Inspector at the Ministry of Education, and was posted back to the Malawi Institute to coordinate the girls' attainment in basic literacy and education (GABLE) project.

Ellen had also worked on many educational activities, which included being Chief Examiner for the Malawi School Certificate Examination Board in Clothing and Textiles, moderating Primary School Leaving Examinations in home economics (textiles and cookery), administering Primary Teacher Certificate Examinations and, for one year, teaching a course on food and nutrition at the University of Malawi on a part-time basis.

Her major challenges during the previous two years included coping with a lack of support from management, achieving job satisfaction, dealing with different levels of problems from secondary schools, trying to satisfy teachers' needs, ensuring that home economics was effectively taught (since it was an expensive subject), and using trial and error methods to meet her present job demands. She confessed, "I'm learning and at the same time expected to provide information to others, and to prepare a write-up to be included in a resource book, 'The Trainers Handbook.'" Ellen's five- to ten-year plan was to upgrade her academic and professional qualifications by pursuing a master's and possibly a doctoral degree.

It seems we're the ones who're suffering more in the system.

Women suffer double if pregnant, they get interdicted on
half salary. . . when it comes to recruiting, priority is to men, and not women. . . When I was interviewing, I was asked some irrelevant questions, such as, if you get this job, since you have four children, "anawa, adzatani" [what will happen to the children?]. I told them, don’t worry about that, I’ll handle the situation.

When I was in the inspectorate, I was asked such questions as, "How do you feel going on tours with these men?" I told them, don’t worry, they are my brothers. . . it can be vice versa, five women with one man. . . Those are the attitudes that cause frustration. But we shouldn’t be timid once given an opportunity to serve others. We should take it as a challenge and develop self-confidence--we should be confident in whatever we’re doing.

The interview lasted about 1 1/2 hours. It took place during lunchtime in the senior common room because she did not have an office of her own--her office was not yet ready. There were a lot of comfortable chairs, and many people, mainly men, were playing cards on the table next to ours. There was a kiosk and there were a lot of empty bottles ready to be picked up by the Coca Cola Company. The sales personnel, all women, were busy moving up and down serving drinks to the people who had ordered them and picking up empty bottles and glasses. It was noisy, too, and I decided not to tape record the interview for fear of interference from the people’s noise, laughter, and dialogue.
My second sample is Judith, an Assistant Regional Education Officer. After attaining her "O" Levels at Malosa Secondary School, Judith was selected for Soche Hill College. She graduated with a Diploma in Education after three years and was posted to a secondary school. She taught history and geography at various secondary schools before applying for the position of District Administrator. Judith was one of the few secondary school teachers who made a shift from secondary school teaching to primary school administration. Through interviews, she had moved up the promotion ladder to Senior Education Officer, Superscale Grade, and was posted to regional administration as Assistant Regional Education Officer. There were two Assistant Regional Education Officers in this office, one responsible for administration, the other for inspection. Judith headed the inspection division.

As head, she checked, monitored, and reviewed inspectors' programs and quarterly as well as half-yearly reports, and compiled reports that she submitted to the Ministry of Education Headquarters situated in the Central Region.

She responded to the question, "What are your strengths?" by saying,

My job has punctuations. I go for in-service at the Malawi Institute of Education. When I return, I organize seminars, workshops, and even courses for the inspectors. I take breaks from my normal routine work. These punctuations have brought variety to my job.
Secondly, we use team inspection. Through team inspection, a number of inspectors from different districts are involved. Together, we tackle a district at a time. Many teachers get inspected within a week.

Her main challenge was working with new inspectors. Every year new inspectors were posted to her region, most of whom had no experience doing inspection. She had to orient these new inspectors to enable them to develop the skills necessary for carrying out inspection duties.

I hate it when women shy away from responsibility. These are women who have 1st degrees, but when given responsibilities, they shy away . . . that’s bad. Some women have been given responsibility, but have lacked support. . . some able people have not been given the support, that is, educational support, to advance professionally. . . but we should develop self-confidence and believe in what we are doing, so as to compete with men. Without self-confidence, it is difficult to convince others. Diligence too, is important.

Judith was planning on going for further education to advance her academic and professional qualifications. She hoped to join the Mature Entry Program that was forthcoming. If not selected, she would retire and engage in private business.

The interview began in her office, but her phone kept ringing and concentration became a problem. We moved to the
conference room situated on the opposite side of her office. Her office was decorated with different posters, information on women in development, and bulletin boards with staff information. On one bulletin board were cuttings from The Daily Times showing a picture of her while she was doing a presentation (see photo 1). The office was well furnished. It had an executive desk and chair for the Assistant Regional Education Officer, sofa set for visitors, coffee table, book-shelves, and was carpeted. A picture of the country’s president was posted on the wall behind her desk.

The conference room had three huge tables, four Hoover electronic cleaners, twenty-four chairs placed around the tables, a wall clock, and bulletin boards. The interview lasted 1 1/2 hours. My next sample is Chimwemwe, a Research Officer.

Chimwemwe attended a coeducational school where only 30 percent of the students were girls. After successfully completing her studies there, she was selected for Chancellor College, from which she graduated with a Diploma in Home Economics three years later. She went back to college in 1985 for her Bachelor of Education; as she stated,

It took so long to get my B.Ed. because first we went to Chancellor College to be Diploma Home Economics teachers, and nobody really thought you needed more than a Diploma to teach Home Economics. So, for a long time there was no inservice course or program except for a few who were lucky to go to UK on scholarship. Then in 1985 there was a change
Photograph 1. Judith’s Office, First Interview Scene

Noted Similarities: Office Tradition/Culture:
Pictures of Staff and Students
Posted on Bulletin Boards.

Organization of Staff Lists; Picture of Head
of the Country Displayed in Most Offices.
National Flag Displayed in Some Offices.

Most Women’s Offices were more Colorful than Men’s.
They Displayed International Posters
Featuring Women in Development. (Only one man,
had this Poster). They also used Needlecraft
Materials to Decorate their Offices.
Photograph 2. Conference Room, Second Interview Scene
of attitude, so the first lot of Malawian B.Ed. home economics students from the field were recruited, and there were a few others who were proceeding from diploma to B.Ed. But we were the first five ladies from the field to go back and obtain a B.Ed. And so, you can see how long it has taken or it took ChanCo [Chancellor College] to change.

After graduating, Chimwemwe returned to secondary school teaching, but now she was doing educational research and evaluation. She travelled all over the country to evaluate newly-produced instructional materials. Fifteen schools throughout the country had been randomly selected as those that she and her colleagues would use to test the materials.

Her main challenge was going through the process of applying for a new job, going through the interview process to change her job, and hearing or seeing people “worrying about whether to employ a woman and acceptance by colleagues in the department.” Chimwemwe attributed her success to her husband’s support:

My husband was “more keen”. . . He believed I could do anything I wanted to do, and he is aware of what a research officer is required to do because he’s a researcher himself. His willingness . . . is in itself what enabled me. . . Whether you’re a man or woman, you need support, not just from your colleagues at work, but also at home; and probably that’s the best thing I can have.
Asked what she plans to do five to ten years from now, Chimwemwe responded,

I definitely want to go back to school and get my Ph.D., because, you see, I'm panicking and trying to see how I can get it before I'm ineligible for a scholarship. If I could pay for my way, I'd be at school now, but I can't afford it.

She was looking for scholarships and hoping to get one soon. Financial resources were a major constraint, but her family fully supported her intent. Our interview lasted 1 1/2 hours and took place on July 27, 1992.

Loise, my other sample, was a lecturer in the Sociology Department and Coordinator of a Sociology of Women Program. She joined the Sociology Department after attaining her first degree at Chancellor College. She had attended Stella Maris Secondary School, an all-girls' Catholic secondary school, and had a master's degree from the University of Illinois. Her concentration was in Gender Roles and International Development.

On the day of the interview, she was conducting a seminar on Women in Development (WID) with women from Tanzania. She initially thought she could only meet with me for thirty minutes, but we managed to spend at least an hour talking.

At the time of the interview, Loise was coordinating the Master's Program on the Sociology of Women in addition to teaching her usual classes. Her main challenge was getting colleagues to support her program; as she said, "Each time I speak, I'm greeted
with sarcastic remarks such as, 'Ah, yah, that's WID talking.' I also learned that, though money was secured from Human Resources Development (HRD) for the program, people who registered for the program did not automatically get their allowances due to "gender politics" (Davison, 1992). Loise's strengths lay in the interest she had in what she was doing: "I enjoy doing my work, without which I'd quit," she confessed.

Her other problem was trying to understand why her request to pursue a Ph.D. program while she was at the University of Illinois was not supported:

The University of Malawi pressured the University of Illinois to send me back. A person is not indispensable. 
.. if a system operates and is dependent on one person, something is wrong with it.

Commenting on the role of society, she stated, Society, for instance my nuclear family and my extended family. .. they've contributed a lot. .. support, togetherness, the joy of a cousin of mine because of my success. .. Everybody chips in to somebody's success, kitchen staff and others made my life easier, classmates, assistance, discussion groups. .. all helped. On the other hand, because of the ingrained belief that the woman's place is in the kitchen, there are times when I let myself down due to fixation of society. Relationships with other people sets one asking, is this worth it? What am I doing? ..
I have been exposed to some ridicule. "Azungu
... mukufuna akazi a m'mabuku!" Literally translated as "Europeans . . . you want learned women."

She was planning on going back to college to obtain a Ph.D. and doing more research in WID, especially in the field of children. To attain her goal, she will be searching for scholarships. If she is lucky, the University could send her back after two years, depending on its priority listing. The interview lasted an hour and took place on the northern side of the senior common room, in the arcade. To the right was a beautiful garden of roses. We could see the beautiful residential halls on the eastern and northeastern side and the dining hall on the northern side. The interview was rushed because of her involvement in the workshop. My next sample is Manes, head of Languages Department at an all-female secondary school.

Manes earned her Diploma in Education in 1976. After teaching in secondary schools for ten years, she applied for mature re-entry to Chancellor College. She interviewed successfully and was re-admitted in 1986. Two years later, she graduated with a Bachelor of Education degree and was posted to Bwaila Secondary School in Lilongwe. Twenty months later she was posted to Stella Maris in Blantyre and was appointed head of the Languages Department. As head, she monitored what was going on in the department, ensured that teachers had schemes and records of work that were "up to standard and uniform," conducted departmental meetings, issued textbooks and all teaching and
learning materials to teachers (who in turn issued them to students), and had a biweekly dialogue with her staff.

Responding to my question as to what major challenges she had had during the past two years, she said,

You know, some members are quite elderly, so, to give me their schemes, they think is something they cannot cope with. So they simply ignore . . . but, I keep reminding them. Secondly, they would rather go to the storeroom on their own to collect the books. But I stand on my feet and tell them, No! If we have to keep the records right, they've got to go through me.

Like many of the respondents, Manes' plans were to go back to college to improve her academic and professional qualifications. The only problem she foresaw was that of adjustment:

You know, after staying away from school for so long, to catch up really gives a headache. I experienced this when I went back to school for my B.Ed. Because you've the fresh men and women straight from secondary school . . . it's quite a challenge for the re-entry students.

Commenting on how society might have contributed to her achievements, she said,

Maybe my family, because my husband did encourage me to go back to school, and he was very supportive. He looked after the children. Looking after children is not easy, but he did it. At the school, my last headmaster did encourage me.
If any advertisement appeared, he’d say, “Can you apply so that you go back to college?” I did, and that’s how I ended up getting my B.Ed.

Having held senior positions, Bertha, my other sample, had had the opportunity to see what was going on with other women. She talked about what blocked other women while attributing her own success to her vision of what she wanted to be, her late husband’s support of her efforts, and the opportunities provided by the Ministry of Education—for instance, her appointment as headmistress of a secondary school, and her selection for both short- and long-term training in educational administration and management. Considering the qualities of a successful woman educational administrator, she explained,

I don’t think I’ve got a ready answer to that one. I think [for] those who’ve made it, one of the things that has contributed to their success is determination. They know what they want, and because of that, they aspire to that particular goal. A large majority of women, I feel, really are prepared to [waver] at any time and say, “this we can’t do, let me try something else.” But if you could take a stand and say, this is what I want, and [if you] are determined to achieve it, I think you definitely will achieve it. So I think basically. . . I should say that a large majority of women don’t know what it is exactly they want and how to go about achieving it.
Ambition, too. You have to be ambitious, but if you’re just quiet, [if] you see anything happening and you say, I can’t do that, obviously you cannot do it. It’s willpower to say, “I can do it, I can cope with that.” But it’s also your own initiative. If people notice that . . . they will say, O.K., let us try her. Maybe she’ll make it.

What are the hindering factors?

Maybe our men counterparts tend to look down on us. They feel [they want] to be the driving force, [and they want] the women to be in the background. But these days . . . you see women all over.

Our interview lasted almost an hour and a half. It took place in the Home Economics Department, a huge classroom. The classroom had adequate furniture, desks and chairs; sewing machines that were neatly arranged and was decorated with teaching materials that included dummies, embroidered work of fabric and teaching samples. (See photographs 3 and 4).

From the Ministry of Education in Malawi, is Elube, Principal Education Officer. Elube had a Bachelor of Science degree and a Diploma in Education she had earned from the University of Malawi and Soche Hill College respectively. She had attended Mzuzu Government Secondary School, where the student population consisted of 30 percent girls and 70 percent boys. At the time of the interview, she was head of the secondary-school section, and one of her duties was placement of secondary-school students. She was also a member of the National Commission for
Photograph 3. Interview scene at Stella Maris Secondary School

Photograph 4. Interview Scene at Stella Maris Secondary School.
Women in Development and chaired the Education and Training Subcommittee. Her major challenges reflected her dual responsibilities; as a section head, she constantly handled students' discipline and selection issues and had to ensure that parents, students, and supervisors understood her. She had to be fair and impartial, and it was not an easy job:

I deal with different situations that range from bribery to sheer rudeness. Dealing with girls' issues, such as those aimed at promoting girls' education and retention, has been tough. But as a member of the National Commission, I serve on several committees. My main challenge has been chairing the Education and Training Committee, where one of the critical issues we discussed has been promoting girls' education. Through workshops and participation in these committees, I feel that I have made some impact.

Elube was also a member of the group that initiated the GABLE project, organized a seminar to sensitize people on the issues, and secured funding from USAID. She was planning to retire in five to ten years' time, though she felt there was not much that would replace what she was doing:

Life might become empty. I'm not sure that what I'll have will be enough to sustain my state of living. I will lose my freedom of choice--deciding what and how to do things! But my family will be there for me. My husband and children
are beautiful people, though freedom will not always be there.

This interview lasted 1 1/2 hours and took place in her office at the Ministry of Education and Culture Headquarters. The office was neatly stocked with educational materials. On the walls were posted different types of school and vocational and educational information.

**Interviews with Students in Malawi**

In Chapter Three I stated that the aim for interviewing these students was to explore whether students at this level were aware of educational problems that surround girls and women, and to assess whether or not these students had a vision of their future by probing into what they planned to do beyond secondary school and college. I asked them a variety of questions that enabled me to get information about each student's district of origin, best and most difficult subjects, the percentage of girls from their home area who had attained a secondary- and college-level education (and the reasons for this high or low percentage), and their future plans.

I conducted individual interviews with students from Blantyre Teacher training College (BTC) and a group interview with students from Stella Maris Secondary School (SMSS). My first interview was with first-year college students at BTC. It took place on July 23, 1992.
Ten students were interviewed--five women and five men. All came from the Southern Region and were randomly selected. The interview took place in the reading library, which was as big as a standard classroom. The library had empty bookshelves placed around the walls, with tables and chairs placed in the center in a rectangular form. A summary of one of the responses from Tambonani follows.

Coming from Chikwawa District, Tambonani attended Likuni Secondary School but did not complete her secondary education because of social problems. She became pregnant, and eventually got married. After she had three children, she decided to go back to school. Tambonani registered for the MCDE, attended Soche Night Secondary School and got her Junior Certificate (the certificate one gets after two years of secondary school). There were only three women including herself in her night school classes.

It's very difficult for a man to allow his wife to go back to school. Some men understand this problem, but many don't like a woman to leave the house to go back to school. I didn't have problems with my husband, it was his idea to send me back to school.

After studying for a couple of years, she interviewed for a place at a teacher training college and was finally placed at Blantyre Teachers' College. English was her favorite subject, but she had problems with history. To pass it, she studied hard, solicited peer assistance and once in a while sought help from her tutors.
(lecturers). Her five- to ten-year plan was to go back to college to improve her "O" Level grades through home study or by registering with the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE). She would again join a night school as she happily concluded:

I think things are changing in my area. Many women were laughing at me when I was going to school, but now they understand what education is and they're interested. Some have already joined night schools, and I'll definitely study for my MCE (Malawi Certificate Examination, an equivalent of "O" Levels).

While the male students may not have been casualties of discipline problems, some had dropped out because of fees and achievement problems. Some students, both male and female, had managed to get into college education after studying through distance education and others were planning on furthering their academic and professional qualifications through distance education.

First Group Interview

The group comprised two student leaders and two regular students from Stella Maris Secondary School. All were third-year students. The interview took place in the Home Economics room, and it lasted about an hour and a half. The girls looked beautiful in their uniforms--white blouses and deep green skirts, white socks, and black shoes. I took a picture of the students (see photographs 5 and 6).
The aim for interviewing these students was to explore if, at this level, students were aware of educational problems that surround girls and women, and to assess whether these students had a vision of their future.

I asked them some general questions covering district of origin, best and most difficult subject, number of girls from their area (village) who had attained secondary and college education, reasons for high or low numbers of girls who attained secondary education, and their future plans. Interestingly, they came from different districts and regions. Rumphi and Mzimba (Northern Region), Lilongwe, (Central Region), and Mulanje (Southern Region). All but one said the number of girls who attained secondary and college education was low and that most girls dropped out of school due to social problems and lack of fees. Mzimba had the highest number of girls who had attained secondary and college education. The respondent said that 75 percent of the girls from her village had attained secondary school; the percentage for the rest ranged between 5 and 10. Favorite subjects included physical science, mathematics, biology, English, and history. Difficult subjects included Chichewa (national language) and physical science. All girls are interested in pursuing college education in the following fields: Computer science (1), Business Studies (2), and Engineering (1).

Interviews in Dar-es-Salam, Tanzania

The following interviews took place in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, between August 11 and 18. After meeting with the Principal Secretary, I was handed over to the Research and Evaluation Unit for clearance. The section head drafted a memo to her department head, and I had to wait for his response. When I came back the next day, I could not do anything because I had to wait for the section head, who had a commitment at the University. It took two days to get the clearance. I spent the morning chatting with Mr Mwanda. He saved me from boredom and frustration. From him I learned about the changes that the Education system has gone through since independence. A quota system was introduced, the aim of which was to create a balance in the different districts and regions. The quota system was used until 1991, when the system reverted to what it was before Independence--the competitive type, or "survival of the fittest." Standard seven primary-school leaving examinations are used to select students with the highest pass marks for entry to secondary school.

In the afternoon, I asked for some books and reports to read while still waiting for clearance. I was given two documents: Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective Report and Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST). We also discussed alternatives. Instead of beginning to interview people at the Ministry Headquarters, I was given a letter of introduction to go to the Institute for Curriculum Development and Chang’ombe Teacher training College. On August 14, a Friday, I went straight to the
Institute. The deputy principal and most department heads were available. The principal was involved in a two-day estimates meeting at the Ministry Headquarters. As soon as I got to the Institute, I was introduced to the deputy principal. I gave him the letters of introduction from the Ministry of Education and Culture in Tanzania and from the principal secretary in Malawi. I then explained my mission and the group that I wanted to interview—heads of departments. He listed the nine departments that the Institute has, and I randomly selected five departments. He then sent to the heads that I was going to interview a note with an estimated time when each could expect me, though I was not always on time. In addition, he instructed each head to take me to the next person on the list. The arrangement worked very well.

As stated above, the Institute has nine departments: Science and Technology, Social Science, School Equipment (Development Unit), Language and Arts, Research and Planning, Teacher Training, Administration and Finance, Library Services, and Book Development. I interviewed the deputy principal and the heads of Science and Technology, Research and Planning, Teacher Training, Administration and Finance, and Social Science. Each interview lasted between forty minutes and 1 1/2 hours.

My first sample is Hollyn, Head of Guidance and Counseling Unit at the Ministry of Education Headquarters. Hollyn began her professional career as a graduate teacher after obtaining two degrees from the University of Dar-es-Salaam. She then taught at various secondary schools until 1973, when she joined teacher training. In 1978, she joined the Ministry Headquarters. In
addition to the two degrees, Hollyn had various professional
certificates in planning, guidance, administration, and family
planning. Apart from her professional and academic
qualifications, Hollyn enjoyed doing her work:

I have a strong interest in women in development. This
interest has enabled me to do a lot of research in women,
and I know a lot of what is happening in this country. I
have statistics.

She works with six other women, and all are specialized in
different areas, but Hollyn specialized in all the three areas of
her unit--family life, guidance and counseling, and women's
issues.

Her job involved providing guidance in policy formulation,
doing research, informing the Ministry of the Unit's research
findings, and providing counseling and guidance to secondary- and
primary-school students. Her major challenge was determining how
to get her ideas accepted:

My major problem has been acceptance. . . after all, these
are women's issues. They are not very well understood by
men. Pushing ideas forward to get them accepted has been a
big challenge. Secondly, limited financial resources has
delayed implementation of our plans, and thirdly, working as
a group has also been a problem. Organizing workshops for
fellow women has been difficult, especially with the young
women, who have had the tendency not to accept what their
bosses tell them. And on the whole I've been disappointed.
We really have a problem of moving together as women. There
are problems especially with support staff--secretaries and messengers. Women in upper-level positions are positive. They talk about gender issues. Directors too are trying to include women, i.e., in directorship positions.

Despite the challenges and the rather condescending attitude toward the junior members of staff, Hollyn had some success. She was able to organize at least two seminars every year. She selected topics to be covered and nominated resource persons. Her five- to ten-year plan was to conduct as many seminars as she could to sensitize policy-makers and administrators--"those who have power in decision-making." She wished to convince them that "women are partners, not challengers. As long as they don't trust us, we can't move fast enough." Her third plan was to find financial support in order to conduct more seminars and workshops that would give women an opportunity to gain [or] acquire management skills for decision-making and conflict resolution, [and] enable women to move out of the lack-of-confidence cocoon. The majority of policy-makers think women are weak, that women cannot withstand pressure. They speak for us, why can't we speak on our own? [Also], try to convince management, ultimately the whole society, to accept women in rare professions. This means sensitizing women as well. Girls are afraid of mathematics and science subjects. We need to convince them that girls can do anything their brothers can do, and do research to check as to why we are
not doing as well. Research gives you information on why, and the data can be used to convince management.

The Staff Meeting

The staff meeting was held at Chang’ombe teachers’ college in the staff common room. It was a huge space, the size of a classroom. As I entered, one of the things that caught my eye was the students’ pictures posted on the bulletin boards and mailboxes; another was the sitting arrangement, which I tried to capture (see photograph No. 6). There were more women than men. Most of the women sat in the outer row, by the windows. On the right was a single row that was more mixed than the two on the opposite side, those by the windows. There were three tables in the middle, one table close to the south side of the room where the DPL, the secretary, and I were sitting. There were thirty people at the meeting, including myself.

The meeting was conducted in Kiswahili, so all I did was observe the group interaction: who talked, who laughed, when did the group laugh, and what the group was doing. Almost everybody was listening, except for one woman who was busy reading a book. Though language was a barrier for me, I was able to tell when a good point was made through the group support which came in the form of nodding and clapping. I was also able to tell that the meeting was enjoyable by the group laughter. Maybe the people who spoke were funny. I was in this meeting for about thirty minutes, during which four men spoke, including the DPL. I was the only woman who spoke during the time that I was in the meeting. I was
asked by the DPL to say something, so I introduced myself and told
the group the purpose of my visit. The DPL commented that they
were a democratic group, anticipating problems, discussing
possible solutions, and in general taking a proactive stance.
Exhibit 2 shows the room where the meeting was held, some posters
and the staff members.

Second Group Interview

My final interview at Chang’ombe was with Hassan, Abibi and
Maya, one man and two women. A third woman, Moira, joined us a
draw few minutes after we had started. Hassan was a lecturer in
Kiswahili and education, and Abibi, head of the Kiswahili
Department, also taught Kiswahili and education. Maya, head of
the Mathematics Department, taught mathematics and education. I
did not get details about Moira. She was the secretary of the
meeting and came third in the hierarchy.

The group was randomly selected. Due to time constraints,
after introductions we went straight into a discussion of factors
that promote and hinder utilization of African women in
educational leadership positions. The group highlighted several
factors, the first of which was societal expectations. Members
explained that in rural areas people still believe that the
woman’s place is in the home. Depending on the educational level
of the family, early marriage may be encouraged due to the bridal
price. In such a situation, the woman is expected to be a full-
time housewife. The second factor we discussed was that of
religion. The group pointed out that certain religious groups, the Moslems for instance, believe that a woman cannot be a leader.

President Mwinyi's picture

Sideboard/Picture frame
Mailboxes

Figure 5

Staff Meeting Plan:
Chang'ombe TTC, August 18, 1992
Photograph 7. Staff Meeting, Chang'ombe Teachers' College
Finally, the group brought up men's attitudes. "Men are not happy to see a wife advancing. They feel inferior, and become afraid of losing their wife," one participant stated. Despite these hindering factors, some women had attained leadership positions because of parental support, encouragement from husbands or parents, and their own determination, which may have resulted from hardship, encouragement, or both. Two women illustrated their experiences with personal stories which will be included in the next section.

I learned that most of the women at this college were married, that the husbands worked in the city, and that Chang'ombe was the only college in Dar-es-Salaam that offered a diploma program. Most of the tutors were graduates, though there was a need for more qualified people.

The interview had to be cut short when my ride to the airport arrived. My friends Antonia and Tinge Tingitana drove me to the airport, where I would begin my journey back to Malawi. Five days later, after a quick goodbye to the Ministry of Education and Culture officials, the training officers at the Department of Personnel Management and Training, those at the USAID office in Malawi, and my children and relatives, I left for the United States to complete my program of study.

From one of the responses above it appears that a lot more is required of a woman in order for her to be considered, since men with equal qualifications may be promoted to senior positions faster than women. If a woman has no vision, ambition, or
willpower, it is doubtful that she would be able to attain very much due to her multi-responsibilities and roles. Those of us still lagging behind need to learn from the examples of the few positive role models that we have, and we need to realize that not all men are against having women in educational leadership positions. The issue is how women will manage with all the responsibilities that surround them. Faced with these barriers, how does one explain the process that those women who are now in educational leadership positions have gone through? What were their driving forces?

Women Role Models Tell Their Stories

Martha, Acting Principal of a Teachers’ Training College was selected for Chancellor College at the University of Malawi, where she graduated with a Bachelor of Social Science degree. She joined the teaching field, taught for a few years, was promoted to school inspector after a successful interview, and was posted to the Ministry of Education and Culture as a History Inspector. Between 1987 and 1989 she was at Bristol University studying for her master’s in Education. When she returned to Malawi, she was posted to Lilongwe Teachers College as Acting Principal while the incumbent of the post pursued her doctorate in the United States.

As acting Principal, Martha’s major challenges were “financial constraints and keeping the college running when everything was falling apart.” Martha’s most frustrating experience was that people seemed blind to the problems and, as she stated, “pretend not to know anything when I confront them.” Due to budget cuts, certain “budget items had to be cut off,
including food. Fruit and chicken menus had to be removed, except for Graduation Day," she stated. Her other frustration came from the unfairness of the system. Women prospects are not there. Three men who were behind me are Principal Secretaries, P2, while I am still at P7 grade. In 1990, I got a job with the United Nations, but was told under no circumstances could I be released. . . . In reality people should be looking at what people have got, but this doesn’t always happen. You tend to think at times that you’re wasting time with education. Sometimes I ask, Is it (education) worth it? However, I personally don’t regret.

When you cannot contribute effectively, learn to adapt. I never dreamt of becoming an administrator, but here I am . . .

Commenting on the role of society on her achievement she pointed out,

The church and parents have greatly contributed. My father was an educator. He ended up as education secretary. We weren’t lacking, we had books. He was a model. He gave equal opportunity to all children. But the rest of the community around us was discouraging. I had to go through comments like "Mwana wamkazi azipitanso kuti osakwatiwa?" [Why should a girl pursue formal education? She should get married.] My mother told them, "I want all my girls to go to school"--and my parents sent us all to school, they educated us. Fortunately for us, we didn’t grow up in a village
situations. We moved from one mission to another. Even in that situation, there was a limit. For instance, a girl was expected to attain a school leaving certificate. To go beyond was unexpected of a girl. . . . The belief was that a girl should get married, should go to chinamwali (initiation ceremony), many don't see the value of educating girls. Instead of seeing me as a model, people around my community which is predominantly Moslem, used to say, "Amzathu biti uje ndi Azungu" [our friends are Europeans, they're not like us].

Most communities consider form 4 (school leaving year) to be highest level. They believe standard III is high enough. Beyond that, stories of infertility begin to circulate. After I graduated from college, got married and had my children, people in my area didn't believe I was the same person as they asked, "Mwanacheju jwenu?" [Is this baby really yours?] As a woman, one must bear children and contribute to national population explosion, not waste time with formal education.

Talking about the challenges she had come up against in her career Martha stated:

I was pregnant when I attended interviews for the position of school inspector. One member literally commented, "A inspector 'a Chikazi, mimba ili kuno" [A pregnant woman inspector]. They expected me to be a failure. I was forced
upon the men’s group. There were only two women inspectors then. The other one was the English Inspector. They expected us to be absent, to give excuses, but that never happened.

Then came the time when I had to go write TOEFL for the Humphrey Fellowship Program. We had to find our own accommodation in Zomba ... My colleague was not in favor of the idea. She told her husband, who happened to have been in a senior position within the civil service, about the lack of accommodation. He called the Ministry to discuss the issue ... The next thing I heard from my boss was, “This is why I didn’t want women in my section ...” But then I responded, Is there a time that my sex hindered my performance?” He did not respond.

Finally, I had been considered for financial management training by the Personnel Management and Training office. But when time came for my authorities to respond, I was told I could not be considered by my Ministry because I had been to the United States, United Kingdom, and to other places, and they said, “She has done management, she has these certificates ... she’s overqualified!” The Ministry tends to say, We have had it the tough way, why should she have it the easy way?
But I keep moving. I'll show them I don't get put off easily. In spite of all the problems, I'm coping with the situation. If you give up, that's what they expect of you.

Don't give the menfolk a loophole: if placed in a position of responsibility, do it. Do your work. Tend to family next. I had to tell some women who have had too many excuses during block teaching practice that they were letting me down... 

Her five- to ten-year plan was to retire and look for a different job. (Martha was promoted to a P5 grade in 1993.)

Our interview was held in her office and it lasted 1 1/2 hours. The office was carpeted and well furnished. It had an executive desk and chair for the principal, a sofa set for visitors, a coffee table, three standard chairs for daily routine use by people who come and go, and three to four table trays. On the wall to the right as you entered the office were posted picture frames of students and staff members. Behind her desk were a picture of the president of the country, artificial flowers, and a bulletin board with staff housing information. On the immediate right and left side walls were bulletin boards with different information: college activities, students' performances, and general information. This college was built in 1971 by the government and could be much improved through renovations and better upkeep.
Within the college premises were housed the Malawi Special Teacher training Program (MASTEP) central offices, the demonstration school, staff houses, and their fields.

The women from Tanzania had similar stories to tell. The stories ranged from those told by women who had been given marginal positions to those told by others who, having been placed in very senior positions, felt that they could easily be demoted if they failed to dance to the tune of the men who had appointed them. Listen to some of the stories, beginning with that from Nana.

I think the major mistake we’re making here. . . [I’m] sorry to call it a mistake, but I think something that people from other countries don’t understand is why certain posts are not advertised, are not competitive, are not substantive. . . because if we had substantive posts, and everybody tried to compete, to apply, then you’d make yourself available; you’d take up the challenge yourself. But those [director level] posts are not substantive. Somebody picks, somebody says so-and-so will be director. . . You’re just given the post. So, you’re expected to cope. If you don’t dance to the tune, just as you came, you’ll be demoted. So this is the danger. As for us in the lower posts, maybe we won’t regret [it] as much, because it’s not even announced, but those big posts, ah! they’re kind of political. But that’s only in the government. In other organizations, companies, parastatals, we always see the post advertised.
The above response was given as an elaboration of an explanation regarding women who held directorship positions. So far only two women had been appointed to the directorship level in the Ministry. It was not clear how they were appointed, and in the same fuzzy style, they disappeared.

In the mid-1980's the first woman director was appointed. I saw her; she was able, confident, and we all congratulated her. I saw her struggle from the beginning. . . she worked for three, four years and all of a suddenly she was demoted. . . demoted, we didn't even know why. . . but just as she was appointed, she was demoted, and nobody knows, we don't know up to now, why. . . And there was somebody who was hired. It was in the coverage of major reshuffles that were taking place in the Ministry. But how could anyone really, in the major reshuffle, take the woman out? But in that guise, she was demoted.

Two to three months later, another woman was appointed, in the same department. And we said, "Ah! Ah! This is not bad--because she also came from. . . the department." She worked with us for a long time. She was appointed Director in 1988 and worked 'til last year, no, early this year. She was just demoted. . . just like that, and a man replaced her. And so, for us, if you see only one director for many years, and then you don't see another one, then you see one demoted, and another one demoted again, what is that? Who would like to be tossed around like that? And then, why only
women, why?... Why, because we know some of the male
directors... make blunders, but are not tossed around like
that... So, for us women, when we see someone happy, we
simply say O.K., let her try... if she goes, fine, if she
is demoted then we know we're not wanted.

Because of multi-responsibilities, women need advance
planning, and work well in institutions that do not unnecessarily
change long-term plans, though some decision-makers take advantage
of this. Nana shares her story:

O.K., you began by asking me what my qualifications are.
... if somebody has the qualifications... why, why
shouldn't you do justice? If somebody can do the job, just
give it to her or him regardless of sex. But, I tell you,
when I went for my studies in Britain... there was a
training program, there is a training program, but every
year it used to change. You look at it, you say, O.K., next
year maybe I'll be considered because I'm close... 
then they'd change and reshuffle it... I went to my
director and said, "What is all this?" [Laughter] He said,
"Oh, no! But this is just a tentative program!" I said
"O.K., it's a tentative program, but you're giving some
people hope. You should make it available to everybody so
that people can plan their lives."

I told him, I'm a woman, if I want to have a baby, I need to
plan. If I want to go for further studies, I have to plan.
Therefore, if you keep changing like this you want me to miss the opportunity. And then he said, "Oh, O.K.!" And then my time came. I went and said, "I'm ready to go this year. You know what he said? "Is your husband going to allow you?" I said, "What? That has nothing to do with you. I've my degree, I've my file, I've my rights, I've everything. Why talk about my husband? Releasing me is my own issue. I'm going to discuss it with him, but I'm ready to go this year!" And I got it [laughter]. Because if you don't make your position clear, people will just conclude that [you] aren't interested. . . and will say, these women, you give them a post, they're not capable. You know they try to think for us, they don't give us the chance. . . to express ourselves, to tell them we are able or that we are not able, and they don't even test us. . . They make decisions for us, or on our behalf, while we're here. It's so interesting.

Then came the establishment of a women's unit in every Ministry. One member of Parliament, who happened to be a woman, raised an issue on the status of women in this Ministry [MOE]. She wanted the Ministry to encourage it and to really encourage the activities. So she wanted some answers. When we came back to discuss the issues and answers. . . I was the only woman in the whole meeting. . . I was at the corner, recording the discussion, because I am not a director. All the people were at director level,
all the top cream at the Ministry. And when they came to
this issue, people wanted to get a real satisfactory answer.
.. otherwise the estimates would not go through. So, they
started looking at me. Hey, who can give us the answer?
What can we tell this MP? And they were just stretching
their heads looking at me and I said, ‘What is happening?’
.. because I’m not part of the discussion group,’ but then
they wanted me to react, they wanted my input, and the issue
was whether this section was really needed in the Ministry,
whether the women’s section was necessary or not. So then I
came in, because most of the directors didn’t want it to be
included. They said, what are they [women] going to do
there? These women are just forcing issues. There’s
nothing, there’s no issue at all to be dealt with by the
whole section [to necessitate establishment of a unit].

Then I said, no, this is important. If you want my
contribution, this is an important section. It must be here
as a focal point which would fit the Ministry of Women,
Community Development and Children’s Affairs. I said this
because they were arguing that we have the whole Ministry
and we should send our complaints to that Ministry. Then I
said, but how can we go to that Ministry? We have to have a
section which would liaise with that Ministry. It’s a focal
point, and every Ministry is supposed to have such a unit so
that it handles issues, our own issues pertaining to
education and then we can feed that Ministry. “Ah no,
that's not important!" one director said. And I said it's important. If you refuse, you just refuse for the sake of it, but I'm telling you it's an important unit to be encouraged [established].

And then the director for Administration said, "Ah, you know, I think she's right, because although that Ministry is there, we're supposed to deal with our own issues here, because those people cannot deal with everything." And he said, "Please, my colleagues, you should know that these are hot issues, and we cannot just brush them around, because two weeks ago, there was a delegation, visitors from the United States. . . escorted by an official from the Ministry of Manpower and Administration, [who] visited my office. When these people came to my office, they wanted to know the status of women in the Ministry of Education. Yes, they wanted to know the position of women in this Ministry. They gave me one week to submit the information." Then I said, "Why do you want the data from here?" They said, "if we don't get it from you, don't think we don't know the situation in Tanzania. We know it." I knew these people were serious because they had that data, but they wanted to get it from us. They were serious, and they gave us one week to work on it. . . it's not an issue to be brushed aside. And I was happy.

Should it take all that struggle?
I know... in the past they used to say women are not educated enough. [Men] were ahead of us in everything, at every level. But slowly women went to universities. When they got their first degrees, [men] thought no woman would get a master's degree, and again, they saw that more and more women went for master's degrees. Then they said, "Oh, we should now aim higher, Ph.D.'s." There are so many women going for Ph.D.'s now. O.K., here in this Ministry we have three women with Ph.D.'s, three! And another one is in the Ministry of Higher Education, just like that. And now they say "Ah, these women, they just want to compete with us." But this is reality. Women are able, and it's because they're denied opportunities...

Actually my friend's husband made a similar observation this afternoon. He said that many more women within his age-group are pursuing Ph.D.'s than men. It's as if women have reached a different level of understanding; maybe they have a different commitment now--there's so much determination, and women are doing it. Despite their determination, women's aspirations are hampered by decisions that are made without their involvement, by the job environment, and by the glass ceiling, an invisible barrier.

But the unfortunate thing is that, when they come out of the administration level and go for their Ph.D.'s, upon their return, women are not given their posts back. So they [men] tell them [women], "Ah, you've a Ph.D., why don't you go teach at the University?" And this--I hate this... why do
you make a choice for someone? I know where I want to be, so why should you choose for me, tell me to go to the university? Why? So this is what's happening. They're trying to discourage everybody who's going for further studies. . . but surely for people who are determined, they hang on [laughter]. . . that's the spirit, to hang on! They are threatened. . . that's the issue. When it comes from a woman, it's shaky. . . You know what they will say, she's frustrated. Now they try everything to frustrate you. But these women are happy--they're happily married, they have children, they are well educated, they have a job, why should they be frustrated? . . . The job environment frustrates us.

Aisha's story, highlights the struggles that she went through to get to her position. She was head of the personnel and finance department. Her desire for better educational and professional qualifications, and for a better job, earned her the title "rebellious woman" and affected her marriage in some ways. When Aisha completed her form 4 in 1972, she joined Dar-es-Salaam (DSM) National Teacher Education College, and graduated with a Grade 3 Teacher Certificate two years later. She taught in primary schools until 1980, when she joined the Mzumbe Institute of Development and Management to pursue a three-year Advanced Diploma in Public Administration. After completing the program successfully, she was employed by the Ministry of Energy as Manpower Management Officer, Grade 3. She did not stay for long because, in order to follow her husband, she had to transfer to
the Thanga Regional Development Director's Office. In 1986 she transferred to Mwanza Vocational Training Center to fill a Grade 2 post. From 1988 to 1990, Aisha went back to Mzumbe Institute to pursue a master's degree in public administration. When she graduated, she went back to work at the Vocational Training Center until 1992, when she successfully interviewed for the post of Finance Administrator for the Institute. She was hired on secondment--after one year, if she was satisfied with what she was doing, she would decide to continue working and be confirmed. At the time of the interview, Aisha had worked for the Institute for Curriculum Development since April 1992.

She talked about marital commitment as a socio-cultural factor that hinders women's advancement and how she persistently fought against societal expectations of a woman. Her determination and persistence to advance led to her separation with her husband and being labelled "a rebellious woman".

After I completed my Advanced Diploma in Management program, I was employed as Manpower Management Officer, Grade 3, by the Ministry of Energy. I didn't stay long--I transferred to another area, following my husband. Two years later, I transferred again. Between 1988 and 1990, I went back to college, where I graduated with a master's degree in public administration. I went back to my previous organization. In 1992, I applied for the position of Finance Administrator that had been advertised by the Institute of Curriculum Development. I successfully interviewed for the position and got hired on secondment. If the service satisfies me,
and if I'm still interested, I'll be confirmed and will continue to work here.

Men have a certain fear of the unknown. Married women have not aspired to those “leadership” positions. Husbands... discourage them, and women have accepted the way they are. A woman graduate was discouraged by her husband. The husband is head of the family, she refused to take up a leadership position, because her husband told her so. Once married, men don't want women to take up leadership positions.

Asked to explain her challenges, Aisha ascribed them to the African culture:

The African culture, the social structure in the African society, sets the position of a woman to be inferior to that of a man. Even though you make good decisions, people disregard them because they come from a woman. The prejudices are still inherent. Male obstacle has not yet disappeared. But I'm not discouraged by my colleagues—[either] male [or] female--I feel that while male colleagues can respect a female leader, female colleagues tend to be more difficult.

The second problem had to do with the fact that she was married. Rules governed by society contend that a married woman is supposed to follow her husband. If he transfers, you are
supposed to follow him. . . but you have to be aggressive at times. I decided to apply for a job that was to meet my educational and professional needs. My husband was against the idea. I had to put my foot down. He was still against my coming to attend the interview, but eventually I came. After dialogue and discussion, he allowed me to come. We are separated because he has not yet joined me. My decision threatened my marriage badly. But now, he has come to grips with the idea. He is soliciting his transfer. Following husbands disturbs your records. . . Society categorizes me as a rebellious woman.

The third challenge had to do with the fact that senior positions required "a lot of time at the office." "We’ve a dual role, working in the office to supplement the family income; but more hours spent at the office means sacrificing family life," she pointed out.

Encouragement from parents who were her role models, and lecturers helped Aisha succeed, I emulated my parents, my mother was a teacher, and my father was a district officer...I was the only woman in my Master of Education class. There were three women lecturers who encouraged me and provided me with counseling. However, it’s high time women fought for recognition of what they’re doing and not equal rights--some fight for equal rights. I don’t fight for that, but recognition. For instance, here I am doing my work; I should be recognized for what I’m doing,
Photograph 8. Aisha's Office:
“The Blood of Jesus Cleans Us All”
even for the work that I do at home. Those in higher leadership positions should encourage those at the bottom.

She had two children. One was in form 2 (grade 9) and the second one was in standard 1 (grade 1). Her five- to ten-year plan was to advance further: "I plan to climb even higher in my career ladder. If I strive hard, and am exposed to appropriate channels, I can advance."

Our interview lasted about 1 1/2 hours. It took place in her office, a large, well-kept room with a bookshelf, notice board, cartoon, a water basin placed on a wooden stand, a table that she used, three chairs, curtains, a working telephone (which rang soon after we began the interview), and a poster on the wall with the words, "The Blood of Jesus Christ cleans us of all sins" (see photograph No. 5).

My third story came from Mona, the woman who broke the traditional pattern of arranged marriages because of her determination to move on to the university level. Confidence and sacrifice are what made her successful in her organization.

Men--society--don't regard women as people who can perform anything better so as to excel in their future life. As a result, girls are just there, trying to beautify themselves so that they get a better somebody to take care of them. I think that's the main issue. Even those who drop out during their "O" Level studies, you know, they're teenagers. . . That's the time when they really get into trouble and, with
less encouragement, that’s when they really drop out. So society does not value girls’ education, and parents do not encourage girls.

How did you manage to go beyond “A” Level stage, having grown up in that very society that does not value girls’ education?

I count myself to be lucky. I’m the only child in my family. Later my father got married to another woman, and he got two daughters. . . So, we were three girls; my mother had only me. She used to encourage me. I really thank my mother for that; and luckily for me, I went to a mission school during my middle-school days. That’s where I got encouragement from the Catholic sisters, the nuns. When my performance was good, they encouraged me . . . reinforced my interest and motivation. At home my grandfather had already received some people’s property as dowry [laughter]. So I wanted to challenge him, [to say] that I don’t want the man. . . he had chosen for me. So, I think those are the things which made me keep on pushing. When I was in form 4, doing my “O” Levels, that’s when my grandfather decided to return the people’s property, saying, because your daughter seems to be a bookworm, she’s bookish, she’s not a woman. She wants to compete with men. They thought that maybe after form 4, I’d get pregnant, but I just continued.

What was the relationship with your grandfather after you proved that you wanted to pursue further education?
He didn’t show it directly to me, and he was very friendly with me. But it was his sons and daughters—I don’t know how to explain this... Anyway, his sons went to school, all of them. His daughters never went to school. So he was doing the same with the grandchildren. Only boys were sent to school, but not girls. I have sisters [cousins], my uncles’ daughters, they all have not gone to school. I was the first one in that family to go to school, and it’s the sisters [nuns] who really helped me, because I went to a boarding middle school immediately after standard 4, and I was not of age. I think I was around 13 and I was not home most of the time. They only saw me during vacation and by the time I completed standard 8, I was not keen on going back home. And I passed well, studied for my "A" Levels and... I... didn’t show that I wanted to go back home. That’s when they left me alone to continue.

Now that you’re working in this Ministry, what are your challenges?

That’s a good question. As a married woman, I have a husband and my children. I’ve four children. I’ve a boss in the office, I’ve a boss at home. I have to take care of my children, and... my work requires me to travel a lot, and sometimes I’m in the office ’til late hours. When I get home I have to explain. You know that man [her husband] will not accept my explanation all the time, but ask, “what
type of job are you doing? Are you paid overtime?" But I
don't get paid overtime, I have to do the work. So it's
just that spirit that I have to do this work just like men
are doing. . . . although I am a woman, my conscience tells
me that I have to do this job, because I can do it, if I do
it this time. So, for me, even if my husband becomes
furious, I don't regret [it], and I don't get annoyed,
because I've understood that that's the way men are, they
don't want you to do extra work [in the office]. But when
he is late, there's nothing wrong, I don't ask him, I don't
do anything. When I'm late that's when the problems come. .
. I give him reasons why I'm late, [but] if he becomes
furious, I just leave it to him to do whatever he wants.
So, it's just that spirit of doing what I think is proper
for my work that keeps me going. . . otherwise, it is really
difficult.

What advice do you have for women who aspire to these leadership
positions?

First of all, tolerance. If a woman is not tolerant, then
leadership won't be the type of thing or kind of line she
should follow, [since she has] to sacrifice a lot of things.
You sacrifice time, you sacrifice even your family in order
to perform your job well. So I think tolerance is the best.
You have to tolerate a lot of people from your home up to
the office. . . and women, we're known for being impatient;
that is one factor which people normally overlook. . .
because when your fellow workers in the same position might tease you, saying, "Ah, you're doing this"... then you say, "Ah! You're saying this because I'm a woman"... that is a reaction which is bad. I don't like it. Don't keep on feeling inferior because you're a woman. So, tolerance, sacrifice and confidence is okay. If you're confident with what you're doing, a lot of things can be performed well.

Commenting about women in general, she continued,
Looking at the women themselves, some are not courageous enough; they lack self-confidence. When they meet challenges, they give up. They easily despair due to societal attitudes. But for me, I emulated my parents. My mother was a teacher and my father was a district officer. They both encouraged me to go to school. They didn't hamper me in any way. But it took a lot of courage and determination to convince my husband, as explained earlier.

What advice do you have for those women who aspire to educational leadership positions?

I'd encourage them to push and make sure they gain what they... think is correct. They shouldn't be reticent. They should try to make themselves available, be open. But being a leader is a big challenge, and it means that people must be prepared to work pretty hard and dedicate themselves to whatever is available to them...
Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 has concentrated on the representative sample participants’ educational and professional background, future plans, problems experienced during the past two-year period, and solutions or strategies used to manage those problems. In addition, it has discussed the role of society, introduced some issues and factors that will be discussed in later chapters, and presented African role models' stories of struggle and success.
CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

To many nonindustrialized countries, education is synonymous with modernization and development. Being formally educated means being able to speak the language of power--English. It also means the opportunity to be hired in well-paying jobs, since the higher the educational and professional qualifications, the greater the opportunities. So, most of the respondents who are principals, deputy principals, heads of departments, and university and teachers' training college lecturers were not hesitant to point out that without their formal education they could not have moved up the promotion ladder. Education enables them to make informed decisions.

This chapter deals with the following questions: To what extent has education contributed to your success? How might it have hindered your advancement?

Girl education is also given special consideration through the following supplementary questions: What percentage of girls from your area attained secondary and tertiary education? What do you think are the factors that contribute to the high or low percentage of the girls that attain secondary and college level education? Responses from both female and male respondents are presented.
Quite considerably. You can't be principal of a Teachers' Training College without adequate education. So to be where I am, there's been a lot of educational contribution.

I think a lot, because my background in terms of education... hasn't been very sharp... I haven't had persons who'd literally lead me, direct me, or advise me in terms of education. So I've a feeling that my going to school has resulted in my present abilities, 'cause most of the skills I got from schools and colleges.

I'd say that through the in-service education and seminars I've experienced quite a lot in the position which I am. As I said earlier, I only trained as a secondary school teacher, but here I'm... senior producer doing radio programs. I've not gone out to train as a broadcaster or someone who's a radio producer; I've gained experience while on the job... I've trained on the job through seminars and short in-service courses, they've been quite a great help.

Well, it has helped greatly because the people I'm dealing with are more or less slightly below my level of education; as a result, they give that sort of respect to me...

To a great extent. Without education I wouldn't be here. Education plus experience here and there, like getting involved in examinations, national exams, I think that has
somehow exposed me so that... it has helped me to be where I am.

I feel education has contributed a lot to my being where I am now because... in the civil service now there's this policy of... promoting people to a higher position because of... educational qualifications... since I have a Diploma in Business Studies, experience and... on-the-job training. I think education has done quite a lot...

I suppose it has to a large extent because I know in many schools they will appoint a head of department if they've seen a certain quality in that person.

And what is the quality they saw in you?

It could be the qualifications I have. I may have a higher qualification than the other members in the department. There are only two who have degrees. The others are diploma teachers, and others... On the other hand, it may be because I showed some leadership abilities...

The first three quotes were from men while the rest were from women. Both men and women who felt education had contributed positively to their success, cited such enabling factors as family background, access, and missionary influence as having had a positive effect as testified by the following woman:

Without my education I wouldn't have been able to cope with what I'm expected to do in school. First in teaching I must be knowledgeable about my subjects and I must have some knowledge to run the school as well as to handle certain
situations. So, I feel that what I studied at college and what I experienced living with people with different backgrounds and of different experiences also helped me. And now with the experience I have with people from different fields also helps me in my work.

Similarly, Mwango, Head of Foundation Studies at one of the teachers' colleges explained that while many people from his village were educated, "the women lagged behind". Mwango got his Diploma in Science Education from the University of Reading in the United Kingdom, (UK). He attended a Curriculum Development course in 1980 and joined a teachers' training college in 1981. He also had an Advanced Diploma in Education.

Koma mudzi uja ndi waanthu ophunzira (There are many formally educated people in that village). Many girls have gone up to college level though the religiously minded ones. . . ended up being nuns. We had a Catholic mission school within the village, it offered classes up to senior classes, (middle school) and we had a CCAP (Church of Central Africa Presbyeterian) school nearby. A number of parents had been to school and managed to educate their children. My village has many highly educated people though women lag behind. My family contributed a lot to my education. My parents paid fees, encouraged me to go to school. I was about to fail, (when we moved to a different area) but my father sacrificed...we came back to the catholic school, and then my uncles, brothers all encouraged me to go to school. they
used to give me a bike ride to school. The church too helped me.

Apart from the students, who answered a different question, and one department head, who said “It is difficult to assess,” all the respondents felt that education had contributed to their being where they are now, despite experiencing some frustration with the system at one time or another, as testified by one respondent:

Apparent areas of frustration have always been there. Let me say I haven’t been frustrated, but as you go up you find senior officers derailing you so that you can’t achieve your aspirations. If things are created on purpose to discredit an individual, you feel frustrated. Office politics tend to hinder one’s progress.

Might Education Have Hindered Respondents’ Advancement?

While most respondents (both male and female) were quick to talk about the positive contribution of education, they had problems responding to the question, “How has education hindered your advancement?”

I don’t think it has at all. Perhaps... for situations outside education. For example, what I seem to be noticing [is that] people that spent less time on education tend to have large families.
Perhaps I could have been more useful as a person with my natural abilities, which now I haven't been able to exploit, that sort of thing. Maybe I could have been more useful elsewhere than what I'm doing now. Perhaps it's because of education that I've been directed to what I'm doing now.

It has hindered me because every now and then I have to sort of apply to go "for further education." This was even right at the beginning when I was teaching at secondary school. In fact, every now and then, when I have applied to go back to college, the Ministry hasn't given me that opportunity. So, that way, I haven't succeeded.

You're right. I'd say it's education that has hindered me. It could be my personality. Because in terms of my education, I think it is not at par with the job I'm doing now and I wouldn't say I'm quite satisfied. I believe I could do a little more than I'm doing now.

What exactly do you mean? Could you elaborate?

It could be a hindrance in the sense that--and here I'm not trying to be prejudiced or what--but it might be just my impression or just a theory that when you are educated as a woman, you could be a threat and the world will try to look down on you as much as possible... so you don't actually exert all the possible signs of being more capable than you are. I'd say education would be a hindrance and you could
say sometimes that education doesn't really matter in terms of what you can acquire in terms of positions.

Well, I'd say it hasn't really hindered as such, but of course I should add . . . that we're in times when competition is very stiff and everyone wants to go up. Therefore, one has got to be prepared to face that challenge through competition . . . and it's . . . how you face the competition.

Since the promotion was said to be based on educational status--but I feel this hasn't been followed as promised--we're still competing with those people who don't have diplomas at all, so I think education hasn't contributed to my promotion to the position I have. Many men are at par with me, but they don't have diplomas.

No, it hasn't hindered me, but sometimes, perhaps, I'm unfortunate in other ways. But it hasn't hindered me.

I don't think education hindered my advancement professionally, as well as educationally. Well, in a slight way, in a sense that when I felt I was due for promotion, I found myself out for further studies, but I didn't think that was a hindrance. It was in some way an opportunity and a challenge, because leadership required people who are pretty well versed in their fields, and achievement in
higher grade does hold potential for future appointment to higher levels of administration.

I’d say to the extent that things like promotions for a long time have been based on academic qualifications, whereas in other areas or fields people are promoted on the basis of their competence. For example, in general administration, but in this area of research, statistics, etc., you have to have the necessary academic qualification if you want to be considered; and of course you must produce, you must write papers, publish, because without that—no promotion.

As far as the education sector is concerned, there’s really little or no advancement, because when the posts are there, they’re so limited that very few people are chosen. I don’t know the criteria they use, but I’ve been to several interviews—in most cases feeling that I’ve done very well, hoping I’d be “hired for the senior position,” but in the end finding that I haven’t been taken at all. But it doesn’t mean it’s because I’m not qualified. I am. Maybe there are certain considerations. . . maybe because I’m a woman. . . maybe because I’m married.

Did you try to find out why you were not taken?

In two cases I tried to find out and somebody in confidence told me, “you did very well.” This happened twice. Later
they told me it's because I'm married. I was the only woman interviewing for the position.

Commenting on the role of education in promoting girls' and women's advancement, Joel said,

I think the whole system (MOE) should have a fresh look at the place of women in our educational system. We must encourage as many females as possible to take leadership positions, and this can start with us as curriculum developers. The type of materials we're developing should be gender-sensitive and encourage people to know that these women are not just in the background. We have already started this sort of thing, [we now] make sure that our illustrations do not just show boys, but show boys and girls working together... the girls are taking an active part. This will help in the formulation of better attitudes toward women, encouraging women to become active participants.

At school level, we were discussing the other day that we must not entertain the segregation--where girls sit on one side and boys on another. Let them mix, because life is not like that. When they are in their rooms, they just mingle, and why don't we just mix them? So, this is the sort of attitude that I have myself, and I've been encouraging it. I'll tell you an experience I've had at this place and elsewhere. When we have a get-together, you find that most
of the women like to segregate themselves, or they sit together all alone when it is an occasion when they should chat and find out more from other people—mix. It's very difficult, you know. Maybe it's culturally built in them, but the younger generation is slightly different. My daughter, for example, is now a final-year student at Chancellor College. You see, she's different. She'll chat and go to this one, and she's with a man there, a lady there, a boy there, you see? She has a different outlook. I guess she's going through the transitional period.

As respondents commented on the role of education, many pointed out how the curriculum had affected girls and women negatively. Prescribed subject streaming or grouping resulted in girls and women taking home economics and biology instead of such mathematical subjects as woodwork, technical drawing and others. Subject grouping encouraged girls to choose the softer sciences such as general science instead of physics and chemistry. Choice of subjects, sitting arrangements, teachers' and fellow students' comments in class, practical assignments, grouping by gender... boys do a lot, girls withdraw due to negative attitudes. If girls try hard, they get ridiculed, inunso ndani (what do you want to be) and so on.

Fifty-three people answered the first question, and fifty-one people or 96 percent felt that education has had a positive impact on their attainment. Of the remaining two, one was unsure
if education had contributed to his achievement, and the other one felt the way he had been taught had led to his having problems during the first two to three years of his teaching. Responses to the second question were interesting and often indirect. Most respondents began by saying, "I don't think education has hindered my advancement," then they began to talk about possible ways it might have contributed. A good number of the respondents felt that education itself had not blocked their advancement, but that the system had.

Talking about girls' education in general, most respondents said that not many girls from their area had attained a good education. Most girls may have attained the first five years of primary school, but not many completed the primary school cycle and a much lower percentage proceeded to the secondary school level. Hindering factors that were cited included socio-economic level, lack of support and motivation, the education system itself, and distance. Following are some responses to the question, "What percentage of girls from your area attained secondary education?"

That’s a difficult question. If I’d just guess and that’s not very helpful. . . Now what I can say is. . . my original home is Likoma and in the mid ‘50s we shifted to Nkhotakota. On the Island, I’d rate the percentage as quite high, whereas where we’re now the percentage is very low. It’s largely a Moslem community and its only recently that they’ve started to encourage and send their children to school

". . . it’s a very big problem. I’d say as of now, I know about 2 only", said another man.

Education has contributed to my achievement. However, not many girls have gone beyond (the) primary school leaving level due to financial problems. The village people have no
money. They're very poor in my village. They can't afford to send their children to school, and I would say ignorance too. Schools are very far away, if there could have been one near, I think many people would be encouraged to send their children to school and I think the children would be encouraged to learn. Women too would be going to school... and with 'educated' women we can educate the whole nation. If funds were available, I'd encourage everyone.

Looking at the primary school enrollments, one notices that in the first year the percentage of girls is about 48 and boys 52, but from standard 2, the percentage begins to decline and by the time they get to standard 8 (8th grade), girls account for 33 percent or less. What do you think are the factors that contribute to the high dropout rate for the girls?

Rather difficult to say especially at the lower levels, standards 2 and 3. It might be the families where the children come from. Many are in the rural and their source of income is very small and therefore, lack of school fees could be a factor mainly for families in the rural communities. That might explain it at the lower levels, standard 2 and 3, probably up to 4. Thereafter, in addition there maybe problems with some of the girls...because of the cultural requirement in their community. They leave school in order to get married, like I've a girl who looks after my small children. Now at the age of 15, she says she wants to go home to get married. So, there's that cultural aspect in
some communities that at the age of 15 girls should get married and not waste time at school.

Apart from the common social factors, pregnancy and lack of interest, Mwango and Nana felt that girls drop out of school because of 'parental social feeling' and 'cultural upbringing':

The girls dropout rate is high because of parental social feeling, the socialization process... part of cultural upbringing 'teaches' little girls to tend to youngsters and they develop some aspiration to being a mother themselves.

And this is how Nana described the problem:

A few have a similar drive. After completing primary school, most are not selected; they drop out. Other factors are tribal. I did research on this. Tribal cultures hamper women from advancing. If a girl reaches puberty stage, she's ready for marriage. Parents discourage her from going to school. People in the lake zone are very interested in bride price. They'll make arrangements even before a girl reaches puberty. Parents are for cows, money and other material properties. Girls' education is negatively affected by early marriages, pregnancies and cultural expectations of certain tribes. Some parents encourage early marriage because of bridal price. In school, girls' performance is a bit discouraging. Girls tend to perform poorly compared to boys. Finally, the girls' own attitudes play a part too. They feel secondary and university
education is useless. They fear science subjects.

Teachers, too, discourage girls by their remarks... male chauvinism.

**Educational Policy**

Most educational policies are made by the political party in power, sometimes individuals with minimum technical expertise are involved, and there are elements of mismatch between policy intentions and reality (Mosha, N.d.). Educational policy was regarded by some as the bible of the education system, yet the policy was not always clear. In general, the policies governing subject content, examinations and the school calendar were clear. Policies on women and discipline were either missing or unclear as one woman asked, "Is there such a thing as educational policy?"

Respondents were concerned with the discipline policies governing girls and unwed women teachers who become pregnant. The following view was shared by one respondent who dropped out of school because of pregnancy.

Can the Ministry do something about the policy on girls? I think they (the girls) should be given another chance because some become pregnant out of ignorance. So, if given another chance, I'm sure they would not repeat what they did. I know I learned a lesson. I missed my chance because when I was in form 3, I became pregnant, and that's how I lost my opportunity. If I were given another chance, I'd have made it to college because I am intelligent, and I could have done it.
Another respondent had the following to say on unwed women teachers who become pregnant,

I don't understand why only women are punished. Men continue to work, they receive all their salary while the woman who needs the money most gets interdicted, and struggles to make ends meet. And because this woman is interdicted, when she returns, she is not as motivated as she was before: morally she is viewed as bad, and this has a psychological effect too. It is detrimental in many ways.

In addition, participants felt the selection policy that guarantees one third of secondary school places to girls is too restrictive. "Why can't the ministry come up with a 50:50 ratio?" asked one respondent. At the time of data gathering, a quota system was in effect.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown how education and especially the education system has had both positive and negative impact on the respondents. Chapter VI deals with other factors that affect women and girls.
CHAPTER VI

OTHER FACTORS THAT PROMOTE AND HINDER GIRLS' AND WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT

Introduction

This chapter deals with driving and hindering forces or factors. Driving forces included both extrinsic and intrinsic factors: support and encouragement from parents, spouses, colleagues, teachers, and other agencies; ambition; will power to succeed; ability to define oneself; emulating positive role models; risk taking; and determination to break traditional norms. On the other hand, hindering forces included low levels of education, marital constraints, cultural norms and values, acceptance, lack of opportunity, patriarchy or male dominance, negative attitudes, women's acceptance of societal definitions of their role, mobility and others. As shown in Table 5, hindering forces outweighed the driving forces.

Hindering and Driving Forces/Factors

Commenting on hindering forces, two respondents pointed out that some women turn down responsibility. For instance, Nana cited an example of a woman Regional District Officer who had turned down a Regional Commission(er) Position. Male respondents said married women are not stationary and institutions cannot depend on them, they cannot be entrusted with major responsibilities.
They’re always moving, following their husbands. Giving them a job is risky; the government is not sure of their permanency because of being a wife of somebody. Men’s chauvinism also counts. The big shots are men, and they favor men. Women have many commitments, for instance, taking children to the hospital. Who’ll take care of the office while they tend to these other chores?

However, one needs to ask, "why is the women’s movement an issue? Who is moving in the first place? Is it not the man? How does the man become stable and reliable if his wife’s movement is prompted by the husband’s move?" I do not have answers to these questions, but they could be traced back to patriarchy, men’s chauvinism, and androcentrism.

Early marriages and early pregnancies are two factors that were cited by both male and female respondents and a few pointed out that the girls themselves have a problem with hooliganism, and that often they are not interested in school.

Perhaps they believe that after standard seven, they’ll get married. They don’t concentrate in school, and therefore, they fail. . . When girls return from school, they’re busy cooking, have to go to maize mills, fetch fire wood, water, they’re very busy. They’re not treated as students. . . they’ve less time for study.
On working with women, Simoko commented,

How do you expect a wife who despises a husband to respect you? They are arrogant, but I’ve had to confront them. They were coming late due to functions at home; they had to be excused because of functions at home. . . these women who’ve married big bosses. . . they can be a problem!! How do you expect a wife who despises a husband to respect you? The unmarried women, on the other hand, are fighting their way. Sometimes they need a favor from you. . . the support staff has its own problems, sometimes they’re very weak, their financial “wellness” is very low. They eat “nsima” [an African food made from corn flour, served with meat, chicken, fish, and vegetables] all the time.

While acknowledging that some women can be a problem, I could not help feeling the anger in Simoko’s voice. It was not clear whether the anger came from his frustration with the women’s excuses or from not being such a big boss himself. Despite all this, it is true that some women (at times) behave in a “strange” manner because of the position of the spouse. Simoko determined why the problems were occurring, and came up with coping strategies.

To cope with the situation, I had to learn why these things happen. I had to ask, what was happening before? Are these problems historical? Then we formed a committee to discuss the problems and suggest solutions for execution. At times
individuals may be called. This is a very frightening approach, and beyond this, some do get referred to the principal or even the Ministry.

Both men and women felt tradition has affected some women’s way of doing things and that traditional values are a hindrance to women’s advancement.

Most women go by their tradition. Some feel they can’t perform. You give them responsibility they say, “Ah, I cannot do this... this should be done by men”—that’s challenge avoidance. [There’s] also fear of other women. What are they going to feel about me? They’re scared of each other. They lack self-confidence... and most are not very highly educated. Not many have postgraduate degrees. Most hold diplomas. This is an educational challenge. Both policy makers and women should address the challenge.

![Photograph 10. "Kazi za Mwanamke Zisizo Na Ujira" (The Work that Women Do Does Not End)](image-url)
While "challenge avoidance" leads to refusing to take extra responsibilities and being static, "challenge acceptance" leads to success. One man pointed out in response to the question, "What made those women in educational leadership get where they are?" They accepted the challenge. Those who accept the challenge make good leaders. They do things systematically. They seek advice on issues. They are consistent, they don't want to make mistakes. They want to exert beauty of the work. They become very responsible, they're very considerate, very kind, very good advisors. They don't take stern measures against somebody. They solve problems smoothly without friction. They speak the truth. They like to call a spade a spade. They like learning both academically and administratively. In short, more women should accept challenge, work diligently and smartly.

But how well do girls do in school? What is their retention rate? What percentage of the school-age group is in school? These and many other related questions need to be considered. My aim was not to trace girls' education as such, but to use information about their education as a tool to explain the problems that have relevance to my dissertation. Also, I was more interested in the reasons why girls drop out of school than in the actual retention rate. Therefore, what follows are some responses to the question, What is the percentage of girls that have completed "O" Level, gone to college, and obtained their first degree? What is the explanation for the high (or low) percentage?
Almost all the respondents said that fewer than 10 percent of the girls from their village had attained "O" Level. Reasons for the low percentage included social problems and cultural, historical, and religious factors, as noted above.

**Social Problems**

Most respondents cited pregnancy and early marriage as the factor that most often leads to girls' dropping out of school. Less than five percent felt that low performance frustrates girls and leads to their dropping out. A few included lack of financial resources as an important factor.

**Cultural Problems**

Some communities do not encourage girls to go to school. Some respondents explained that formal education makes girls rude and disrespectful, and, to some extent, it wastes their time because they cannot get married early enough to produce children. In addition, tribal customs and initiation ceremonies are the traditional institutions that prepare good wives, not formal education. A good wife is an obedient and subservient one, one who will work three times as hard as the man does. Not only does she manage the home, ensure that the children are doing fine, and attend to communal activities and ceremonies, but she must also take on paid employment to supplement the family income. In
addition, some parents encourage early marriage because of the bridal price.

The bridal price is a controversial issue. It is viewed as a source of income by some Moslems (for example, those in Tanzania). In Malawi, the Sena from the southern region and the Tumbuka from the northern region practice "Lobola," in which it is the man who is asked to pay a dowry; this is usually cows, although these days money is also acceptable. It is regarded as a token of thanks to the parents, and the men are happy to practice it. Although the cattle are kept for the woman to use in case her marriage fails and she must return to her parents' home, it is not clear how the money is actually used. Communities that do not pay the bridal price ridicule the practice. Whatever the case, it becomes a big concern when parents encourage their daughters to get married early because of the bridal price, though some parents realize that the more years their daughter spends in school, the higher the bridal price will be.

**Historical Barriers**

From the beginning, formal education was reserved for boys and men, and women remained home to do household chores. As time passed, girls and women joined educational institutions; but most schools are for boys, and in coeducational schools the majority of the students are still male. Out of the seventy-two secondary schools in Malawi, only eleven were for girls:
In 1992, there were 4,951 male places in form 1, against 2,609 female places, giving a total of 7,560 form 1 secondary school places. As of March, 1993 the total enrollment of girls in forms 1-4 is 10,716, and boys' enrollment is 20,360. There are 11 all-girl boarding secondary schools. The rest of the girls are accommodated in co-educational day secondary schools with boarding facilities, double-shift secondary schools and national boarding schools; these make a total of 37. On the other hand, all-boy schools add up to 24. (Masi, 1993, p. 23)

**Religious Barriers**

More than the other respondents, those from Moslem communities talked about the need for girls to remain home, get married, and take care of the house. The few respondents who held senior positions happened to belong to Christian families that had moved into Moslem communities. One man shared the following story with me,

Moslem women are hindered from advancing by their culture. Most husbands do not want wives to be freely mixing with other people. ... Most women would like to participate in different development activities, but they are discouraged by their husbands. Even shopping is done by men ... Men are jealous. ... They're afraid of losing their wives to other men. That's why Moslem women cover their heads with
veils: they should not be seen by other people, especially men.

A different reason might be given by members of the Moslem community, if any of its members were interviewed. On the other hand, Christian communities perpetuate the subordination of women with such stereotypical phrases as “a woman should obey and serve her husband; the man is the head of the family,” and others.

However, there is a need for more input from the girls themselves. Such input could be obtained by asking questions such as:

1) What subjects do you prefer? Give two reasons for your answer.

2) What do you intend to do after achieving your school certificate?

3) What problems do you think will affect your intention?

Continuing with the responses, Hollyn commented,

The ladder narrows as you move up. Forty percent attain secondary education, then the pyramid narrows... again. The major problem is poor performance. Girls underperform compared to boys, especially in science-biased subjects.

Discussing factors that hinder the utilization of African women, respondents talked about the opposite of what they covered when discussing the driving forces. They talked about cultural barriers, the tendency of women to shy away from responsibility, and lack of ambition, determination, and support. Negative
attitudes from teachers, decision-makers, and society in general were also included among the factors detrimental to women's advancement.

I think firstly, one might be cultural, one social. . . I'm not sure about the others. What I wanted to say is that the woman's position in the family is a versatile one, right? First of all, look at [her], she is an individual, she has a life to live. Like any other individual, when she has problems with her health, then she is not able to do her work. Then she has a husband. If the husband is sick, the wife is also unable to report for duties--[a situation] which doesn't apply to husbands when their wives are sick. Then she has children. When a child is sick, she too is affected. She can't report for duties which don't apply to the father. . . So, this is a socio-cultural factor that tends to limit their responsibilities in educational leadership. In addition, if you also look at the fact that, normally in Malawi, our families tend to be a little sizeable, four, five, six kids. . . I mean, at one stage one of these is bound to be sick, and that increases the number of times the woman isn't likely to report for duties. So that's, I think, a major area which limits women in leadership positions.

What of the women themselves. . . ?

I think for the most part, the work community, the work atmosphere, is a male-dominated one in terms of leadership
and, therefore, I'm not surprised if the women feel that when it comes to leadership in a workplace, that responsibility must be taken up by males. Whether they’re capable or not, they feel they must leave it to the males. There are usually problems, normally personal or human relationship problems, and I think in this area, many women tend to give up very easily. They think they can’t deal with human problems in a working atmosphere. The males, think they can cope better with this kind of problem and therefore they’d rather avoid positions of leadership because they don’t want to quarrel with people.

My personal feeling is that in any situation where you’re in a position of leadership, you’re not alone. You don’t work alone. You work with other people, and therefore it’s a normal thing that you seek the advice of other people if there’s a problem and you find it difficult. You seek advice and guidance from other people on how best to deal with it, and then just go ahead and do it. If people blame you, I don’t think you can worry very seriously, because for me, it is not normal that you please everybody. It’s just impossible. If you do, then you are the one who will not be able to work. At some stage somebody has to be disappointed, but you must be guided by principles--moral principles--the belief that what you’re doing is for the common good of the people, whatever your job requires you to do.
Apart from education in general, we also discussed factors that make it difficult for girls to succeed in school, such as the different treatment of girls and boys, the discrimination against girls in certain school activities, and the girls' behavior. In general, men had different views. Some felt that educational institutions do not discriminate, while others pointed out the discriminating behaviors that do exist in the schools. Both men and women answered this question.

At this institution there hasn't been much [discrimination]. In fact, we have a female member of our staff who just joined us last year, November. Yes, before, it was more or less a men's club...

Well, I know some people think that women should be discriminated against. I don't subscribe to that theory myself. For example... when I came here in 1988, there was only one female member of the staff. I fought very hard and said that we must have other female members of the staff. We must increase our allocation of women. And now, I can proudly say, we have [hired] four within a space of four years, and that's an achievement--because I believe very strongly that the women have their part to play.
Both women and men talked about ambition, risk-taking, support, determination, dedication and the capacity to work just as a human being without thinking of one’s gender.

I think being able to be dedicated to their work, being outspoken and not inhibited whenever they’re putting forth their ideas, not being shy, being in the forefront and not always in the background--this would help our women. But the administrators must also recognize that [it is necessary to] give them leadership roles so that they know that they’re trusted.

Partly I suppose determination, strong will, partly the opportunities offered by, say, the government, has promoted their welfare, their efforts to succeed and to move on. What I’ve noticed is usually that these women initially had problems also, and after overcoming these personal problems they reach a stage where their life is settled down, is stabilized, and therefore they’re also able to concentrate their energy toward their self-advancement.

As some women pointed out, he felt that parents’ educational and economic background contributes to the girls’ success in school. After having established the hindering forces, we concluded our interview with a list of recommendations and advice for women who aspire to leadership positions in response to the question, “What specific policy do you think would change the
status of women?" Responses to this question are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter Summary

This chapter continued to explore what respondents identified as critical factors that affect girls' and women's advancement. Driving forces were mainly intrinsic, presented from the perspective of the women themselves. Most of the hindering factors originated from extrinsic forces that could be cultural, historical or religious. Both male and female respondents articulated the forces.
CHAPTER VII

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

Though some strategies have been included in other chapters, this chapter presents most of the recommendations. The chapter responds to the questions:

What should be done to change the situation? Who are the change agents? What constraints will they encounter? What specific policy will bring about positive change? What key recommendations can be drawn from the study?

Strategies ranged from those specifically pertaining to what the women themselves should do, could do, or must do, to recommendations for teachers, policy-makers, and society at large. Accordingly, the recommendations are organized around similar themes: girls' education, family and community, the woman herself, educational policy, and recruitment and placement procedures.

Girls' Formal Education

Realizing the importance of formal education in the process of producing educational leaders, all the respondents suggested that schools should encourage girls to be serious with their studies. Schools should begin to implement programs that will enable the female students to create a vision of their future and
discourage the feeling that there is not much that the girls can do.

Both schools and parents should devise techniques to curb absenteeism and the high drop-out rate for the girls. The girls wastage was 7 percent more than boys' in Malawi from 1983 to 1990 (Williams, 1992), with a higher drop out rate between grades one and three (Ministry of Education Statistics, 1989; Williams, 1992). Teachers, therefore, are urged to encourage the girls, to make them realize that they can achieve a lot more in life if they study hard. Through inclusion of appropriate curricula, tangible benefits could be accrued such as total wellness, family education, and others.

For women teachers, institutional heads should expose to Ministry Headquarters people who are capable, those with potential, and the Ministry should make use of them. Right now, nothing happens, you [teachers] rot down here [in schools where there is no recognition of their good work].

In addition, Manes recommended sex education to be taught in schools. "Girls and boys should be aware of the pros and cons of premature sex. We've passed the stage where it's a taboo to talk about sex to children, considering the AIDS epidemic".

Asked from what level sex education should be taught, she responded, "Even from primary school, students should be taught sex education. Some students get pregnant due to ignorance; if they were educated about sex maybe they could avoid it".
Parents, too, need to assume the responsibility for educating their daughters, especially in Malawi. Mothers in Tanzania ensure that their daughters are virgins when they get married, especially in areas where the bridal wealth is still part of the marriage ceremony. One student recommended:

Girls must work hard in all subjects, and shouldn’t rush in getting married or having boyfriends. There should be strict rules both at home and in schools. The tendency is to make boys class leaders of this activity and that should be discontinued. Boys and girls should be integrated in our schools and treated equally in the classroom and within the school environment. We need to look at the position of both male and female learners in our institutions, and we must begin to integrate girls and boys in all activities so that they can learn to work together. We must give positions of responsibility to girls just as much as to the boys, and that should start right in the classroom, at all levels. For instance, if you go in coeducational schools, when you give them group work, you find that it’s the boys who are leaders of groups, not girls. Now from there the educational system can try and encourage girls also to take up leadership positions and lead the boys at classroom level, and then proceed on to the teachers’ level and further on. Treat them equally. Do away with segregated seating arrangements. Examples in books and those used by teachers should not perpetuate segregation and subordination.
of girls/women. Eliminate examples that are gender-biased. Eliminate sex-biased language in books, in the classroom and during activities. Teaching and learning materials should not have sex-biased elements in them.

In addition, guidance and counseling services were viewed as critical to improve the education of girls. Commenting on teachers' attitudes toward girls' education and the curriculum, respondents suggested,

(The Ministry of Education) should sensitize teachers right from the primary school level. Make them aware of the gender disparity which is caused by teachers' negative attitude toward girls in certain subjects like mathematics and sciences.

Subject combination and forced choices should be changed. Teachers' comments, fellow students' comments and the way tasks and assignments are handled in class need improving--grouping by gender allows boys to do more than girls. Girls withdraw and teachers tend to encourage this. Teachers need to be sensitized to gender issues, segregation, subtle remarks and types of examples used when teaching, as well as the curriculum itself.

Modify subjects; stop addressing the boys and girls separately; offer sex education, and encourage girls to take science subjects. Curricula should not be sex-biased--for
instance, home economics for girls, woodwork and technical education for boys. This is not reality. Men serve in hotels as cooks and chefs, yet cookery is only offered to girls.

Respondents also addressed the issue of culture as a factor that hinders girls' education, and pointed out the need to use culture to educate and not to perpetuate men's chauvinism.

Educators must look at themselves as human beings and not lag behind because of political and cultural implications. We have to use the culture to educate our pupils, we must modify the culture to meet current realities.

Encouragement was viewed by some respondents as a driving force in girls' retention and women's achievement as they advised, Provide encouragement at all levels to both girls and boys through various activities, games, clubs, and so on. Ability does not depend on the gender of the person. Show no discrimination in participation.

Discrimination is real. Girls are still looked down upon, regarded as [low] achievers. Teachers are biased. Even in single-sex schools, teachers talk. You tend to be demotivated teaching girls. Boys are high achievers. Change needs to start in schools.
Finally, a word of advice to teachers came from a number of respondents. The advice focused on the need to educate the teachers, to make them aware of gender issues, and to stop them from using sexist language and discriminatory practices.

Teachers should be sensitized to gender issues through education. They should not look down upon girls by asking questions of boys only. Give equal treatment to boys and girls in the classroom. . . Stop making discouraging comments when dealing with girls, comments such as "Inunso ndani?" ["What are you?"--said in a condescending manner]. Stop favoring certain students, and treat all equally. For instance, my son has told me, "Aphunzitsi athu amakondera. Amangotchula wakuli ndi wakuti." ["Our teacher favors students A and B"].

**Family Level**

Most respondents felt that the family has a major role to play in educating girls. Parents and relatives need to encourage girls to go to school. One headmistress of an all-girl boarding secondary school commented:

I feel. . . some parents aren’t helping their children enough, like teaching them good manners or good behavior so that when they come to school. . . they’re well behaved and we can do our part. . . teaching . . . If most parents could go back to their roots and help their children. . . our work
would be better managed. We feel this should start right in the families. . .

Whenever possible, marital status should not interfere with a woman's advancement and men's attitude should change, too. Men are not happy to see a wife advancing. They feel inferior. They're afraid of losing their wife.

Another area we may need to look at is. . . our families as we go along, in the sense that when women get married, that's also the time when they're energetic and able to make a lot of contributions in their workplaces, but then responsibilities of the family tend to weigh them down quite heavily, and that erodes the opportunity to develop themselves and assume positions of leadership. If it was possible, I'd say can we plan our families a little more carefully to be able to give the wife an opportunity also to develop and advance at her place of work!

Husbands, too, have a major responsibility. They should realize and recognize the potential that their wives have for advancement and provide some encouragement. "Recognize the potential that is in your wife. Provide opportunities for her advancement," pointed out one respondent.

"Women are good advisors," said one senior administrator. But it is through action that men realize their potential and capability, while experience remains the best teacher.
My wife contributed a lot during the time that I served as a headmaster. She was one of the teachers. She was a good informant on staff issues. But, being what we are--men--at times "Kuwazazira" [We scolded her], but I ended up implementing her advice. Men, we're weak. We want to show we're in power. But we need to change our mentality.

Despite support, encouragement, and willpower, we still need to acknowledge the resistance from some members of the community, including spouses. We have already noted how two respondents struggled to get their husbands' consent in order to go back to college, and how one had problems in applying for a senior position that suited her qualifications. Some women refuse to take up positions of responsibility because their husbands will not approve.

A woman graduate was discouraged by her husband from taking up a leadership position, because the husband was the head of the family. The woman refused to head a school. Men don't want to see women in leadership positions. We need to challenge our men--we need to tell them, "there's a certain goal I want to achieve in life." We cannot attain that goal due to authoritarian husbands. . .

**Community/Society Level**

Recommendations included educating society on the value of educating both girls and boys and using culture as a positive tool to impart family and community values.

196
I don't think policy would change things, but the way the authorities . . . look at culture [would]. In our societies, where do parents put their priorities, whom do they want to educate? And after that, do they see any benefit for educating a woman? We've got to look at that one, give them practical examples that show that educating a girl is just as good as educating a boy. But I think . . . some parents have been put off because of examples they see in other families--that a certain family may have educated a girl to a certain level and then that girl, after getting married, forsakes the parents. . . So I think it's not a policy issue but something we've got to look at in our own culture.

Some people are not aware of why education is good. . . . they just take it for granted that it's men who should be educated and work in paid employment. . . . Even if I drop out, I'll get married, "my husband will be responsible for me"--girls and women should be helped to [avoid] such thinking.

Photograph 11. "Anza Kuzaa Watoto Ufikiapo Miaka 20"
(Start Bearing Children When You Reach 20)
Traditional education has been valuable, but it has also been problematic in some cases. It has contributed to early marriages. The need for improvement was highlighted by two respondents. Both felt there was a need for organized groups to impart traditional values to the girls.

Viewing gender as a factor that contributes to sexist behavior and discrimination, one senior male respondent advised, "Consider yourself as a human being, not as a man or a woman." He further commented that recruitment and placement decisions are at times hampered by the woman's marital status and its "perceived relevance," and suggested:

Change husbands' attitudes when it comes to recruitment [or] placement of married women in leadership positions.

Perceived relevance of girls' education is low from all groups--policy-makers, parents, and the girls themselves. There is a need to change the general perception. Society should discourage early marriages; and

Encourage girls to go to school. Women's organizations and trade unions should visit schools and talk to teachers and students to encourage them. Guide and counsel our children at home. Educate society to change its attitude toward women. Policy per se cannot change the situation. Educate the whole society. Use mass media. We need to change societal attitudes toward women.
There was a general feeling that educating the woman and society at large would not be adequate. Most professional respondents included the education of decision- and policy-makers as well; thirty-six professionals out of forty-one, or 87 percent recommended, "Educate management, and ultimately the whole society, to accept women in rare professions".

In addition, respondents felt that education alone would not suffice. Success can be realized if a lot of care goes into the planning and identification of appropriate strategies and interventions.

Identify appropriate strategies to educate. The current strategy used by the Women's Movement Organization is inappropriate--it advocates "equal rights." I don't subscribe to that; we should be recognized for our work, any type of work, even the work that we do at home.

Recognize that women have many hindrances: marital status, children's needs, illness. Some people don't recognize these responsibilities and are quick to conclude that women are lazy.

The issue of attitudes was discussed from various viewpoints: the girls' attitude toward their own education and the attitude of parents, teachers, society and decision-makers toward girls' education. There was a general consensus on the need for all these groups to change their attitude toward girls and women.
Change the belief some religious groups have, especially Moslems, that women cannot be leaders.

Educated parents see the need and facilitate their daughters’ learning. They know the importance of learning, they provide facilities to ensure their daughters’ success. Others could emulate these examples. They communicate the importance of education to the girl from an early age. Parents identify schoolbooks and other learning material for use in schools. They buy them [schools have nothing] and arrange for private studies. Girls’ and women’s own behavior is also pertinent.

Women Who Aspire to Educational Leadership Positions

All professional respondents were supportive of those young women who were aspiring to educational leadership positions, as shown in the following responses:

Doors are open, girls and women should work hard and not be discouraged by men’s chauvinism. Women should air their problems through established organizations: trade unions and women’s organizations and girls should be encourage to go to school and do well; they should not be tired.

Orient teachers not to look down on girls and women, and not to be selective.
Positive role modelling, too, impacts on girls. It enables some to be strict with their studies. . . yes, [with] concentration, they copy what their parents are doing, and have done. They aspire to be like their parents. They do not indulge in many activities that waste time: discos, parties, pubs, and other time-wasters. . .

To those women and girls who aspire to leadership positions, one male respondent suggested that they should choose areas of study that will lead to the acquisition of those positions. They should exhibit the qualities of a leader, be good advisors, work hard in their field of competence, and be innovative at their place of work. These qualities can best be achieved through the guidance of academic and professional counseling. It was further suggested that more women should study manpower development programs and personnel management through training at recognized institutions. Already, different qualifications are used for girls’ entry to the high school and university levels. Deliberate appointment of women to educational leadership positions should take place; the belief that leadership positions are for men, and not for women, should not be perpetuated. Women are obtaining adequate qualifications and are graduating from universities, though the numbers are still small. But women need to guard against certain behaviors that lead to negative conclusions being made about us. Following is a summary of respondents’ recommendations to aspiring women.
Aspire high, look for development in life. There's a lot we can do to assist in the development of the country. We can develop our family, the community, and feel happier in the end. Don't be contented with less--be adventurous. Let's educate our families if necessary.

Realize, no matter how highly educated a man may be, he still clings to his traditional beliefs and still lacks understanding. Embark on further education, seek financial assistance.

Be confident. If you are confident in what you're doing you will not be discouraged with experiences that are of a destructive nature. . . If you look around you'll see that there are some women who are better off than some men, and that's only possible if the woman is confident in whatever she is doing.

Sometimes you need encouragement from both women and men. Patience, tolerance, and understanding too. Understand the problems of people, because some women have hatred. They don't want to see the other side. If somebody is advising them, they feel they're being looked down upon. Have an open mind to accept criticism, especially constructive criticism to stand on your feet and say, "No, I'll make the final decision."
Being assertive. We’re normally quiet at meetings, conferences, etc. We normally sit back and say someone will talk for me, or we delegate someone to talk on our behalf. There are some who are not assertive, not talking our mind, looking as if we can’t think for ourselves. . . We must change! I’d say we shouldn’t give in to threats, although I, myself, am not that strong. Women should be strong against unspoken opposition. Sometimes it’s opposition by action or trying to dissuade you through actions and messages. . . . Some things can be very frustrating. I’d say they shouldn’t give in to such things if they’re strong enough to aspire.

This is the time for women to go on with education. They should look forward to getting degrees--probably Ph.D.’s if they can. Women now must be in equal lines with men. Have the courage to face it, meet the challenge and don’t be afraid. Take the challenge and don’t look back?

With the advancement of the nation, women should look forward to being on the same level as men. We should at least meet this challenge--to be on equal status with men. We can only do that if we are educated enough . . . . Women must push ourselves up to be on equal line with men. I think this is the time for us now; it’s open to us. We should try our level best.
If there could be a possibility to educate all women... because with education we can improve a lot and educating a "woman" is as well as educating the whole nation...

If funds could easily be available, I'd encourage every woman in my village and around to go to school.

Girls, women--(we)'re intelligent. Sometimes when we work with men, we work hard and we can compete with men. Some men come to work drunk, women don't. So, if we're hard working we can achieve our goals and move up the ladder of success. We have to develop a sense of self-confidence... and believe in yourself; [believe] that you can assume positions of leadership just like men, or like anybody else. ... Another area we may need to look at [is] our families... in the sense that when women are... married, that's also the time when they are energetic and able to make a lot of contributions in their work places; but then responsibilities of the family tend to weigh them down quite heavily and that erodes away the opportunity to develop themselves and assume positions of leadership. If it were possible, I'd say can we plan our families a little more carefully to be able to give the wife an opportunity also to develop and advance at her place of work?

Be determined to move ahead. If a woman is determined she will refrain from other social problems. She plans what to do, because without a plan she can't advance. She must be
dedicated to her work, outspoken, and not inhibited when
... putting forth her ideas, not shy, she must be in the
forefront, not always in the background. She needs support
and encouragement from people like us, who’re already in key
positions.

Women have many responsibilities, and at times their work is
affected by maternity leave, and children’s sickness. Women
should therefore have the willingness to take up challenging
positions, and when they do, they should do well ... even if it means working twice as hard as men do. ... Don’t
wait for job offerings, they may not be forthcoming—go
look out for them and take the challenge.

Find yourself—know who you are, what you are, and what you
want. Know there are high and low moments. Take it a step
at a time. When you’re placed in a position of
responsibility, work hard. Remember, men are biased, they
think women are lazy. If faced with a personal problem,
solve it on your own time.

Don’t be timid once given opportunity to serve others, take
it as a challenge and develop self-confidence; don’t shy
away from positions of responsibility. Stand up to the
challenge; work side by side with men; and don’t shy away
from responsibility.
Realize, initially there might not be much encouragement, but if you show potential, work hard, you get respect and recognition, advice and support.

Be firm, don't waver because of societal expectations of women or external factors. Approach work with determination. Don't behave and work as a woman. Just work. Be prepared to compete with your counterparts. Don't lag behind.

Don't be discouraged. Take negative comments as a challenge. "You think I can't do it, let me show you!" Take risks, keep on trying, stop being stumbling blocks.

Move out of the tendency of always wanting to teach in lower/junior classes in order to knock off early. Teach up to senior classes.

Be aggressive. Don't think, ife ndi azimayi [we're women]. Margaret Thatcher was not just given the position--she earned it! Some women weep once told to head a school, or to be boarding mistress--stop feeling inferior! Women need to develop personal- and self-confidence. Once these are in place, people give respect. These are rare qualities. Very few women have qualities that command respect from their colleagues and supervisors.
Once placed in positions of leadership don't be so self-centered as not to take advice from others. Don't give the menfolk a loophole. Do your work and tend to family chores next.

Be ambitious, aim high, have the necessary educational or professional qualifications, develop capability, acquire self-discipline and respect.

Withstand men's chauvinism--don't give in easily. Avoid being in the state of saying, "It's a man's world, let him do it!"

Look at causes of drop-out problems for girls. If its pregnancy, find ways to enable girls to return to school so as to complete their program of study.

Struggle with management to be exposed to training opportunities to acquire appropriate skills. Know [that] we are great educators. We should create our own formal and informal circles, pressure groups for the promotion of women's advancement.

Be independent. Women in senior positions always seek advice from men--to me this is uncalled for. Why can't they be independent? Study nontraditional programs, fields, courses, etc. Choose areas of study that will enable you to acquire appropriate skills to serve in leadership positions.
Take science subjects. Whenever opportunities arise, compete with men. Be more assertive, use positive aggression.

Mobilize, do something more productive. Don’t be easily discouraged. Be aware of your rights. Move out of the present position of accepting oppressive attitudes we receive from men and fellow women.

Women in development need to take responsibility and identify potential students for leadership training. Be good teachers, work hard in your field of competence, be innovative at your place of work. Realize, family problems may create interest for higher education. Seize the opportunity if possible.

You might see women starting again from school level... for women to develop a sense of self-confidence. For example, in the schools, many girls have lost confidence in a subject like mathematics, not because they can’t do it, but because they think they can’t do mathematics, they think it’s a boys’ subject, they despair too easily, and it’s not helping them. That, I think, goes all the way up, even maybe to maturity. Some of these things they can do, but first they need to build up the self-confidence that they can assume positions of leadership just like men or like anybody else. It would assist them.
Most of the recommendations for the women were intrinsic, considered from the woman’s perspective. Effective change can therefore take place if the women themselves are willing to do something for themselves; only then can support from others have meaning.

**Employment Level**

Provide equal training opportunities for men and women. What I mean is that the women should be more exposed to training so as to encourage women leadership . . . .

Secondly, to divert women from jobs which appear to be women-oriented to fields which are mainly dominated by men, e.g., removing the emphasis on things like home economics and then paying more attention to, maybe, science fields which are mainly dominated by men. It’s important for all to know about job openings, and if you have a machinery, that’s fair. That is, making vacancies known to everybody, and if the women have necessary qualifications and feel competent to apply, then they should go through the same requirements as men, be hired and given the chance to work . . . I’m reluctant to having a system that favors women because those favors eventually erode our credibility. I wouldn’t like to go around the corridors and hear people say, “Look, she only got this job because she’s a woman.” I think its demeaning to women’s achievements. And I think
some of the efforts that are being put in place may eventually turn out to be demeaning to our women . . . Confidence, willingness, academic qualifications . . . but I'm against use of the quota system which spells out 25 percent or 30 percent be women . . . . Hire on merit. Give women opportunity for further education if they lack it.

All along, I never worked with women administrators. I'm pleasantly surprised now. I thought women could not assume leadership roles. No, I was wrong. I've one Assistant CEO who is doing very well. She can beat some of the men administrators--oh yes, women should be encouraged to take up leadership positions. They can do it, and even much better than some men. Those who show leadership qualities should be tried.

Provide educational advances, motivate women and place them in positions of leadership if they meet all educational and professional prerequisites. Consider qualifications. Recruitment should not be hindered by gender, but by qualifications and performance during interviews and work record. Provide equal employment and promotion opportunities.

Stop asking women such irrelevant questions as, "Who will take care of your children if you get this job? This job involves a lot of travel, will your husband allow you to
travel?" and others. Be fair, consider everyone, male/female based on qualifications.

Send more women to manpower development and training. Appointment/Recruitment authorities should give opportunity to women.

In summing up this section, it appears most respondents would like to see more opportunities created for women. There is also a felt need to identify women who have potential, and to provide them with enabling skills through education and training.

Policy-Making Level (MoE)

I think the MoE should explore, find out those women who can do it . . . and give them the chance to do it . . . You go to a school, you find a chain of well qualified women, but they don’t have that opening to head a school. It’s a few in so many that become leaders, but I think given the chance they should be able to do very well.

We have reached a stage when government should make it a point that in any position which is available, it should be available also to women. Where there are 3 or 4 positions, why can’t they just make sure that 50% of those positions are filled by ladies and 50% by men or even 75% - 80% by women? Let’s see what it would be like, because there has been a lot of male chauvinism. I don’t like it myself,
because the potential that is in the ladies has not been exploited. So, I think there must be a deliberate policy by the powers-that-be to give ladies some leadership positions, a shared type of responsibility. I’m looking forward to the time when it’ll be legalized that in a group of 100 leadership positions, at least 50% of those will be allocated to ladies, 50-50 like they’re doing in Canada. When you go through their institutions, they make sure that there’s an equal allotment, at least not less than 1/4, sometimes not less than 1/3 of leadership is devoted to ladies. I think it’s a very good policy. The Malawi government has taken some initiative. . . we have created. . . a GABLE project [Girls Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education], and we have a unit here which is now headed by a woman who is looking at. . . girls’ achievement in education and encouraging girls to do as much as they can possibly do, make sure that our curriculum policies here are gender-sensitive, and take into cognizance the presence of women.

Government encouragement, that women have capability just like men. They can even hold responsible jobs in government. To support that stand, both the former and present Presidents have appointed female ministers and principal secretaries. There are over five Ministers and more than two deputy Ministers. There are a good number of women directors too. This positive modelling has encouraged many girls to do well in school. [However, these models are
outside the Ministry of Education and Culture. The story is the same in Malawi.

Women's organizations are also encouraging girls to study hard and do well in school. Yes, the political party encourages women not to remain behind. It tells them: you’ve the potential to do well in school and in the workplace, don’t remain behind!

The inclusion of girls in some schools that were boys-only schools and the expansion of girls' intake at secondary-school level has also increased opportunities for girls' education. Girls in a way are favored. Apart from the quota system, a pre-selection list is sent to the Regional Education Office, tabled at the selection board, and anyone who passes from the selection list is selected. Then they use a girls-only selection list, then a boys-and-girls selection list.

Could we have free education for women? And I don’t know what the government would do with the dropout cases because of pregnancy. Maybe if the girls would be allowed to go back to school it would boost their morale.

Include women in special, short courses of leadership or management just to make them more aware of what they can do. Test them to determine whether they’re capable or not. Give
them leadership positions in institutions, encourage them and as much as possible, the family shouldn’t be looked at as a hindrance for women. Let them try.

Get back the dropouts and increase the enrollment. Make it equal. I don’t see why it should be unequal. Let them all come. The ladies need to be encouraged. The government should have a policy to try to have teachers, department heads, etc. in schools, principals, etc. Make it an equal number of women and men in all institutions. Where there is a male head, there should be a female deputy, and vice versa. Try to make the numbers equal.

No specific policy. men will not like it. Include it in the bigger, more general policy. Maybe specify some percentage of women to be leaders. Many men do not like to have women leaders. They say women are high tempered. Women have a lot of disturbances. When married and the man is transferred, the woman follows the man. This creates a problem. That’s why in educational institutions most women leaders are single or divorcees.

Embedded in this last response are two new issues: 1) men do not like to have women leaders, and 2) women are high tempered and have a lot of disturbances. Another man’s response brought up yet another problem, that some women “feel big” because of their
husband’s high position, and pay little attention to the demands of their job.

Give opportunities where it is appropriate, and give encouragement . . . They’re human beings who can do it and in most cases we’ve seen women doing marvelous jobs, even better than men. So, the authorities should encourage both men and women in training as well as giving them necessary opportunities.

I think women are falling behind . . . because of fees, and I think for them to advance, government should consider lowering fees for women especially in families where there are so many children, the family is going to look at the boys’ education and for the girls, marriage is the option. So, government should consider lowering girls’ fees to enable them to get on with their education.

Improve the selection process. Increase girls’ intake at secondary and university level to 50 percent. Send more girls to secondary school and university so that they can have good qualifications . . . The Ministry should aim at a 50:50 ratio. Also, the Ministry should allow girls who drop out of school due to social problems to go back as they do at the University. Like in my case, I’m intelligent and I would have gone to college, but I failed. If I were given another chance, I wouldn’t make the same mistake!
I think the whole system should have a fresh look at the place of women ... We must encourage as many women as possible to take up leadership positions, and this can start with us, the curriculum developers ... the type of materials we're developing should be gender sensitive and encourage people to know that these women are not just in the background. We mustn't encourage segregation--girls sitting on one side and boys on the other side. Let them mix, or let's mix them.

The administrators must recognize and give women leadership roles so that they know that they're being entrusted. [We] need to change attitudes toward the employment of women in senior positions. "Don't give that job to a woman. If you give it, we're subjecting it to inefficiency"--remarks of this nature should stop.

The Ministry needs to seriously consider its policy on pregnant girls. I don't like this policy. It encourages illegal abortions, causing many people to die. The policy should be revised. Similarly, the policy on unmarried women who become pregnant out of wedlock needs to be revised. Women suffer double, they're pregnant, they get interdicted, and are on half-pay. This is the time these single women need the money most.
Revise education policies. We're talking about education for all, yet we're not looking at the hindering forces. The mode of selection, placement, job openings in schools... everything needs to change; increase intake of women/girls to 50 percent. Provide equal opportunity. Selection to secondary and university should be fifty percent girls and fifty percent boys. This way, many women will prepare for leadership positions.

Consider causes of high drop-out rate and find solutions; for instance, if it's pregnancy, create ways to return the girls to schools. If it's school fees, uniform, etc., abolish all fees! Offer women's education at all levels. Develop a quota system. Give women as many opportunities as is possible. Give them many senior decision-making positions at Ministry headquarters, regional and district offices. Offer special bursaries to enhance girls/women's educational attainment.

A multi-sectoral approach is necessary to change the situation. Put more women in positions of educational leadership. Make women models be seen. Realize women too can do a good job. In most cases, the tendency and mentality question women's capability.

Put a ruling--no girl or boy should get married before twenty-one and twenty-five years, respectively. Educate,
provide a type of education that can be pursued by all, avoid biased curricula.

Revise the current law whereby only teachers get punished if they make a schoolgirl pregnant. The law needs to include everybody, not just teachers. The Ministry should stop paying lip service to women’s issues. It needs to implement some of the easy recommendations that have been made, such as those affecting married women who drop out of college due to pregnancies.

The Ministry should formulate a policy that enhances women’s access to education at all levels, a policy that minimizes restrictions on women in the upper levels. Senior officials’ attitudes toward women need to change. A woman PS could possibly change the situation for women educators.

Implement policies--there has been a lot of talk about removing the policy that excludes girls from school because of pregnancies. Let girls go on confinement and let them return. Provide a lot of education to change men’s chauvinism.

Provide appropriate strategies to implement change with minimum resistance. Review current policy on pregnancy for teachers, teacher training married students, and students.
Introduce counseling services for girls and family life education.

Widen girls’ and women’s choices--eliminate tendency to group students in certain subject groups. For example, at diploma level I was put in the biology/home economics group, and I had to do what they wanted me to do. That limited my scope. Once in college, once at the university, one should be free to choose her/his field.

Provide many opportunities to advance girls, develop many programs aimed at advancing the education of women. Provide more avenues and appropriate training. Many have not had a professional basis--they don’t know what to do. Provide opportunity to do research on why we [women] are not doing as well as men. Train as many women for secondary school teaching as possible. Ministry of Manpower and Development should present more opportunities for women.

Assess, analyze, find out why many girls and women are failing. Is it due to the system itself or what? We need to find out because biologically women are supposed to be more intelligent than men.

Equal access policy should be implemented soon. Put more effort into expanding girls’ enrollment at “A” Level, future university input.
Curriculum developers should attend orientation courses at African Curriculum Development Institutes such as in Nigeria and Kenya, we should conduct seminars every now and then using University and Ministry Headquarters personnel. Nonacademic staff should be sent to institutes to get relevant orientation.

Many recommendations were made, but the ones presented above were the most recurrent. From the process, it is clear that the prospects for change are mainly dependent on change within the educational policy-making machinery and the woman herself.

**Author’s Recommendations**

The following additional strategies will enhance the change process. Provide advisory and counseling services right from senior classes of primary school. Give a lot of information, give concrete examples of positive women models who have gone up and held senior positions, including those from other sectors, even members of Parliament--Ministers. This should continue through the secondary-school level and in colleges, too. If equal opportunity is provided, girls may not qualify for most opportunities. Therefore, if girls drop out of school because of pregnancies, include family life education in the curriculum, and sensitize parents to the value of educating both girls and boys. Measures that are proactive should be explored and implemented.
Traditionally, families and parents have their own ways of keeping children informed of customary and traditional values, but most children are getting off-track these days. There should be committees or government-organized groups to enable parents to get together and discuss or share problems and, where possible, find solutions as well. Women’s organizations should also be involved in girls’ education at all levels.

Educate the general public in rural areas on the importance of educating girls. Emphasize the importance of sticking to our culture. Organize specialized groups to teach the culture that is being forgotten.

Sensitize teachers to gender issues, starting with classroom teachers in primary schools. Create opportunities to cater to intelligent women who dropped out of school because of social problems.

Men, and society at large, should be informed and educated on the changes that are taking place in order to change their attitude towards girls and women. Educate men to help them out of chauvinism.

We should realize that all human beings are capable of doing something if not hindered mentally, physically, and psychologically. Let’s ignore our gender and look at something and ask, As a human being, why couldn’t I do this? Why couldn’t I do anything? Work with your mental and physical ability and tell yourself you can do anything because you are a human being.

We should change the attitudes of those people who question the appointment of women to senior positions because of marital
obligations and we should change girls' negative attitudes: "I don't want to read, somebody will read for me." They expect to get married, they see no value in education. They should be helped to realize that they're just as good as boys, at times even better!

Parents, society, and decision-makers need to realize that educating girls, apart from educating the self, leads to the social and economic development of a country.

Everyone should be made aware of the importance of the education of girls and women to the highest levels. Encourage girls and women to contribute to the development of themselves and their country.

Men should be willing to move with the women or to allow the women to take up positions of higher responsibility.

The Ministry should conduct a survey to determine the position of females in the country. Strategies need to be devised for dealing with women's problems; for instance, visits to schools by women's organization members and parents to talk with teachers and pupils.

Be aware of your abilities... there's nothing that is impossible. Sometimes we look at men as people who can do everything. But when we work with them, we realize there are certain things we're better at doing than they are.

Never give up, keep on moving. Trust in your rights; stand firm; know yourself, your capacities, your strengths; don't reject positions outright because of being a woman. Don't go by the "bottom power"; it is better to be promoted based on
qualifications and competence, not because you’re somebody’s girlfriend.

Base recruitment on necessary qualifications, not gender. Stop asking sex-biased questions to women such as, “Since you have four children, if we give you this job, anawa adzatani? [What will happen to the children?]” and, “How do you feel going on these inspection tours with those men?” etc. Men or women should be considered and there should be a little bias toward women if there is a tie.

There should be free education for girls for the first eight years. Increase the number of girls selected for university education, and the number of boarding schools for girls for primary and secondary school. After completing a Junior or Malawi Certificate, women should be given priority for employment so that they can work and start to educate their own children and relatives. That way every woman would be encouraged to go to school, because they know that when they finish, they’ll be employed and earn something.

Change the attitudes of influential people in the Ministry in order to revise the current education policies. We talk about education for all, but we have not looked at hindering forces. General policies do not address gender issues. It is necessary to come up with a clear policy that includes specific guidelines for the education of girls and women. Interpret the policy that has been formulated by the Ministry of Community Development in order to put it in the context of the Ministry of Education and Culture;
and back all policies with laws. Incorporate gender issues, look at why many girls drop out, and base the policy on facts.

A deliberate attempt should be made to facilitate the entry of women into management positions, as opposed to traditional appointment that favors men. Offer opportunity to women with potential. Give them appropriate training and place them accordingly.

Some able women have not been given educational support to advance professionally. The Ministry should compile a list of women with potential and, in conjunction with the Department of Personnel Management and Training and the Ministry of Women and Children, secure funding to educate these women.

Education is power! Prepare promising women through guidance and counseling programs. Revise the curriculum. Include such topics as "Advantages of Sharing Power," management skills, and the formulation and implementation of small scale-projects.

Do research on women's needs so as to be able to provide appropriate opportunities and interventions. Offer more opportunities, expose women from rural areas to women's groups in development, and have a deliberate policy that encourages women.

Though a lot of the respondents easily talked about the known factors such as cultural and historical, determination and willpower, I could tell that fear was the other factor that hinders women's advancement. Some women are afraid to contradict their husbands and societal expectations of them as stated by one woman from Tanzania,
At first I was refusing to go back to school—I had a husband, a diploma, and children. My father insisted that I should go back to school. I did. But I ended up with a divorce. My husband ran away.

We cannot easily conclude whether the man ran away because of his wife’s education or because he felt humiliated and overloaded by the father-in-law’s action—forcing his daughter to go for further education while the husband remained at home.

Determination is another factor that both women and men felt contributed to women’s academic and professional advancement and growth. Because of determination, one Tanzanian woman saw marital problems as an opportunity for her professional advancement and growth.

Determination is what made me be where I am today. I had problems with my husband. I decided to read more in order to be self-reliant. I’ve attained a position that enables me to take care of myself and my children.

As this journey continues, I see the signs of change, I sense the pain and struggle that some women have gone through, I hear the contradictions, and I keep asking, What should be done to enable a married woman to advance academically and professionally without jeopardizing her marriage? And I ask, What does it mean to a woman who is able to attain a better and higher education and training? What does her achievement mean to those around her: her husband, her immediate and extended members of her family and to her community? These questions are for future research.
Chapter Summary

This Chapter has given indicators of the various strategies that, if considered and implemented, would lead to some positive change.

Chapter VIII analyzes and interprets the data through Kurt Lewin's Analytical Frame (1948) and organization development frames, and presents some conclusions.
CHAPTER VIII

DATA ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

One of the struggles that has filtered through this journey has revolved around the question, "What frame or lens shall I use to view the data that will enable others to do likewise?" As an educational practitioner, my belief is that change cannot and will not occur if only women are addressed. Therefore, my approach has been an integrated one. For instance, as I explored the different theories, frames, and models for my comprehensive examination, I discovered that no one theory, no one model can be used to explain the phenomena. Likewise, I talked about the need for theory triangulation, or what I termed an eclectic/integrated approach.

The African woman administrator is very complex. First, she is a human being with her own needs to survive; second, she is a formally educated professional; third, she may have a husband and possibly one or more children; and finally, she may be living in a community composed of diverse groups of people: men, women, children, Christians, Moslems, and others. She may have had a traditional education as well. Viewing her through an "African Feminist Theory," if one exists, could not be inclusive of all that she is.

Similarly, I found that the Leadership Theory is androcentric. There are very few examples that include women. My third alternative was the Organization Theory. A consideration of
the different but related frames revealed that each frame is conceptually coherent and based on empirical data. The problem, however, lies in the disintegrated nature of the approach. The approach enables each frame to concentrate only on part of the truth, though the frames are not totally exclusive. Some authors have pointed out the incomplete nature of each of the organizational development (OD) frames. Each one is right, but incomplete in that it includes little or nothing about the other frames (Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1990; Nowa-Phiri, 1992, pp. 66-67).

Therefore, just as I used data triangulation to collect the data, theory triangulation is used to analyze, interpret, and evaluate the data. Specifically, I used Kurt Lewin's Analytical Frame and Bolman and Deal's and Birnbaum's organization development frames. By using the various OD frames, I came up with an integrated frame that I will use. But first, what is meant by data analysis, interpretation, and evaluation?

**Data Analysis, Interpretation, and Evaluation**

The data have been broken into elements in order to examine their nature, significance, and interrelationships (Rattray, 1987). In this chapter, I attempt to attach meaning and significance to the data by explaining the significance of patterns, relationships, and linkages (Patton, 1988), and to clarify meanings (Rattray, 1987) where possible. I also attempt to ascertain or fix the value of the data, and to appraise,
examine, and judge the value of my findings (Patton, 1988; Rattray, 1987).

Viewing the Data Through Kurt Lewin's Force Field Analytical Frame

The force field analytical frame is a model or lens that I used to perceive, analyze, or critique my findings. I used it to organize those factors that promote and those that hinder into two separate groups or categories. These are responses to the main question of my dissertation: What are the factors that hinder or promote utilization of African women in educational leadership positions? Beyond listing the factors, I utilize what Patton (1990) calls an advocacy-adversary approach through a discussion of the driving and hindering forces and an examination of ways to decrease the restraining forces.

How could change be realized? Lewin suggested working toward increasing the strengths of the driving forces and minimizing the restraining forces. Table 5 shows an example of how one could go about reducing the hindering forces. But what does it mean?

The table reveals more forces that block women than those that promote. However, change could still take place through force field analysis. Once the driving and restraining forces have been identified, the next step is to explore ways to minimize the restraining forces and to seek ways that will not reduce the strength of the driving forces. A few suggestions came up during the interviews. For instance, respondents talked about the need for the revision of curricula in order to use non-sexist language;
eliminating fees for girls to enable them to complete primary education and move up to secondary school level; educating teachers, the community, and to some extent policy-makers to change their attitudes toward girls' education and the placement of African women in educational leadership positions; revising the educational policy so as to provide a second opportunity to the girls; and basing hiring and promotional practices on academic and professional qualifications, work records, and performance during interviews, not on the gender of the person.

However, education through workshops, seminars, and other non-formal methods will be required to sensitize different groups of people. Education will lead to "unfreezing," or changing, as well as decreasing the strengths of the restraining forces, which include old attitudes, values, and behaviors. Once this is done, "it becomes possible to introduce and effect change" (Cunningham, 1982, p. 195). Once change is introduced, new attitudes, values, or behaviors will be developed through identification and/or internalization. Finally, "refreezing" the changes is necessary to protect the changes that have taken place and to ensure their long-range retention (Cunningham, 1987).
### Table 5

**Viewing Factors/Forces that Promote and Hinder African Women's Advancement Through Kurt Lewin's Force Field Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Driving Forces (Forces that promote)</th>
<th>Restraining Forces (Forces that block or hinder)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Positive models - colleagues, parents, and teachers</td>
<td>1. Lack of positive models</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Support - from spouses, parents, and supervisors</td>
<td>2. Lack of encouragement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Daring</td>
<td>3. Tribal and cultural expectation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Intrinsic motivation</td>
<td>4. Educational policy on pregnant girls and unwed women teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ambition</td>
<td>5. Motivation lacking, no ambition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Determination</td>
<td>7. Lack of confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Foresightedness</td>
<td>8. Inadequate training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Courage to break patterns (arranged marriages, saying no to elders)</td>
<td>9. Negative attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Encouragement--from spouses, supervisors, and parents</td>
<td>10. Low educational level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Support services--academic counseling, extra exercises</td>
<td>11. Dual hiring and promotional practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Positive reinforcement</td>
<td>12. Early pregnancies and marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15. Use of derogatory language when talking with girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. Segregation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

231
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DRIVING FORCES</th>
<th>RESTRAINING FORCES</th>
<th>STRATEGIES TO RESTRAINING FORCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECREASE</td>
<td>(Forces that promote)</td>
<td>(Forces that hinder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Positive models--parents, spouses, and teachers</td>
<td>Lack of positive models</td>
<td>Positive role models should visit schools talk to students, especially girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Support from parents spouses, supervisors</td>
<td>Lack of support</td>
<td>Educate society to help them change attitudes towards girl's education through mass media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>Lack of motivation, Extrinsically motivated</td>
<td>Educate girls and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ambition</td>
<td>Early pregnancies and marriages, no ambition</td>
<td>Education of the self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Willpower</td>
<td>No willpower</td>
<td>Introduce sex education, help girls set goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Courage to break patterns (arranged marriages), saying no to elders</td>
<td>Cultural and tribal values and expectations</td>
<td>Teach self-identity, pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Determination</td>
<td>&quot;I can't do this, this is for men.&quot;</td>
<td>Continue to break traditional and tribal patterns that hinder advancement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Foresightedness</td>
<td>Pleased with the here and now</td>
<td>Yes, you can do anything. See yourself as a human being and not as a woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Encouragement--from spouses, supervisors and parents</td>
<td>No encouragement, No training/Inadequate training</td>
<td>Teach goal-setting techniques</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provide adequate or more training opportunities for women

continued next page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Support services-- academic counseling and extra exercises in school</th>
<th>No time for additional work</th>
<th>Provide time management training and child care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Equal treatment of boys and girls at home</td>
<td>Unequal treatment, segregation, and discrimination</td>
<td>Provide at least equal and more opportunity for girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Positive reinforcement</td>
<td>Low educational level, negative reinforcement</td>
<td>Look for ways to increase retention and good performance, avoid negative reinforcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>Lack of confidence</td>
<td>Think positively, believe you can do it. Encourage girls to think positively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Self-awareness</td>
<td>Lack of self-awareness, multi-roles</td>
<td>Learn goal-setting techniques; prioritize activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Vision</td>
<td>No vision of the future</td>
<td>Teach future studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Use of derogatory language, religious values</td>
<td>Encourage use of non-sexist language in schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Negative attitudes</td>
<td>Educate society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Educational policy on pregnant girls and unwed women teachers</td>
<td>Change the policy, provide second opportunity to girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Being proud of being a woman</td>
<td>Chauvinism</td>
<td>Educate men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data Analysis Through Organization Development Frames

Utilizing Bolman and Deal's (1990) and Birnbaum's (1988) organization development frames, responses to the question, "Where are the African women educational leaders in the organizational structure?" are summarized and explained. Six frames will be used: the structural frame, the human resource frame, the political frame, the symbolic frame, the systems theory, and the cybernetics model.

Viewing the Phenomenon through the Structural or Rationale Frame

All the institutions that I visited for the purpose of collecting the data, are structurally hierarchical. Organization charts and job descriptions clearly showed employees' roles and relationships. Through organization charts, horizontal and vertical lines of communication could clearly be noted. The charts and staff lists help illustrate where women are. The common chart below is representative of the position of women in all the institutions that I visited, while the histogram represents the power levels of the different levels of leadership.

Viewing the Data Through the Human Resources Frame

Listening to the respondents' voices, concerns, aspirations, and ambitions, I think the men were to some extent able to satisfy their educational and professional needs through intrinsic motivation. Also, because of cultural beliefs, once they did the
school work, they did not have much to do at home. Most of their extra time was spent reading and studying through distance education. The end result has been attainment of better educational and professional qualifications.

Women, on the other hand, were not able to use this method because of multi-roles. Therefore, they have waited for opportunities to be provided to them. They have looked to the educational institutions that have recruited them to provide avenues such as short- and long-term training plans, scholarships, and fellowships. Most of these, however, have not satisfied the women's needs, especially the needs of those who were married.

Four women, three from Malawi and one from Tanzania, expressed their frustration at how decision-makers have excluded them from further training and placement in more responsible positions because of their marital status.
Through the human resource frame, I can see the frustration and anger in most of the interviewed women, and not in the men. Because of the opportunity that cultural values have implanted in the African society, men's needs seem to have been well met through distance education. Opportunities for further education are accorded to them by decision-makers, and they are trusted and depended upon since they do not have to move to follow their wives—"because it is the wives who should follow the husbands." It appears that the decision-makers become so androcentric that they fail to address the needs of women educational leaders.

And What Does One See Through the Political Frame?

Almost all the institutions that I visited talked about inadequate resources: human, financial, material, machinery, and others. For these institutions to function, a lot of goal-setting and prioritizing techniques are utilized. Due to prioritization, certain services suffer. One such service is the educational and professional training of African women educational leaders. Very few women have attended management courses or programs before assuming leadership positions. The numbers of trainees are always biased toward men. Most have had to learn their work through trial and error. This lack of training in educational management puts most women at a disadvantage. The few that have the capacity to bargain and negotiate with their supervisors have benefitted.

For instance, one woman from Tanzania was able to pursue a master's program because she confronted her supervisor about the way he kept changing the training plans under the pretext of
reshuffling. Above all, she negotiated for better plans to suit her multi-roles. The political frame explains the institutional politics that enable more men than women to take up the senior positions. Resources are scarce, services have to be prioritized, and the rest can be done through common sense or trial and error.

**The Symbolic Frame**

On the other hand, the symbolic frame enables us to see the significance that cultural values have on both men and women and in institutions. It is culturally symbolic that, no matter how highly educated a woman is, at home it is the man who acts as the head of the household, whether better educated than the woman or not. It is culturally expected that she manages the home on top of her office work. The man will therefore come home, relax, read newspapers, and/or study. If there is no household servant to help, all the cooking and childcare will be done by the woman. Parents and relatives encourage this trend of life.

Within educational institutions, different decorative materials, artifacts, and other displays reveal the institution’s, the department’s, and even the section’s culture and values. It was quite common to find a small flag placed on the desk of the heads of institutions, and unique posters or calendars of a certain type were often posted in the offices of the departmental heads. In some of the offices that were occupied by the women, it was a common practice to see posters advertising world peace and harmony. Offices were decorated with artifacts, artificial flowers, student and staff pictures, and world and national maps.
Information on students' academic records, inspection tours, and staff lists also were posted in some offices and common rooms.

Institutions like teachers' training colleges and secondary schools have a ritual or tradition. They decorate offices with symbolic artifacts, maps, pictures of the country's president, staff and students' pictures, and international posters. They hold assemblies every Monday morning, during which a structured ceremony is conducted. It includes greetings, singing the National Anthem, reading a verse or two from the Bible, interpreting the readings, making announcements, and a speech by the institutional head. The principal's speech spells out the values of the school, expectations of students, and strategies to attain the goals. While participation in single-sex schools is noncompetitive, in coeducational schools and colleges participation it is dominated by the male students.

Photograph 12.
Southern Region Staff List
(Malawi)

Photograph 13.
Tutors in Teachers Colleges
(Tanzania)
Toward the end of the academic year, a graduation ceremony is held which local leaders, in addition to the graduating students, the rest of the students, and professional and support staff attend. Speeches may be invited. Speeches are made by the head of the institution and outside officials, such as those from the Ministry or the Regional Education Office. The speeches focus on the graduating students, and, at times, stories of some heroes or "sheroes" who graduated from the college are included. Both students and staff look forward to these graduation ceremonies because of the special treatment that students receive, but also because this is a time when all share and participate in the institution's tradition, values, and culture. I was unable to attend any of these ceremonies because of bad timing. Graduates had already left the schools, ceremonies had already been celebrated, and only the first- and third-year students were still in school. But, through discussion and reflection on what used to happen in institutions while I was a student and later an administrator in Malawi, I can recognize and appreciate the value of all that was done through this symbolic frame. The problem lies in the fact that "female types of responsibilities," such as food distribution, are assigned to women, while men are involved in planning and management tasks.

Finally, men's chauvinism can be explained through the symbolic frame. Part of the African culture adores the man. The man is "superior" to the woman at home and to some extent at the place of work. But how long should we hold on to this tradition? From what I observed and recorded of the respondents, some women are now
getting a good education—in some cases a better education than the men. Women are holding responsible positions outside the home and moving out of the submissive status, though the numbers are still minimal. Why men’s superiority complex still dominates and whether culture is static are questions for future research.

**The Systems Theory and Cybernetics Model**

Finally, through the systems theory and the cybernetic model, we see the embeddedness of all the sections and departments in the larger institutions. We also see the similarities and differences between the institutions that I visited in Malawi and those in Tanzania. For instance, women are underrepresented at top-level management positions in the two ministries regardless of whether or not they have suitable educational and professional qualifications and capacity. Women are not readily considered for promotion. Educational resources, such as teaching and learning materials, are scarce in all the institutions that I visited. The fact that both women and men talked about institutional problems such as staff shortages and utilization of undertrained personnel is indicative of the existence of checking mechanisms that could be providing feedback to the institutional heads. I was unable to determine to what extent this kind of communication takes place.

Both the teachers’ training colleges and the secondary school that I visited use the testing and grading system as indicators of students’ success. In addition, observed teaching practice is used in teachers’ training colleges. Principals, senior lecturers, department and section heads, monitor students’
success. However, students' poor performance has been blamed primarily on the problem of insufficient resources. On a few occasions, the girls' low achievement has been attributed to laziness and lack of interest in school, without taking into consideration the multiple chores that they must perform at home. In addition, lack of confidence, family responsibility, and inadequate training are the factors cited as affecting women teachers, lecturers, and administrators. Again, while these hindering forces have been determined or are known, it appears no mechanism is yet in place for their correction.

Through the cybernetic model, I was also able to understand the complexity of each institution that I visited, and I recognized the existence of different levels of power and decision making. Different but related decisions are made. For instance, having noted that the general in-house service provided to the social studies lecturers to prepare for implementing the new syllabus was inadequate, the department head of Lilongwe Teachers' College planned and implemented an in-house workshop. But how often do we hear of the existence of self-correcting mechanisms in the institutions, and of leader capacity to receive clues and act (Birnbaum, 1988)? Not often enough.

In conclusion, use of theory triangulation in the data analysis section has enabled me to view some issues through different lenses, thereby validating the seriousness of the problem. Theory triangulation has also enabled me to identify new issues. Despite this, the value and significance of the data has not yet been discussed. That is what the next section discusses.
Data Interpretation

Not only do I attach meaning and significance to the data, but I also raise a few questions on some of the practices and traditions that have been static for a long time and are religiously followed or practiced by both women and men. Though I continue to use the themes that have dominated the dissertation, education of girls and women, placement of women in educational leadership positions, societal expectations of an African woman, and the woman herself, the discussion will focus on the education of girls and women, and educational policy.

Education of Girls and Women

Girls' education is affected by traditional values, social problems, and educational policy. Some communities and religious groups have encouraged girls to get married early because of the bridal price and the value attached to having children. Some parents and relatives have expressed concern that their daughter's reproductive system or fertility might be faulty if she stays in school for a long time and does not become pregnant. Also, the expectation is that the girl should not go beyond standard 8, which is the primary school leaving grade. But things are changing. Some parents support the education of both girls and boys, though the majority of parents, especially from rural places and Moslem communities, do not seem to attach much value to the girls' formal education.
The issue of social problems is connected not only to traditional values but also to the lack of sex education. In Malawi, neither parents nor the schools teach sex education. It is not in the syllabus. But as one respondent pointed out, because of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic, it is essential that we change our attitude and stop regarding talks about sex as taboo. We need to talk about safe sex with our daughters and students. If safe sex is taught in schools and at home, there might be fewer cases of girls who drop out of the formal school system prematurely. This calls for curriculum revision at all levels.

As for women's education, not many can afford to study through distance education once they are married, have children, and are also teaching. Thus, while men can upgrade professionally from T4 (Elementary Certificate plus two years of teacher training) to diploma and even master's degree level, women have been able to upgrade through special programs such as the Diploma Programs launched by the Ministry of Education in Malawi and the University. A few women, whose entry qualification was a diploma, have attained first and sometimes second degrees through scholarships and fellowships. Though it is difficult for women to study by correspondence and distance teaching methods, they do successfully study through "conventional" systems on a reentry basis. Such an arrangement, however, is dependent on the support of the spouse and, in some cases, the parents, as well as the overall training and funding that the Ministry or the government may provide. The plans have worked well where women have been
told in advance or have been part of the decision-making process. Advance notification enables the woman to discuss the prospects with her family and, in some cases, plan not to have children within the training period.

Problems have been experienced after successful training. On the one hand, the ambitious woman's high expectations have not been met due either to placement problems or to the fear that putting her in a responsible position may be unsuccessful because she might be required to move at any time to follow her husband. On the other hand, some have been afraid of taking the challenge and have preferred to continue doing their previous work. Four women (three from Malawi and one from Tanzania) expressed their frustration over the fact that they were either being underutilized or being forced to join other institutions instead of pursuing what they wanted to do; and two Malawian women spoke bitterly against qualified women who have shied away from responsibility. The bottom line is that both the policy-maker and the woman should think carefully about the training opportunities and what she will be doing upon successful completion of a program. Similarly, spouses should be prepared for some change and should be willing to see the wife spending more hours at work than was the case before.

Understanding oneself is another critical factor. One woman from Malawi stressed the need for women to have "willpower to succeed." Two other women talked about ambition and exploring other avenues to succeed. Similarly, the sisters from Tanzania exemplified their "willpower" through such expressions as, "I
confronted my boss when I saw that the training plan was changing every year under the guise of reshuffling, "and "I wanted to show him [her grand-father] that I was not in favor of arranged marriages." "Though my husband did not want me to apply for the job, I told him that I wanted to do something for which I had qualified," said one woman. They all showed bravery in breaking some of the traditional patterns and in taking the risk to ask for clarification when decisions appeared confusing, even challenging unfair decisions.

In sum, beyond the external motivation and factors is the self-knowledge, willpower, determination, and ability to set goals and to seek appropriate ways to attain those goals. Seeking ways to heal pain, frustration, and to some extent anger, are healthy ways to keep on moving, but they can be a big sacrifice.

**Educational Policy**

The current educational policy is unclear and in many cases unwritten. Sanctions are considered policy, and often these do not suit the girl’s or woman’s level of education. For instance, any primary- or secondary-school girl who becomes pregnant is expelled. Expulsion is regarded as the policy governing this social problem. Women in teacher training colleges who are married or single have to withdraw from college if they become pregnant. The same applies to university women. While morally the decision is sound, it puts the girl’s future in jeopardy, since only a few who have their parents’ and/or spouse’s support may complete their education through distance education and open
avenues for training in various fields. The majority are unable to study once they drop out of school. Although not all female college students apply for readmission (eligibility for which is based on the woman’s health), those who do must present a medical report certifying their fitness to resume classes. In addition, they must be in good standing academically, and there must be available space. For primary- and secondary-school students and, to some extent, college students, these decisions result in great waste of human potential.

Data Evaluation: Of what Value are the Data?

In Chapter I, I stated that the purpose of my study was to:
1) develop a better understanding of the issues that surround African women in educational leadership positions;
2) investigate the role that education plays in promoting and hindering women’s advancement;
3) investigate factors that promote and hinder utilization of African women; and
4) identify strategies that could bring forth some positive change.

I feel that all the objectives have been achieved. However, I would like to appraise the data from another angle by considering what significance and value the data hold for:

a) the African woman,
b) the African man,
c) the parents and community,
d) the school teacher,
e) the educational policy-maker, and, possibly,
f) the funding agency.

For each group, I present one or two suggestions.

To the African Woman

By listening to other women’s struggles and experiences, one can begin to hear similar experiences of pain and perseverance, and to understand the courageous actions that have enabled some women to succeed. Some women can relate to these experiences through their own. Both similarities and differences can provide enrichment and growth. Hopefully, each can begin to examine her own experiences, see where she is, and begin to do something about some of the issues and factors that affect her life. Even if no major change can be made, let the data provide a learning experience.

To the African Man

The data provide some insight and an opportunity to hear what is happening to the women, and what some men feel about it. Above all, the data could enable men to learn of the support that some husbands and supervisors have provided to women. The data provide an opportunity to enable men to learn what some women have done and can do.
To the Parents and the Community

Those who have contributed can see what a difference they have made, but, above all, others can begin to seek ways to promote the education of girls in general, not only that of their daughters or their neighbors' daughters. Exposure to the data could enable some to engage in a process of inquiry concerning the place of culture; even where culture. Even where culture is static, there may be ways to encourage positive change.

To the School Teacher

Some sections provide good feedback on what is happening in schools and classrooms. The negative messages that girls get may not have been intentional; therefore, the data could serve as a sensitizing tool to some. A cautious effort could be made to exercise care when talking to girls and when using classroom examples. I am not talking about "political correctness" but a classroom language that is fair and appropriate to the entire student population. I am concerned with classroom and school management that is nonsexist and encourages equal participation of girls and boys.

To the Educational Policy-Maker

The data provide some information that could be used to make informed decisions. If not, the data include some people's
views regarding the curricula and the policy on schoolgirls and unwed teachers who become pregnant. The data show how some respondents were dissatisfied with discriminatory syllabi that assign girls to home economics, needlework, and arts, while boys and men get assigned to woodwork, brickmaking, carpentry, metalwork, and mathematics and other sciences. The data illustrate how women's development is affected by constant service breaks caused by interdictions or maternity leave, and the loss of education that results after a girl drops out of school because of social problems. In addition, the general recommendation is that recommendations made previously need to be implemented, such as confinement for married teacher trainees who become pregnant before their period of study is over.

To the Funding Agencies

The data could help them determine areas of educational and/or professional need in order to improve women's status. Decisions on scholarships and fellowships for women would begin to depart from the mainstream—women in agriculture, women in home economics, and other stereotypical programs.

In concluding this section, the reader is reminded that the data presented could provide information to different audiences: decision-makers, educational planners, program planners, funding agencies, women themselves, teachers, husbands, parents, and others. The data show where women are and suggest ways to address some of the issues. However, it must be noted that a lot more
research needs to be done in the different areas to get a deeper and better understanding of the issues and factors.

A great deal of data were collected, and different themes emerged. The data have been grouped under different themes and viewed through different frames or through theory triangulation. Use of theory triangulation has resulted in viewing certain issues more clearly, as themes have recurred through the different frames and thereby confirmed the seriousness of the problem.

While I do not dispute the value of this data to the researcher, I hope that other groups of people, such as women, men, decision-makers, teachers, and others, can also find and learn something valuable from this study.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study provided the beginning of the inquiry on issues and factors that affect African women in educational leadership positions. Searching back to cultural, historical, and educational factors, the study established a basis for understanding the situation of women in Africa, and made the reader aware of determinants that might be taken for granted or viewed as cultural norms that could not be changed.

Chapter I set the tone by defining the problem of underrepresentation of African women in positions of educational leadership. The study investigated the factors that promote, as well as those that hinder, utilization of African women in educational leadership positions; it examined the role of
education, society, and the woman herself in promoting and/or hindering women's advancement.

Though the study was initially constrained by limited data and the lack of literature that specifically addressed African women educational leaders, Chapter II shows that the use of literature on women in educational development, organizational development, and leadership provided some theoretical background. The lack of literature on African women educational leaders makes this study one of the few that have been undertaken in Sub-Saharan Africa, and possibly one of the first to be undertaken. Pressed with a multitude of issues that affect women at the grassroots level, some people expressed surprise that this type of study was being done. For them, it is premature to tackle this phenomenon now. I challenge those people by informing them that with more women holding educational leadership positions we can reach out to most of the people in Africa. “Ukaphunzitsa bambo waphunzitsa munthu m’modzi koma ukaphunzitsa mai waphunzitsa mtundu wonse [If you educate a man you educate one person, but if you educate a woman you educate the whole nation] (Lewis et al., 1990, p.1).

The review of literature further revealed that work on women in development has progressed, but most of it has centered around women at the grassroots level, women and agriculture, and girls at the primary school level, as shown through the Girls Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education Project (GABLE Project, Malawi, 1991). Not much research and writing has been done with reference to the secondary and tertiary levels. Information that addresses women in educational leadership is scanty even in industrialized
countries (Shakeshaft, 1987, 1989). Through some of the work that has been done on African women in development, the problem of research methodology had been highlighted by writers like Segal (1989) and Banda (1990). Bearing this in mind, I decided to use qualitative methods of inquiry that utilized such techniques as interviews, observation, and photography. Interviews enabled me to be present at the interview scenes in Malawi and Tanzania. The advantage of using the interview technique cannot be overemphasized. It enabled me to get in contact with the respondents, to observe their reaction during the interviews, and to see the level of confidence and trust that existed between the interviewees and the interviewer. While some respondents were surprised that I was doing this type of research, it was gratifying to see faces that showed excitement that an African woman was looking at the issue of African women in educational leadership. The excitement was enhanced by a level of trust that led to some surprising responses.

The research methodology, data collection techniques, and the sample were presented in Chapter III. Since collecting the data, I have presented part of my findings at the Eighth African Educational Research Symposium in Athens, Ohio, at the Center for International Education’s twenty-five year celebration, at a brown bag lunch at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, and at a class discussion to which I had been invited. I have had the opportunity to do peer debriefing, and I have shared my work and findings informally with many people, especially women, who have given me some constructive feedback. Some people found my
findings informative, interesting, and inspirational. Others questioned the relevance of the topic to the African continent and felt that I was not dealing with African issues. But when I explained that the data were collected in Africa and that African men and women were interviewed, they showed surprise and proclaimed, "I didn't know we had such problems in Africa!"

Indeed, these opposing views were only possible through use of data and theory triangulation.

What also helped were presentations made during symposia, conferences, brown bag lunch series, and class seminars. Registration for the seminars was restricted to graduate students who were writing comprehensive examinations, dissertation proposals, and dissertation chapters. Each participant started at a point that was appropriate and comfortable for her or him. While some of my colleagues were ahead of me, others were behind me. This seminar met once a month, and before meeting we distributed a chapter or a two-page piece to the professor and each member of the class. Each person read and critiqued the paper, and when we next met, we gave each other constructive feedback. The process enabled me to improve some aspects of my dissertation.

Participants in the conference, symposium, and brown bag lunch series asked clarifying questions and contributed their points of view. People's questions revealed the fact that there are many areas that need to be investigated. For example, one man asked me if I had considered the concept of "a good wife" and whether the concept fitted my research. Faced with some of the
crises that we have, somebody could indeed conduct research on the concept of a good wife and a good husband, especially now that family values and workplace ethics seem to be falling apart.

One participant during the brown bag lunch session wanted to know if my data included such variables as respondents' age, ethnicity, and geographic location, and another one wanted to know whether there were similarities between my findings in Africa (Malawi and Tanzania) and what the literature said about women in America and other places. Another participant wanted to know if some of the factors were rooted or grounded in historical and colonial imperialism. While only two participants discussed the issues and factors in these terms, there is literature that traces the factors back to these roots, for example, Lamba and Gondwe (1991) and Mandala (1990).

Similarities and differences were noted and discussed based on the literature reviews that had been done before collecting data. From the literature review and the data, it became clear that women are underrepresented in positions of educational leadership in many places, and that women are at different stages of development. For example, while many women in America have master's degrees and even Ph.D.'s and are fighting for equality, many women in Malawi and Tanzania have to continue to improve their education and professional qualifications. Even in a comparison between Malawi and Tanzania, more Tanzanian women had second degrees than Malawian women. Most of the department heads in Tanzania had a master's degree, while those in Malawi had only a first degree or a special diploma that some teachers acquire.
after years of teaching (a diploma designed by the University of Malawi and the Ministry of Education). Therefore, one of the real needs for the Malawians is an opportunity for further education. Provisions of equal educational opportunity cannot be stressed enough.

The use of methodology that utilized multi-techniques led to a collection of confirmable data. The issue of underrepresentation of African women in educational leadership positions is a critical one. The scanty literature that is available on the subject, an analysis of the staff lists that I was given, and interview data all showed that most women leaders are in the lower administrative management positions. The highest position held by a woman educator in Malawi at the time of the interview was P6, four levels below the highest position in the Ministry of Education. All but two departments were headed by men. The trend was similar at the teachers' training colleges; though one of the two was headed by a woman, the deputy and all department heads were male. The only exception was the girls' secondary school where interviews were held. There, the headmistress was a Catholic sister, the deputy was male, and all the department heads were women. These positions, however, do not carry the same high status as those at Ministry Headquarters and other institutional leadership positions, such as principal of a teachers' training college or Principal of the Malawi Institute of Education. Secondary school leadership may be at the ranks of P7 and P8 while at the other institutions they may be as high as P4 and P2.
Chapters IV through VII presented the data and analysis. African women shared their stories of success, struggle, and perseverance. African men presented from their own experience stories of women's success and struggle. The recurrent themes centered around girls' education, societal expectations of a woman, the woman herself, her attitude toward schooling and working in leadership positions, educational policy, and recruitment and placement procedures. While more girls now receive primary education, in both Malawi and Tanzania less than thirty-five percent receive secondary education. More girls than boys drop out of the primary- and secondary-school cycles due to social problems. Girls' performance at the end of the primary school cycle (eight years for Malawi and seven years for Tanzania) has been poorer than that of boys in both Malawi and Tanzania. Reasons for poor performance included inadequate time for study at home, since they spent more time on household chores. Lack of support for girls' education from both parents and teachers has also been a factor. However, at present there is inadequate data on these topics and more research needs to be done.

A quota system was used in both Malawi and Tanzania to ensure that at least thirty-three percent of the secondary-school places were allocated to girls. While critics who are concerned with the quality of education that these students receive object to this policy, others feel that without a quota system fewer girls may make it to secondary or eventually university level. Personally, I feel ways should be explored to improve the performance of girls at both the primary- and secondary-school
levels. For instance, academic support and general counseling services could be offered.

Another similarity between Malawi and Tanzania was in their placement and promotion of women. Women held teaching positions in both countries; a few held low-level management positions such as secondary-school headmistress (mainly at all-girl secondary schools), a few were department heads in all-girl secondary schools, and others worked as section heads in teacher training colleges and coeducational schools. Chan'gumbe Teachers’ Training College in Tanzania was exceptional in that most of the department heads were women. No woman headed a department in the Ministry of Education either in Malawi or in Tanzania. No department was headed by a woman at the two teacher training colleges in Malawi or at the Malawi Institute of Education. Details of the placement of African women are provided in Chapter V. As in other countries, including industrialized ones, most women educational leaders in Malawi and Tanzania held low-level management positions, while men held middle- and top-level administrative management positions.

The study further noted that women were underrepresented at all the educational institutions visited except at Stella Maris, an all-girl Catholic secondary school. Reasons for this inequity included lower educational and professional qualifications for women, lack of ambition from the women themselves, as well as unfair promotional procedures. In addition, top- and middle-level management positions are political and hiring is by appointment, not by interview. To be considered for such positions, one
Tanzanian woman pointed out, "you must dance to the tune of decision-makers. And anytime you do otherwise, you lose your appointment." Similar stories were shared by the women from Malawi who attended interviews and did well, but were not hired for the position because of their sex. I recommend that hiring for advertised positions should be based on performance during interviews or written examinations, academic and professional qualifications, work experience, and letters of recommendation. Considering that currently there are more men in decision-making positions in educational institutions than women, an effort should be made to increase the female/male ratio to 1:3 and gradually to 1:2. For this recommendation to work, more women should be considered for advanced degrees and leadership training.

Another finding is that not many people are aware of the issues and factors that surround African women, even the women themselves. For many women, the feeling is that it is their job to be responsible for all the household chores on top of their paid job. They will not let their spouses help with the housework. Therefore, women continue to socialize their children in a way that prepares boys for responsibility in public places, while girls are prepared for responsibility in the home. This socialization is seen through the type of clothes expectant mothers buy for their children. If the baby turns out to be a boy, most of the bedding and clothes are blue. If it is a girl, then pink clothes and a pink babycot are purchased. Toys, too, are defined by the child’s gender—baby dolls for girls and trucks, aeroplanes and other vehicles for the boys. When the children
begin to learn the different things people do in life, girls spend time with their mother doing motherly or household chores, while boys are taught skills by men that prepare them for future leadership roles. These skills include basket weaving, mat making, and house construction.

Schools have reinforced the training that begins at home by assigning most leadership positions to the boys, positions such as class monitor or group leader in science and other projects. These stereotypical examples show how both schools and the women themselves perpetuate the differential treatment of the sexes. Women need to realize that any person is capable of doing anything productive on this earth. What is important is to stop thinking in terms of gender, and stop dominating the household chores. Men, too, should realize that by sharing household work time can be saved for the women, thereby enabling them to do more creative things and to take on more responsibility in public places of work. In schools, both men and women teachers need to change the way they treat girls. They need to provide more support and encouragement to enable more girls to do well and to take up leadership roles. Girls should not only assume leadership roles in all-girl secondary schools, but in coeducational schools as well.

In Tanzania, too, women were underrepresented at the Ministry headquarters and at the Institute. All the department heads were male, and so were the Liaison Officer, the Commissioner of Schools, and the Principal Secretary. Women served from the rank of section head and below. This pattern was also the case at
the Institute for Curriculum Development, where the top positions of Principal and Deputy Principal were occupied by male incumbents. The Institute has nine departments, and two are headed by women. Similarly, at Chan’gombe Teachers’ Training College, the top two positions were occupied by men, though a good number of women were heads of departments. Perhaps the socialist ideologies that led to many private schools being opened in Tanzania and to greater educational opportunity, especially for women, had been responsible for enabling both men and women to attain higher educational levels than those I interviewed in Malawi.

Another striking difference was in how respondents answered the question about their future plans. Respondents from Tanzania confined their responses to education and career, while respondents from Malawi answered on a more personal level. People in Tanzania with first degrees talked about pursuing programs leading to the attainment of a master’s degree, while the few with a master’s degree talked about getting a Ph.D. Ninety-five percent of the respondents in Malawi said that they would go back to college if they could secure a scholarship. While it was clear that the need for further education in Malawi exists and is contingent on the availability of scholarships, many people in Tanzania had financed their education through personal arrangements. People sponsored themselves, or parents provided the financial support to enable their daughters to pursue higher education.
Realizing that enrollment for girls and women lags behind that of boys and men at all educational levels, a deliberate effort must be made to determine strategies that will increase girls' and women's numbers at all educational levels. Strategies have to be determined to sustain girls' retention once they register in school. I therefore recommend revision of all educational policies that are detrimental or that perpetuate the retention problem; specifically, the admission, promotion, and discipline policies should be analyzed. Right now it is not clear when universal primary education will be offered, and it is not clear which girls get the Mrs. Dr. Shields Scholarship that is administered by the National Commission on Women in Development (Masi, 1993). The scholarship fund is one mechanism that was established to help improve girls' attainment in basic education and literacy. I recommend that education for girls at the primary level should be free, and that, in order to increase girls' enrollment at the secondary-school level, equal secondary-school places should be provided. In other words, I support the recommendation contained in the policy document that secondary-school admission for girls be increased to fifty percent (Hauya, 1993).

Notwithstanding the advantages, the above recommendation has quality implications. How is the Ministry of Education going to ensure that girls who are selected or offered the opportunity are capable of studying at that level and beyond? One strategy I further recommend is the provision of special academic support
services for needy students, especially the girls at both the primary and secondary levels.

Again, if the drop-out rate continues to be affected by the educational policy that any pregnancy results in suspension, more girls will continue to drop out than boys. Therefore, I wish to underscore the recommendation made by most respondents and participants in the workshop that produced the policy document referred to above, namely, that the girls should be given a second chance once they drop out of school because of social problems. I further recommend that girls who become pregnant be asked to withdraw from school for a period of confinement and return to school within the same year, when they are physically fit to study. Such girls should be provided with counseling services both before they go into confinement and when they return. They should also be provided with special academic assistance to catch up on their school work.

However, I feel that the need for the above-mentioned procedures would be minimized if the curriculum were revised to include sex and family education. Teachers should be prepared to teach the subject; and parents also need to talk about this topic with their children, especially the girls. As I write these conclusions, some Malawian men in America are discussing the plight of the Malawian schoolgirls who are molested by some Malawian men, "the sugar daddies." While policies are in place for schoolboys and for male teachers who impregnate schoolgirls, there is no policy that covers men from outside the education system. These men need to be educated, but first there is a need
for a public policy that addresses the issue. Such a policy should include education and treatment of the perpetrators and punitive sanctions such as fines or imprisonment.

A clear policy on promotion requirements should also be formulated to safeguard women from sexual harassment. Though not yet a serious problem, women have been harassed during interviews and have been expected to grant sexual favors. The need to tighten moral values and ethics is very critical (Mutahaba & Balogun, 1992).

Educational policy formulation needs improving as well. Reading both the policy documents and documents that discuss education issues shows that policy statements are either absent or fuzzy. It appears that most people involved in policy formulation have had no training and therefore have difficulty deciding how to go about the policy formulation process. The lack of women representatives at the policy-making level and the lack of training in policy analysis and formulation explains why for a long time there have been no specific policies to address girls' education and women's issues. It is therefore recommended that a policy-formulation team be set up and trained. Such a team should include people from the following groups: Ministry Headquarters, University of Malawi, Malawi Institute of Education, Malawi College of Distance Education, Regional and District Education, Teachers' Training and Technical Colleges. The team should include a minimum of two women and two teachers, one each from the secondary- and primary-school levels. Apart from policy formulation, the team should also be responsible for reviewing
existing policy and acting as an advisory team on policy issues to
decision-makers at Ministry Headquarters.

It is clear that culture and cultural values constitute an
important aspect of a nation's self-definition. People without a
culture are lost; they have no identity. While culture defines
the people, it can also be detrimental to people's development
when a country is only concerned with nation building and national
identity. This research did not identify cultural issues or
factors that are directly rooted in the education system.
However, when participants were explaining factors that hinder
women's participation in educational leadership positions, it
became clear that some problems arise from the heavy household
duties and societal expectations of a woman's place. Household
duties in the private domain have been defined as "feminine"
duties. They include cooking, housekeeping, bringing up children,
taking children and husbands to the hospital when they fall sick,
and attending to some communal duties. On the other hand, when
men get home from the workplace, they have a lot more time to
relax and study. Therefore, while it is difficult for women to
upgrade through distance education, some men are able to advance
from a T4 grade to a diploma and even a degree level. However,
despite low levels of education, women are no longer confined to
the private domain. Many women no longer serve only as wives.
They are mothers, home managers, and some are able to assume
administrative responsibilities. As has been pointed out, women
now contribute in the public domain. Their contribution is now
understood as going beyond the performance of household chores,
and they participate intensely in the production process. This calls for a different view of the concept of "a good wife," and of women in general.

An understanding of the important roles that women play will lead to better ways to utilize and recognize their abilities. During the interviews, two women pointed out, "I want to be recognized for everything I'm doing. I'm not fighting for equality." I share their stand, because no matter what happens, equality cannot be achieved at this point in time. Even among the men, there is no equality; no two educational administrators can claim to be equal. We should fight for equity or fairness. It is therefore recommended that equal opportunity for education and training be provided to both men and women. Where necessary, programs and projects should be biased toward women's needs to enable more women than men to attain higher educational levels and skills, in order to correct the current imbalance and equip more women with appropriate and enabling skills.

Women, let us educate ourselves on those cultural aspects that are detrimental to our personal and professional achievement. Let us use culture to educate and enrich our lives. Let us begin to move out of the tradition of dominating the household chores and allow men to help us. Let us move away from color coding our children's clothes. Men, too, have to be prepared to help with the household chores in order to provide the women with some extra time for more responsibility in the public domain. But a cautionary note needs to be made here. More responsibility in the public domain for women in no way means placing men in subordinate
positions. I am not advocating disrespect in the families; I am advocating not masculinity in women, but equal opportunity to enable more women to serve in leadership positions and to advance.

It has been noted that traditional (e.g., initiation ceremonies) and formal education may teach or impart contradictory messages. While recommending more research in this area, there is a need to form a group of formally educated women who should be entrusted with the task of learning from wise elderly women about some of the special teachings that are covered during the different initiation ceremonies. Thereafter, the formally educated group of women should analyze the teachings and propose ways to modify the unwritten curricula that are used, and to determine ways that could lead to complementarity between the informal and the formal types of education.

Turning to women in positions of educational leadership, I feel their number is capable of increasing if opportunities are provided. Beyond education, the women have to take responsibility, examine the extent to which cultural traditions are to be followed, and, where necessary, break the cultural barriers. As some respondents pointed out, culture is not static and should be used to educate and to improve women's lifestyles. Therefore, it is necessary to examine some of the cultural values that perpetuate the subordination of women in order to come up with strategies for improvement. For example, a culture that encourages early marriages is one that needs changing, while one which promotes respect, values family life, and promotes national and ethnic identity should be encouraged. However, because there
is not much literature on this subject, more research is necessary to understand cultural barriers before specific strategies can be suggested.

As for parents and the community, both the literature and the interview responses show that there is a lack of support from some parents, especially those from rural areas. Some parents see no value in educating girls and encourage their daughters to get married early. Though I have a different point of view on this, there is a need to educate both parents and the community on the value of educating a girl child. Therefore, it is recommended that more research be done in this area to determine the validity of the above position, and, if possible, parents whose daughters dropped out of school should be the subjects.

Finally, while many people found this topic interesting and the discussions about it informative, and were in agreement on the need for this type of research, two felt it was unnecessary. They did not elaborate upon the reasons why they felt this type of research was unnecessary. Therefore, it can be concluded that though some people are ready for this type of change, many have to be educated on the topic to broaden the awareness level.

Specific Recommendations

Based on field observations, respondents suggestions and my analysis of the phenomenon, some specific recommendations are described below within the following themes:

1) Girls' Education

2) Family, Culture, and Community
Girls' Education

While acknowledging that some work aimed at improving girls' education is in progress, there is a need to offer special services that will improve girls' achievement during primary-school leaving examinations, as well as their teachability at secondary-school level and their performance during secondary- and tertiary-level education. Therefore, the following recommendations are made:

1. Special academic support programs should be introduced at both the primary- and secondary-school levels, and teachers should be specially trained to ensure effective delivery of the service. The aim of these special support programs is to improve students' competency and achievement in certain subjects. Though all needy students can have access to these programs, the main targets are the girls.

2. Teachers need to be made aware of their negative attitudes toward girls' education through awareness training sessions. By including gender sensitivity programs in the teacher training curriculum, future teachers would be prepared and the need for sensitivity programs would only be applicable to serving teachers. It is therefore recommended that there should be purposeful planning to offer gender sensitivity/awareness workshops and seminars at national,
regional, and district levels. I am aware that some work is
in progress at the primary school level through the GABLE
and other USAID-funded projects and that this recommendation
calls for expansion of the service to teacher training and
secondary school levels.

3. One recurrent factor mentioned during the field work was
that many girls drop out of school prematurely. Most girls
drop out due to early marriage and pregnancies. Though
statistics were not available in the official documents at
the Ministry of Education, or in such documents as Report of
Workshop on Policies on Girls Education (Hauya, 1993) and
Reducing Repetition in Malawi's Primary Schools (Williams,
1992), the seriousness of this problem cannot be
overemphasized.

In order to improve girls' access to secondary school and
eventually to the tertiary level, the following recommendations
are made:

1) continuous assessment techniques should be used;
2) selection examinations should be offered;
3) academic counseling and career guidance should be provided
   in primary and secondary schools;
4) Afterschool supervised study sessions should be provided,
   for at least one hour a day; and
5) the secondary school selection quota should be increased to
   50-55 percent.

Apart from looking at internal efficiency, real improvement
could be measured through output indicators, which would show
fifty to a hundred percent of females graduating from the primary and secondary school levels, with an increased enrollment at the tertiary level as well. Current reports show that the girls' drop-out rate is higher than that of boys (Mbilinyi et al., 1991; Williams, 1992). Girls' performance during the primary school examinations and "O" levels has been reported to be lower than that of boys. The only report that shows a higher performance rate for girls in Arithmetic, Chichewa, and Science is the Malawi Primary School Quality Study (1987), which is a puzzle to many.

It is therefore critical that decision-makers be concerned not only with increasing girls' enrollment, but also with the quality of girls' education.

It has been noted earlier, and many other writers have also stated, that girls do not have as much time to study at home as boys do, hence their academic performance is lower. Once they get home, girls do not relax as much as boys do, because they are involved in many household chores. While it may be difficult to ask and expect parents to reduce girls' involvement at home, it is my contention that improvement could be realized if the schools provided some mechanism to facilitate girls' studies. As already suggested, the Ministry should consider introducing special student support programs to be offered at the beginning of the following standards or grades: standards five and eight, forms one and three (grades seven and nine), and the first year of college. Realizing that money could be a factor, the service could initially be launched as a project while teachers are in training, and finally be implemented as part of the strategies aimed at
improving educational efficiency. Efficiency here includes quality, access, and achievement. This process has the potential to improve retention and achievement, and to provide the opportunity for more girls to qualify for entry to the tertiary and university levels than is now the case.

College and University Education

Though it is generally felt that more women are pursuing college and university education, less than 30 percent of those enrolled in colleges and at the university are women (Education Statistics, 1990). However, there are more women in Malawi than men, so the above inequity needs to be rectified. Ways need to be explored to address the situation. One way is to gradually increase women's enrollment to thirty percent in two years' time, to forty percent in five years, and finally to fifty percent eight to ten years from now. For these recommendations to be feasible, more women should be prepared to study nontraditional programs such as engineering, computer science, and environmental studies, among others.

More career opportunities will open, but, as will be shown under "The Woman Herself," domestic or household chores should be done by everybody—men and women—in order to enable women to work in both private and public domains. Specifically, women with the potential to take on leadership positions should be given appropriate training and placed in leadership positions. This calls for decisions that are impartial and based on work
experience and performance records, academic and professional credentials, performance during interviews, and recommendations.

**Family, Culture, and Community**

Change cannot be complete if only schools and women are considered. Clearly, one serious constraint is rooted in cultural and societal expectations of women that have been built on patriarchal and capitalistic ideologies. Although some good values have been imparted through both organized and unorganized informal education, this informal education has also been responsible for some oppressive values that have been imparted and perpetuated. Culturally, women have been taught to be subservient, hard-working, and to hold secondary positions in a family. That expectation has been observed and practised in educational institutions as well as through the assignment of junior classes to women, while men are assigned to senior and examination classes. Men have been appointed to head departments and sections, while women have been left to concentrate on teaching duties.

Though not much research has been done on this, the limited studies that have so far been conducted show that when a family with inadequate finances has to make a choice as to who should go to school, preference was for the boys. Also, girls' performance has been reported to be lower than that of the boys in both Tanzania and Malawi. Factors that have led to this condition include inadequate study time at home, involvement with household chores, lack of interest, and others. It is therefore recommended
that parents should consider giving equal study time to children at home to enable them do their homework. Also, girls whose schoolwork suffers due to inadequate study time at home should be provided with academic support services. Schools should provide supervised study sessions during teaching time, and, as already suggested, an additional hour at the end of the school session. I realize that additional time would be required of teachers, but this service can be effectively provided by the schools if teacher incentives are provided. Thus, the Ministry should seriously consider increasing teacher salaries and offering other motivators. Some countries are already offering these incentives, so all the Ministry would have to do is to send some of its personnel on a study tour to countries like Botswana, Namibia, and Tanzania.

The Woman Herself

The women models who told their stories of success, some of the men who were interviewed, as well as the literature, show that determination, risk-taking, hard work, willpower, willingness to break traditional norms, and support from parents, supervisors and colleagues are some of the strengthening forces that enabled the women to succeed. On the other hand, when these forces were lacking, women found themselves in subordinate and subservient positions. However, not much has been recorded about women in educational leadership positions, especially African women. It is therefore recommended that the women take responsibility to tell and share their success stories, produce and publish them.
Indeed, women have written a great deal about women in agriculture, women and development, and especially women and literacy; but there is a need to move to higher levels. Women administrators need to provide leadership by talking about their success stories, challenges and, where possible, strategies that enabled them to continue working. To facilitate the writing, it is further recommended that an association of women administrators be formed. Its tasks should include organizing workshops and seminars, determining research areas, and publishing materials such as books and other informational documents.

It is further recommended that the Ministry of Education, in liaison with the Training Department, and the University of Malawi, give priority to training women educational leaders and placing trained women in appropriate positions.

Similarly, promotional opportunities should be equitably distributed among men and women. Most senior positions in educational leadership are currently filled by men; effort should therefore be made to increase the number of women in these positions to ensure equitable distribution of the educational resources.

Considering that there were a few occasions when women turned down educational leadership positions because of being women, it is strongly recommended that both women and men stop thinking in terms of gender when selecting programs of study and when working. Unless they are physically disabled, women and men should begin to think and view themselves as human beings capable
of doing anything. Both men and women should have high aspirations and aim to achieve them.

Noting that in many cases it has taken women a much longer period of time than most men to be promoted, special consideration should be made to increase the proportion of women to men in administrative positions to reach a 1:3 ratio in five years time, and a 1:2 ratio ten to twelve years from now.

Educational Policy

As noted above, some of the educational policy is particularly detrimental to girls' education and women's advancement within the education system. Work is already in progress to change this situation. Therefore, some of the recommendations that I make may be outdated by the time this document is read. However, some of the recommendations could be different. Thus, the recommendations that follow will basically cover policy formulation and implementation processes.

Educational Policy Formulation. Reading the documents that discuss education and development policy issues, it was clear that policies on girls and women were either fuzzy or missing, that some key players were not involved in the policy-making process, that people who had not been trained in policy-making were involved, and that some pertinent policy statements were undocumented. It is therefore recommended that:

A policy-making team be formed, composed of people from the following institutions: District and Regional Administration, Distance Education, Teacher and Technical Education, Malawi
Institute of Education, the University, and the Ministry of Education. The team should include a minimum of two women.

The team should be trained in policy analysis and formulation, and be prepared for policy analysis and formulation duties. In addition, the team should be responsible for preparing policy implementation guidelines. When necessary, the team should also conduct workshops for those who implement policies.

Existing Policy. Although a new policy document has been produced, the document has some flaws that could be rectified through revision and further research into some of the issues that were addressed. It is therefore recommended that the document be revised, preferably by a group selected from the same institutions that have been suggested above.

It is further suggested that research be conducted to determine areas that would benefit girls through counseling. The current decisions do not seem to have been based on research that was conducted in Malawi, and their validity is questionable.

Research is also vital in order to determine the seriousness of some of the problems that currently affect primary and secondary school girls, and in order to determine appropriate interventions to improve girls' education in terms of its quality, access, and retention. For instance, it has been reported that some girls drop out due to early marriages and pregnancies, but there are no statistics to show what percentage of the girls who dropped out did so due to pregnancy, early marriages, lack of interest, or other factors. Though determining the magnitude of
the factors may not be an issue, availability of the information would help decision-makers make informed decisions.

To avoid loop-holes and ambiguities, and to ensure the use of appropriate language, it is further recommended that, before any policy is disseminated for implementation, it should be sent to a legal practitioner for review.

**Recruitment and Placement**

Based on structures, literature reviews, and interviews, women are placed on the lower levels of the administrative hierarchy at the ministries, departments, and in most (if not all) coeducational schools. For example, at two of the teacher training colleges I visited during my field work, each of which had five departments, all the departments were headed by men. Blantyre Teachers College was headed by a male principal, and the deputy was also male. Lilongwe Teachers' Training College was headed by a female, and the deputy was male; there were two male senior lecturers and, out of the five deputy heads of departments, one was a woman. There were six other sections, four of which were headed by men. The documents from Blantyre Teachers College only provided general information up to the departmental level.

In the Ministry of Education men held the positions of principal secretary, deputy principal secretaries (four), and department heads. At the time of the interview, the highest rank held by a woman within the Ministry was P7. While things have since improved (two women were promoted to the rank of P5 and one to the rank of P6 in 1993), it is strongly recommended that the
Ministry should endeavor to include women at the top management level and increase the number of women at the middle management level to a ratio of one woman to every three men within the next five-year period.

At teacher training and technical colleges, achieving an equitable number should also be the goal. It is therefore recommended that if the head is a man, the deputy should be a woman. But women should also be given opportunity to head these colleges if they possess the necessary educational and professional requirements. Both men and women should be considered to head departments and sections.

Similarly, at the secondary school level the recent improvements show a general trend in the education system but do not seem to have addressed equity issues. It is noted that out of the seventy-four leadership positions, nineteen are filled by women (25.7%). These positions include twenty-four at the P6 level, of which five (20.8%) are filled by women; twenty-four at the P7 level, eight of which (33%) are women; and twenty-four at the professional level, six of which (25%) are women. While the Ministry could be commended for these changes, one should not be blind to the fact that women are still underrepresented in educational leadership positions. It is therefore recommended that the Ministry aim to reduce the male/female gap at the middle management level.

Considering that fewer women have so far attained college degrees than men, it is further recommended that a one-to-three ratio at the leadership level be established in the next five-
ten-year period. Thus, a deliberate effort should be made to balance the male/female ratios at the top levels of these educational institutions, from the level of principal and department head to that of senior lecturer and section head.

**Training.** To prepare women for these leadership positions, more women should be considered for further training. Currently, the ratio of women considered in relation to men is not known by the author. All the same, a 50:50 ratio is recommended.

**Placement.** Both men and women should be considered for placement in educational leadership positions. Currently women are underrepresented at all levels: primary, secondary, district and regional education, distance education, teacher education, technical education, Malawi Institute of Education, the University, and Ministry Headquarters. Each institution should identify potential women and either hire them or recommend them for hiring and placement in leadership positions.

**Promotion.** Though procedures are available for promoting teachers and educational administrators, there have been cases of male preference. Some of the interviewed women, as well as some of the written reports, refer to this problem. It is therefore recommended that after interview panels present their reports, an independent selection committee should review the reports and send a recommendation to the hiring officers--the Controlling and/or
Responsible Officers. Hiring should be based on the selection committee’s recommendations.

Though one would expect this to be common sense, I include it as a recommendation based on some of the reports and disclosures, especially from the women interviewees. Some women reported the use of inappropriate and sexist questions during interviews, and spoke of the appointment of women to senior positions based on the expectation that they will dance to the tune of the appointer, and, conversely, the demotion of some women because of their failure to do so. It is strongly recommended that promotion be based on work experience and credentials such as academic and professional qualifications, performance in interviews or written examinations, and references. Anyone who satisfies these requirements should not be denied advancement or promotion because of his or her gender, marital status, or age.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that this is the beginning of a long and winding journey. Women and men interested in advancing women’s status and the overall development of their country will probably join me. The question is, where would one join? It does not matter. We are all at different levels. Some will take up the challenge where this dissertation stops, while others will feel comfortable starting from the beginning. It is up to each and every interested individual to decide where and how to start. Finally, it will take the African woman to change societal definitions of an African woman and her roles. So long as an African woman accepts societal defined roles, not much
change will be realized. Such a move can be effected only by the African woman educational leader. Hence, the journey continues.

Implications

How will people know about this study? How will the information be disseminated? There will definitely be a need to engage in awareness missions. Both ministry people and school personnel should be given an opportunity to hear some of the suggested recommendations.

Malawi is one of the poor countries in Africa. Her education system operates on a very tight budget; therefore, it is necessary to include a plan of how change could be effected.

And Now What? Utility of the Findings

An Action Plan

This document was partially requested by some of the key respondents as well as by decision-makers at the Ministry of Education headquarters. Therefore, I plan to disseminate the information as soon as possible in abstract form. I also intend to extract sections of the dissertation and to use some of the data to produce articles for publication.

1. Through seminars and workshops, I plan to share the contents of the dissertation with educators in Malawi, especially women.
2. I also intend to implement some of the recommendations, such as the formation of an Association of Women Administrators in Malawi, and to set an agenda for the association which will include determining areas of training needs for women in education.

3. Task forces will be established, such as a policy analysis and formulation group, and a cultural analytic group comprised of the formally and informally educated, wise elderly women, and others.

4. A time frame will be devised for project proposal writing to secure funding for some of the tasks and projects.

5. A women's center will be opened that should function as a resource center for women administrators and all women aspiring to these leadership positions. From the center, members will plan seminars, workshops, conferences, and courses. In addition, the center will serve as a venue to produce publications on women's issues, and will serve as a clearing house for such publications.

6. In collaboration with the University, opportunities will be explored to enable women to pursue further education.

7. Rosters will be prepared for women to serve as instruments for achieving equity in employment opportunities and as aids in identifying women for appointment to senior positions. Information on the rosters should include women's qualifications, degrees earned, positions held, fields of specialization, and other pertinent information.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF PLANNED ACTIVITIES AND TIMEFRAME
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>MONTHS/WEKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Inquiries</td>
<td>April/May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of Intent Sent</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel to Malawi</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit MoE/DPMT/USAID</td>
<td>August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews/Obs./Doc. (NR)</td>
<td>Sept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews/Obs./Doc. (SR)</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow up Sessions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion with Min. Officials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting Ready for Departure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews/Obs./Doc. DSM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returning to Amherst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Briefing Academic Advisor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcribing/Analyzing Data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissertation Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

REVISED SCHEDULE OF PLANNED ACTIVITIES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>MONTHS/Weeks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Inquiries</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of Intent</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel to Malawi</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit MoE/USAID/DPMT</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schedule Interviews</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews (SR)</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews (CR)</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depart for DSM</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit MoE, DSM</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to Malawi</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depart for Amherst</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief Advisor</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revise Dissertation Proposal</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present to Dissertation Committee</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Data Collection Literature Review</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissertation Writing</td>
<td>/ / / / / / /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dear Sir,

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN MALAWI: JUNE-AUGUST, 1992

As you might be aware, I have been pursuing Doctor of Education studies at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. My course work and library research are almost completed, and I am preparing for field work. My area of interest is utilization of human resources in institutions of Higher Education; while my research topic is "Educational Leadership: Factors and Issues that Promote and Hinder Utilization of African Women in Educational Leadership Positions."

I plan to do my research in at least two countries. Both qualitative and quantitative methods will be utilized through following techniques: literature review, interviews, observation, participant observation, and document analysis.

My main interest is to interview institutional heads, their deputies, department and section heads; as well as a selected group of tutors and students. I would be very grateful if you gave me permission to conduct this research.

Yours sincerely,

Meria D. Nowa-Phiri
APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM JUNE, 1992
RESEARCH TOPIC: "EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS AND ISSUES THAT PROMOTE AND HINDER UTILIZATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS".

1. I, Meria Damalisy Nowa-Phiri, am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. Currently, I'm engaged in my field work that seeks to develop an understanding of the factors and issues that influence women to successfully participate in positions of educational leadership as well as those that limit their participation.

2. You are being asked to participate in my study. I’m conducting individual interviews, and analyzing documents. The interview covers background information, the role of education and society, aspirations, factors and issues that promote and hinder use of African women in educational leadership positions and recommendations.

   My intent is to gain a full understanding of your views regarding the phenomenon.

3. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed by a research assistant. My goal is analyze the data and to finally use them for the following purposes:
   a. Complete my dissertation
   b. Provide data and examples for presentation to policy makers and other interest groups.

   In conclusion, I wish to assure you that I will treat everything with due respect and confidentiality. No personal names will be disclosed apart from titles and indication of how many men and women were involved in the exercise. Should you choose to participate in this study, you have the right to withdraw from part of or all of the study at any time. You may also review the results of this study at its completion.

   Thank you for participating in this interview.

_________________________
Signature of Participant
APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE
Thank you once again for your willingness to participate in this interview. My questions cover a variety of themes ranging from experience, professional achievements to societal expectations.

(A) Background/Demographic Questions

1. Describe your academic and professional achievements. (How did you get to your present position?).

2. What was the size of your secondary school? Was it coeducational or single-sex?

3. What do you do in this institution? (Describe your role).


5. What major challenges have you had to deal with during the past two years?

6. How did you cope during your most challenging times?

The purpose of these questions was to serve as an ice-breaker, to set the stage, to create an atmosphere that was comfortable, friendly and non-threatening.

(B) Role of Education

7. What percentage of girls from your village have attained secondary school leaving certificate, college diploma and/or first degree?

8. What is the explanation for high/low percentage?

9. To what extent has education contributed to your getting to your present position?

10. As you look back, how has education hindered your advancement?

The purpose of these questions was to examine the role that education plays and to relate education to career advancement. In a way, exploring the view that education is an investment that should help in a country’s overall development efforts.

(C) Aspirations

11. What do you plan on doing five-ten years from now?

12. What do you think are the problems you will encounter?
13. How will you address and/or manage the problems? (What strategies will you use to attain your goals?)

14. How will you know that you have attained your goals? What indicators (measurement tools) will you use?

The aim here was to probe into the idea of change from an individual's perspective, and to determine individuals' capacity to foresee, plan for the future, and capacity to assess achievement.

(D) Role of Society

15. How have the following institutions contributed to your success: your immediate family, your local community, church, school (both formal and traditional) and media?

16. What other institutions have been helpful?

The purpose of these questions was to determine whether there was awareness of external factors that may have influenced their lives positively or negatively; and to explore the role that culture, values and traditional ceremonies plays.

(E) Recruitment, Promotion and the Glass Ceiling

17. How do you know when there is a vacancy that is to be filled?

18. What policies, regulations, signs or rules exist that promote women's advancement?

19. For how long have you served in your present position?

20. What has been your experience of discriminatory treatment between women and men, or boys and girls in school?

21. From your observation and knowledge, what do you think are the factors that promote women's participation or make women successful once placed in positions of educational leadership?

22. What do you think are the factors that block or hinder their utilization?

These questions were intended to explore whether or not dual practices exist, and whether or not people are informed of job openings.

(F) Leadership Style
23. How would you describe your leadership style?

24. How does it differ from that of others: your supervisor and colleagues?

25. How well is your style received by those you lead? How well do those you supervise respond to your leadership style?

The intent here was to find out whether women's leadership is different from that of men or not; and whether there is a preferred style of leadership.

(G) Recommendations

26. What advice do you have for those women who aspire to educational leadership positions?

27. What do you think is the role education should play to improve the situation? (To enable more women to attain educational leadership positions?)

28. What coping and enabling strategies do women need to successfully serve in positions of educational leadership?

29. What specific policy do you think would change the status of women? (What specific policy do you recommend?)

The purpose here was to obtain some concrete suggestions, advice and information that may be lacking.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Evertson, C. M. and Green, J. L. "Observation as Inquiry and Method". Chapter 6, pp. 162-213. Qualitative Course Class Handout, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1991.


300


Jennings, E. *The Executive in Crisis*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1965.


302


Nowa-Phiri, M. D. "Draft Project Proposal for the Development of the Malawi College of Distance College." Blantyre, Malawi, 1986.

Nowa-Phiri, M. D. "Agenda for the 5th Meeting of the Malawi Committee for Distance Education." Blantyre, Malawi, 1986.


Nowa-Phiri, M. D. "Educational Leadership in Developing Countries": A Pilot Study in Partial Fulfilment of the Qualitative Research Course, Spring 1991.


