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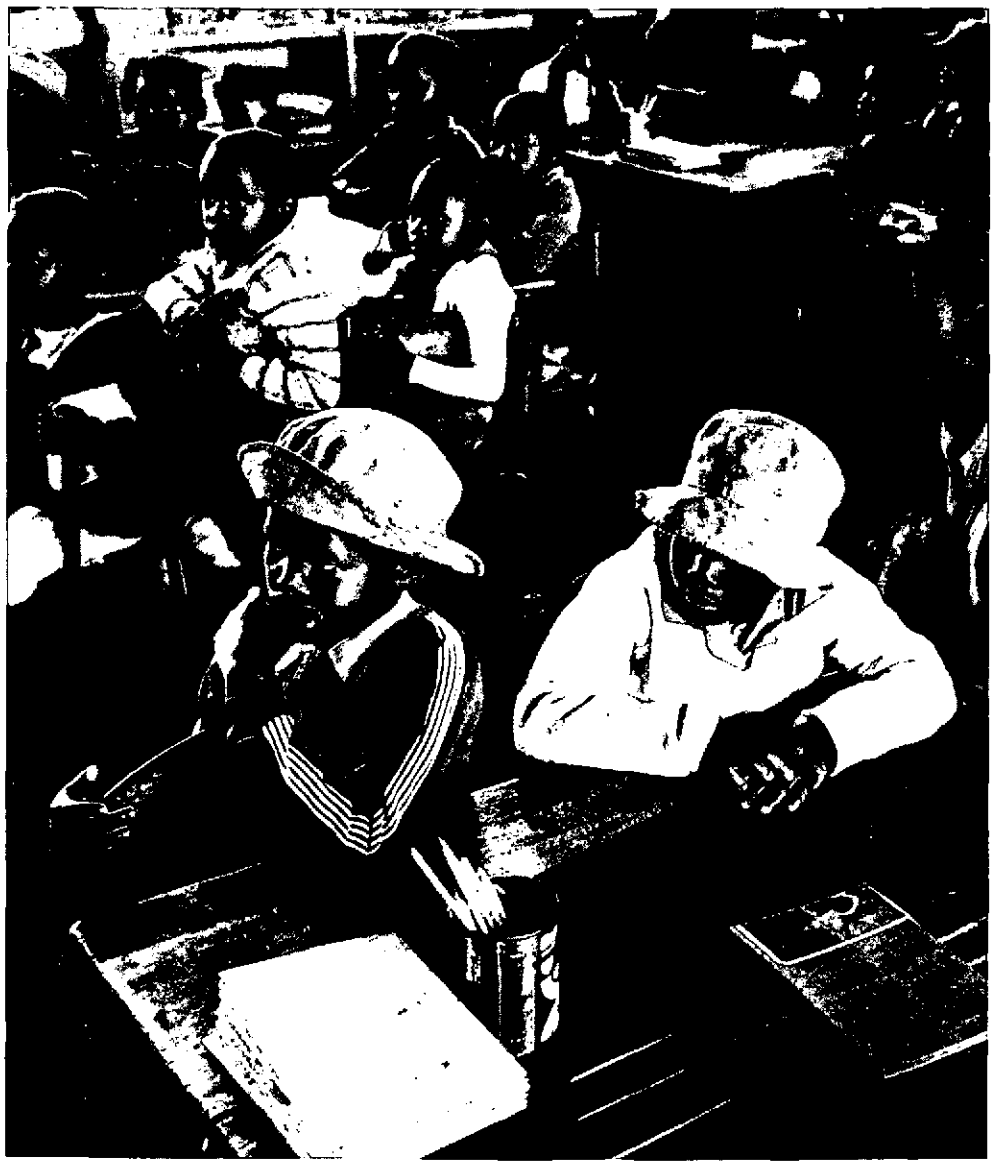
Desk study of the Education Sector in Zimbabwe



by
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FOREWORD

This desk study of the education sector in Zimbabwe was commissioned by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) as part of the preparations for a new sector support agreement between the Governments of Sweden and Zimbabwe.

The consultant's findings and recommendations have been a valuable input into the discussions between SIDA and the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Higher Education in Zimbabwe during the preparations for the new agreement. The report takes up both macro and subsector specific issues, ranging from education policy to the impact of structural adjustment programme, to inequalities in the system, including gender equality, to the content of education.

Although the report was written specifically as an input into the discussions of the new education support agreement between the Governments of Sweden and Zimbabwe, the report is of such interest that it has been decided to make it available more widely by publishing it as an Education Division Document.

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DESK STUDY OF THE EDUCATION SECTOR IN ZIMBABWE

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Contents:

1. Introduction

This desk-study on the education sector in Zimbabwe was commissioned by SIDA as part of the preparations for a new sector support agreement as from July 1995. It is a summary of existing information on the development of the sector since 1980. The analysis is based on the available documents, but is obviously done in a way that reflects my own values and judgements. The available documentation focuses more on formal primary and secondary education, than on higher education and technical/vocational education. Non-formal and adult education is relatively neglected in the available documents. Even less attention is paid to special education and the integration of disabled children into the education system. It has been difficult to avoid transferring these biases of the sources to this desk-study.

The impressive educational expansion and other improvements in the education system during the 1980's are reviewed, as well as the problems that have been identified. The negative effects of financial constraints and structural adjustment policy on the previous gains made in the education sector are discussed. Before recommending some areas for possible future support the major challenges of consolidating and improving quality, especially in disadvantaged rural schools, with less resources are addressed. The various proposals of the available sector reviews are dealt with, most of them dealing with reducing costs, increasing efficiency and redistributing available educational resources. The major challenges of the education system can, however, not be dealt with by the education sector alone. They are conditioned by Zimbabwe's political, social, economic, and financial policy context of structural adjustment in the 1990's.

2. Education and Training Reforms 1980 -1990

2.1 Background

Before independence in April 1980, the education system in Zimbabwe represented one of the greatest causes of grievance for the majority of the population. In 1980, the gross enrolment ratio in primary education among children between 6 and 12 was relatively high, i.e. 83 percent and 48% of all the children enrolled were girls (WB 1990). Illiteracy in Zimbabwe was relatively low, 30 % among men and 43 % among women (1982 Census data, used in Tsosane and Marks1992). Hence, for the majority of the population, it was the unequal access to education beyond primary level, in particular, that represented an issue worth fighting for.

> "The pre-independence Government had spent 20 times as much on the education of each European child as on that of each African child. .... In the mid-1960s, the Government decided that only 12.5 percent of the African population should have access to "academic" secondary education and 37.5 percent to practically-oriented education, with the remaining 50 percent being left with

> no education beyond the possibility of the primary level. In fact, before independence, only about 12 percent of the African school-age population was in secondary school - in contrast to virtually all of the European children. Not surprisingly , then, education had come to be looked upon as the key to success and a better life. Against this background, the post-independence socialist Government decided to give tremendous priority to education, both for its own value and also as the spearhead of its effort to redress the country's inequitable distribution of resources and services." (WB, 1990:3)

2.2. Educational Expansion

> "The expansion of educational provision in the decade following independence has been one of the great success stories of the present Zimbabwe government. In no other country in the world has a similar effort been made to provide such a service, in such a short space of time, with such expenditures of resources as in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1989" (Berridge 1993:5).
>
> "Although other countries in Africa experienced rapid expansion of their education systems at independence, none attempted universal access to primary and secondary education to the same degree or as rapidly as Zimbabwe has done. Primary school enrolments have nearly tripled from 819 586 to 2 281 595 during the decade since independence; while secondary school enrolments have increased more than tenfold from 66 215 to 708 080 in 1990. Increases in enrolment have also been experienced at the tertiary level of education and training" (CIDA 1991:1).

Universal primary education was nearly achieved during the 1980's and, by 1989, 50 percent of primary school pupils were girls. The estimated drop-out rate per year has been around 5 %, relatively low compared to many other developing countries. The number of children proceeding to secondary school had risen from less than 30 percent to about 70 percent of those completing Grade 7, by 1989. Progression from one grade to the next, as well as from primary to secondary level, was made automatic (WB 1990, Berridge 1993).

Most of the secondary school students were enrolled in Forms 1 - 4. Only about 7 percent of Form 4 students continue to Forms 5 and 6, i.e. A-level studies, required for academic university entrance. The proportion of girls has a tendency to decrease in secondary schools, in average representing about 40 percent of secondary students in 1989. More girls than boys drop out. (WB 1990, Berridge 1993)

Between 1982 and 1990, the average annual enrolment in the national adult literacy "campaign" was 60 000 adult learners, over 80 % of them women (MEC statistics reproduced in Tsosane and Marks 1992).

Enrolments at the University of Zimbabwe expanded from 2200 students in 1980 to 9017 in 1990, 24 percent of them female. The University graduates over 2000 students a year. Technical and vocational training enrolments rose from 3469 trainees, in 1980, to a maximum of 18213, in 1985, and then gradually dropped to 9261, in 1990. In teacher training enrolments rapidly increased from 2824, in 1980, to 16576, in 1990 (CIDA 1991).

By 1989, 60 000 primary and 25 000 secondary teachers were employed by the Ministry of Education. The government was by this time "allocating almost 20 percent of its total expenditure to education - a proof that it was seriously trying to keep one of its 1980 election promises" (Berridge 1993).

> "Zimbabwe spends 10 percent of its gross domestic product on education, the highest ratio in the world (Chidzero, B. 1989)" (CIDA 1991).

(The structure of Zimbabwe's education system is presented in Appendix A.)

2.3 Educational Objectives and Policies

The most immediate educational policy reform was the change from an elite racially-based system to one of mass education.

> "It was not only a response by the newly elected leaders to the popular demand for education from the electorate but was also perceived by them to be the main instrument for creating a more egalitarian society, for expanding and modernizing the economy and as an essential element in the process of nation building."
> ...a fundamental change in national educational policies (which) sought to initiate major reforms in the following: 1) the national allocation of resources to education, 2) the allocation of resources within the existing educational system; 3) the percentage of students completing different levels of the educational system; 4) the percentage of pupils from different social and racial backgrounds that complete different levels of education; 5) the percentage of female students that complete different educational levels, and 6) changes in the aims of the curricula and their content" (CIDA 1991:1).

Although, "to date, Zimbabwe has not produced a formal statement of educational policy" (UNICEF 1993), the post-independence education policies can be derived from a number of speeches, statements, and general policy papers, such as the national development plans which reflect general national ideology and policy at different points in time.

In 1981, the following kind of principles were stressed: "unity and equality", i.e. equal opportunities for all, "education with production", and "Education should be mass-based in order to serve the development needs of the majority of the population." The "First Five Year National Development Plan "

1986 -1990, puts more stress on quality, relevance, manpower needs of the economy, and cost-effectiveness. The objectives of education as stated in the plan were to:

> " - develope curricula relevant to national socio-economic objectives, cultural ethos, and intellectual and skill needs in Zimbabwe. To this end, education would be linked closely to productive activities and national manpower requirements;
> - provide good quality universal primary education;
> - within the fiscal constraints of a developing country, the provision of relevant secondary schooling to as many people as required by the manpower needs in Zimbabwe's growing economy;
> - the provision of constant upgrading and supervision of teachers in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning;
> - the development of a strong non-formal sector to enhance opportunities of those who were unable in the past to pursue their education due to policies of the past colonial administration; and
> - insurance that education was not only quantitatively improved but also as cost-effective as possible, in order to avoid the danger of education services sectors depriving the productive sectors of essential investments" (SIDA 1990, UNICEF 1993).

The policy can also be derived and assessed from what reforms have been implemented and pursued since 1980. Important educational reforms implemented up to 1990 included:

1) Free and compulsory primary education for all

The abolition of tuition fees as from 1980 and making primary education compulsory was an important step in democratizing access to education. Parents were, nevertheless, still expected to pay for other school costs, such as school uniforms, exercise books, general purpose fees, building, sports and other fees. Secondary education was never made compulsory nor free.

2) Removal of racial discrimination in education

3) Automatic promotion from Grade 1 to Form 4,

Very few other countries, particularly in Africa and other regions of the South, has gone as far as Zimbabwe in the area of automatic promotion. Between the first year of school and the 11th year (From 4) there are no formal selection mechanisms via exams or other assessment procedures in the Zimbabwean education system since 1980. There are exams for diagnostic purposes at the end of the seven-year primary education cycle and after Form 2, i.e. the end of junior secondary school or the nine-year "basic education system", introduced in 1986. This means that who proceeds from primary to secondary school does not depend on formal exam results, but rather on other factors, affordability, distance to school, parents' assessment of returns etc. The same is true for transition from Form 2 to Form 3. The promotion is automatic regardless of performance in the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC) examination. The final formal selection is

in stead done through the 0-level exam at the end of Form 4. To continue to the senior secondary cycle, Forms 5-6, passes in five subjects are required. In 1987, only 11,5 percent of the 152,181 pupils who wrote O-levels managed to do this (UNICEF 1993).

4) The localization of examinations and curricula

While the Grade 7 and the Junior secondary examinations always were locally administered, the O´and A´level secondary examinations were set, marked and graded by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. Localization of these examinations, implemented step by step since 1984, reached an important stage in 1992 with the first O-level examinations set and marked almost entirely in Zimbabwe, with moderation by the Cambridge Syndicate.

The years which followed independence were marked by an ambitious programme of curriculum change. At primary level reforms were made to "Zimbabweanize" the curricula. Mother tongue is the language of instruction during the three first years, at the same time as English is taught as a second language. As from grade 4 English is the language of instruction at the same time as mother tongue continues as a subject of its own. The Grade 7 exam used to comprise only English and Maths, but has since 1990 also included Shona or Ndebele and Social Studies.

The policy of "Education with Production" , embodying the socialist learning ideals of relating theory to practice and the realities of work, provided the basis for new syllabuses in almost every secondary school subject. It also meant that new subjects, particularly of practical and technical nature, were added. In general, the idea was to place more emphasis on scientific, technical and productive knowledge and skills. At the ZJC exam pupils are expected to take at least six academic subjects and at least two practical subjects. However, facilities and equipment for the practical subjects are not available in many schools. The ZJC exam results are used to determine pupils interests and abilities so that they can be channelled to either a practically oriented or an academically oriented stream in Forms 3 and 4. At the same time as these attempts to make the secondary schools more practical and "work-oriented", the Ministry encouraged the "ZIMFEP" experiments with more advanced forms of "Education with Production" in a number of schools.

To re-orientate the University towards national development needs , curriculum reform was after independence initiated in virtually all departments. New programmes were also introduced. In 1982 , the faculty of Veterinary Science was established and, in 1990, a second university with a science and technology bias was established in Bulawayo. Although most university programmes have been modified to give greater prominence to African experience and development problems, academic standards are still assessed by external examiners.

5) Decentralization of administration and centralization of control of education

The establishment of regional offices in every province, and district offices in each of the fifty-five districts helped to streamline and decentralize the routine administration of education, including monitoring, supervison and in-service support of teachers. Other measures were taken to centralize control in the interest of equity and quality of education. For example, the Ministry took over the control of disbursing grants-in-aid to primary schools because the district councils often did not use the grants for education as intended, thus depriving the schools of the teaching-learning materials for which the grants were meant. Under the Education Act of 1987 government assumed wide controls over policy, organization and curriculum in all "non-government" schools, e.g. all district council schools, representing the majority of all primary schools. All these changes were intended to promote unity and equality.

6) Single Teaching Service and School-based Teacher Training

The establishment of a single teaching service, provided for by the 1987 Education Act, ensured that almost all teachers are civil servants enjoying the same basic conditions.

A number of reforms in the area of teacher training enabled a substantial expansion in the number of student teachers to take place alongside fundamental curriculum change. A special on-the-job training programme, combining distance and face-to-face education methods, was introduced in 1981, i.e. ZINTEC (Zimbabwe Integrated National Teacher Education Course). This programme did not substitute the mainstream teacher training programme, although it is still operating at two teacher colleges. Nevertheless,

> "In recent years, the Teachers' Colleges have adapted to a situation in which a much increased proportion of students' time is spent on teaching service in schools. At the root of this adaptability is the system of Associated Status between colleges and the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), providing machinery for cooperation between government and non-government agencies of teacher education under the leadership of the UZ Faculty of Education" (UNICEF 1993:201).

7) Rationalization and expansion of Technical and Vocational training

After independence, government embarked on a programme in the area of technical and vocational training with a view to meeting the manpower needs of a developing industrial sector. New technical institutions and vocational training centres were established.

> "By means of the Manpower Planning and Development Act of 1984, provision was made for greater direction and control by government. Taken as a whole, the new statutory arrangements for the establishment and regulation of institutions and programmes, the localization of curriculum and examinations, and co-ordination with the training needs of employers, constituted an important

> element in the government's design for a unified system of education.
> Similar principles of expansion and rationalization have applied by government to agricultural education" (UNICEF 1993:136-137).

The 1984 act provided, i.a. for a fund, the Zimbabwe Manpower Development Fund (ZIMDEF), supported by a levy on employers and administered by the Minister, to meet the expense of apprenticeship including the payment of grants to employers and allowances and wages to trainees.

8) Creation of basic education opportunities for disadvantaged adults

The literacy campaign and other community based training programmes made it possible for illiterate or semi-literate adults, rural women in particular, to compensate for previous lack of education opportunities.

2.4 Equity and Quality Problems Identified by the End of the Decade

In spite of, and partly due to, dramatic and impressive improvements in the education system during the first decade of independence, some serious problems had been identified by all analysts: 1) remaining social inequalities , e.g. between well-off urban schools and rural schools , as well as unequal access; 2) remaining gender imbalances, especially at higher levels of the educational ladder; 3) high failure rates, especially at O-level exams and low achievement levels in general ,i.e. low quality education; 4) unemployment among an increasing number of educated youth, often seen as implying that the education system is irrelevant to the job market and that it does not provide school leavers with the kind of skills that are either required by employers or that would enable students to generate their own employment.

2.4.1. Inequalities

> "Although Zimbabwe has had some success in redressing racial inequalitites there have been limits on how far social inequalitities have been checked. Whereas the domination of the white population, now only about 1 percent of the total, has faded, new class structures have been developing. Education has not been immune from this process. The quality of schools still varies widely. For example, children going to former white schools in Harare, now known as 'Group A' schools, are likely to get a far better education and have much better facilities than children going to most of the schools, known as 'Group B' schools, in the 'high density suburbs' (formerly segregated black townships). Although children are bussed into 'A' schools from poorer neighbourhoods, their location in the richer suburbs means that the majority of pupils are from either black or white middle-class families. There are even wider discrepancies between urban and rural schools" (Graham-Brown 1991:101).

> "Government policies which developed after independence were intended to reallocate resources to rural schools without destroying the quality of the former government Group A and B schools, Trust schools and Church-mission schools. Therefore it developed a uniform financial support programme for all schools based on a per-student by level of education basis. In addition, it provided for community based school management committees which could determine and levy additional fees in order to maintain a high standard of education for their schools. The result is that the inequalities which existed at independence still remain with the urban schools and middle and high fee paying private schools receiving more government money per pupil than rural schools. This is due to the fact that these schools have better trained teachers and this causes a greater per capita drain on government funding" (CIDA 1991:15).

> "With the escalation of the cost of living in Zimbabwe today, the grants awarded do not go far enough to meet the costs of basic school materials. But of even more concern is the fact that the plight of families and children in disadvantaged areas is not being taken into consideration by using a grant system which does not discriminate in favour of the poor communities. Furthermore, these communities are expected to contribute about 95 percent of the total cost of providing basic facilities for a 2 stream secondary school. .... This alone means that the government spends much more on an urban child than on his rural counterpart. It comes as no surprise therefore that the construction of the majority of secondary schools in remote areas has not taken off the ground and whole classes of Forms 1-4 are still being hosted at the host primary schools.
> . ..... As of 1986, rural secondary schools had the least number of trained teachers. .... This also affects the pass rates of pupils at 0' level" (SIDA 1990:100-101).

For example, only 14 percent of students from rural council schools writing the 0'level exam in ,1984, passed, while the pass rate was 30 percent from government schools , 45 percent from mission schools, and 57 percent from private schools.

Regional differences in educational provision and quality are also substantial. In Matabeleland, the conflict between the government and dissidents between 1982 and 1987 has meant that education and all other aspects of development have still to recover, especially in sparsely populated rural districts. The North-eastern region in the Zambezi valley, long isolated and underdeveloped, has very few secondary schools. These only cover the first two years. Education has in this region, as well as in the Eastern Highlands, suffered from terror attacks by Renamo,(the organisation fighting and opposing the Mozambican Frelimo government).

On the whole the poorest communities in rural areas , where parents are illiterate or semi-literate and have little money to spare, are the most

disadvantaged regarding educational provision and resources. The schools available to them are mainly rural district council schools. One of the most marginalised groups suffering problems inherited from the colonial past, is the farmworkers and their children, living and working at large commercial farms - still mainly run by whites.

> "If distance to local rural district council schools are too great, they have to rely on whatever education is provided by the farmer. .... Many of these farm workers originally migrated from Zambia or Mozambique, but some have been in Zimbabwe for a generation or more though they have no regularized status. Some of their children never get to school. A 1988 Ministry of Helath survey of immunization and maternity services examined education and other social services available on a sample of commercial farms. On 67 percent of the farms there was no primary school, and only 5 percent had adult literacy classes, of which only one-third were judged satisfactory. The authors warn that data need to be treated with caution because it was not clear how many of the farms surveyed had substantial numbers of permanent workers of whom schools or adult education should be provided. But in general, they say that 'there are gross inadequacies in educational facilities. The quality of the exisitng facilities is also very questionable.' " (Graham-Brown 1991:102-103).

Another neglected group is the handicapped children. Less than a tenth of all disabled children of school age (about 60.000 in 1989) have access to some kind of education, about half of them in special education centres and half in Integration Resource Units, located in the ordinary schools and manned by specialist teachers (SIDA 1990, and MEC 1993). The issue of special education needs of handicapped children is neglected by nearly all the available studies, probably a reflection of all the recent focus on finance and cost-efficiency.

Generally, the social and economic family background of the students, in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere, determines to a very large extent the kind of education available for a child, as well as individual learning achievements. In addition, gender inequalities are a concern affecting school attendance and learning achievements, especially among poor families.

2. 4. 2 Gender imbalances

Although it has been observed that ,by 1989, half of all enrolled primary school children were girls, drop-outs tend to be larger among girls, and the proportion of girls becomes lower the further up the educational ladder one goes. The gap between boys and girls was, however, narrowing, for example, regarding the grade-cohort reaching Form 4, 1986 - 1989. The proportion of girls reaching Form 4 increased from 48 percent, in 1986, to 51

percent in 1989, while the corresponding proportion of boys decreased from 69 percent in 1986 to 63 percent in 1989 (WB 1990).

Nevertheless, the female share of all secondary school students slowly became smaller over the decade 1980 to 1989 as illustrated in tables and figure in Appendices B:1-2 (CIDA 1991: 20-21). According to MEC statistics, included in Gordon (1993:8), this trend was broken by 1991, when 42.3 percent of all Form 4 students were girls, nearly the same as in 1980, and 37.7 percent of all Form 6 students were female, i.e. a slightly higher percentage than in 1979, and considerably higher than in 1989, when only 29.4 percent of Form 6 students were girls.

This change of trend has not been commented upon by any of the sources of this desk study. It would be very interesting to continue monitor the gender development at this level and, if this new trend continues, to investigate the causes. A couple of hypothesis could be related to either the gradual completion of school by overaged, mainly male (?), students admitted during the first years of the 1980s; or to a change of interest in senior secondary education for boys due to economic developments, implying more difficult living conditions for most families.

In addition, girls' performance in examinations is generally lower than boys', especially in Maths. In 1987, for example, 7 percent of girls who wrote O' level examinations passed the required 5 subjects, compared with 15 percent of boys; in Maths, 25.3 percent of the boys passed, while only 10 percent of the girls passed. Nevertheless, in the World Bank review (WB 1990) a positive trend is observed for girls in the O'level results:

> "The trend in the achievement level differential by gender, however, is very encouraging. In nearly every subject the differential narrowed over the four year period (1984-88); and in the combined science subject, the girls outperformed the boys in 1988" (WB 1990:30).

In the study "Causes of girls' academic underachievement" as regards secondary education, Gordon (1993) found that "Forms two and three were identified by teachers and school heads as the points at which the performance of the majority of girl pupils begins to noticeably deteriorate." This, actually, happens in most countries in grades where girls are around 14 years old, probably as a result of puberty, as well as increasing demands and preoccupations outside of school. The overall educational gender differences in attendance and performance are related to traditional social attitudes and practices within and outside of school, which have a negative bearing on girls' education. This is illustrated in Gordon's study. For example, the sexual harassment and abuse of girls by male teachers and pupils may be contributing to girls dropping out and performing less well. Gordon (1993) also shows how limited girls' opportunities of doing homework at home are due to domestic duties.

The low proportion of female students (approx. 24%) at the **University** of Zimbabwe has been relatively constant during the 1980's. The Faculties of Art, Law, Medicine and Social Studies have the highest percentages of female students, while the Faculty of Engineering has the lowest at 2.7 %. In **technical and vocational training,** the gender gap seems to be increasing: the overall participation rate of female students declined from 44 %, in 1989, to only 34 % in 1990. Also distressing, but less surprising, is that the enrolment by sex and discipline clearly follows traditional male-female stereotype patterns (CIDA 1991).

The gender issue in **Adult Education** needs to be addressed in different ways in rural and urban areas. While very few adult men join literacy classes in rural areas, very few women attend afternoon/evening classes , mainly provided in urban centres.

2.4.3 Internal Efficiency and Quality

Analysing internal efficiency of the formal system from the point of view of how many of the children who enrol in Grade One complete their basic education, one could look at the Grade 7 , Form Two and Form Four completion rates. (The Ministries of Education still state that 11 years of education for all is the aim, at the same time as the policy of nine years of basic education was introduced in 1986.) Tracing the progress of students who enrolled in Grade One in 1980 to Form IV shows that out of the 376.392 who started:
27% dropped out before reaching Grade 7 (most of them between grades one and two!);
46% dropped out before reaching Form I;
54% had dropped out before reaching Form II;
67 % dropped out before reaching Form IV (Siddiqui & Matare 1993).

This means that one out of three pupils who entered primary school in 1980 reached Grade 11, an "internal efficency" rate of 33 percent.

If one looks at the O'level graduation rate among those who entered primary school in 1981 the internal efficiency rate becomes much lower. Of nearly 409.000 students who entered, slightly less than 18.000 were able to graduate successfully at O'levels, i.e. only 4,4% of the pupils who began school 11 years earlier.

Although there are a wide range of possible indicators of education quality, the most common criteria used in available documents discussing quality of education in Zimbabwe are learning achievements defined in terms of exam results:

> "The statistics show that access to education in the decade 1980-1989 improved enormously. But by the end of that period, questions were being asked about whether it all had been worthwhile. Aside from doubts about relevance ...., there were also

anxieties about the quality of achievement attained by the now large numbers of students attending school "(Berridge, 1993: 11).

"Concern about the possibility of a decline in educational quality appears to have some support from recent governmental reports. In 1988 and 1989 the proportion of successful candidates in the grade 7 examinations dropped significantly compared to previous years, and since the mid-1980's there may have been a downward trend in the candidate success rate in the ZJC English examination. .... Since 1984, the proportion of successful 0' level candidates has been fairly constant.
However, for at least 0'level examination, there has actually been a significant improvement rather than a decline in per capita achievements since independence. Comparing the number of candidates attaining various levels of achievement in this examination to the total number of candidates sitting the examination understates the accomplishments of the Zimbabwean education system, which has successfully increased the number of children eligible to sit the examination. As the system has expanded to include more than a small elite, it would not be surprising if proportionately somewhat fewer candidates were not succeeding. However, the absolute number of candidates succeeding has increased dramatically; and, particularly significantly, the number relative to the age cohort has also increased. In fact, age-specific per capita achievements at the 0'level increased dramatically over the past decade, from one percent of the 17 year old population receiving five or more 0'level passes of Grade C or better in 1980 to nearly 10 percent achieving similar accomplishment in 1989. However, overall levels of acheivement in some subjects remain disturbingly low. "(WB 1990:25-27)

"In contrast to the primary level where data are not available, there is evidence of significant differences between secondary schools in the intake characteristics of students, their subsequent performance on the ZJC and the 0' level examinations, and resources available to students. The average intake score of students at high fee-paying (private) schools is much higher than that of students at any other type of school, and their subsequent scores on ZJC and 0'level examinations reflect this selectivity. Of particular concern is the poor performance of students in district council secondary schools, which account for two-thirds of secondary schools and one-third of secondary enrollments" (WB 1990:29).

Most discussions and analyses on quality of education in Zimbabwe have focused on secondary education. For example, the World Bank (1990) analysis argues that priority educational objectives in Zimbabwe for the 1990's are improved learning and expanded access at secondary school level, while referring to primary education as having "high completion rates and respectable learning achievements" (WB 1990:24). There is reason,

however, to carefully examine the quality of primary education, if basic education and equal opportunities for all is to be taken seriously. Children who do not get a chance to learn basic skills in primary school are neither equipped to cope easily with daily adult life, nor prepared to continue learning.

It is a very serious situation that while about 25 percent of children who enter primary school do not complete the seven years of primary education, due to annual drop-outs, hardly half of the students pass English and maths at the end of Grade 7, meaning, in fact, that less than 50 percent of any age group entering school acquires basic or functional literacy and numeracy skills. (see table on Grade 7 exam results 1991-1992 in Appendix C, UNICEF 1993: 82). This needs to be investigated further, including a review of the exam items, their relevance etc. It is surprising that so little attention has been paid to these signs of critical internal efficiency problems in primary education.

In 1991, findings of a study on quality of primary schooling in Zimbabwe (IIEP 1991) were clearly grounds for great concern. Baseline indicators of input to schools, as well as indicators of Learning outcomes, were surveyed in a sample of 150 primary schools, in total 15 in each region. Reading comprehension was measured as an indicator of learning outcomes among Grade 6 pupils. The alarming result was that only 38 percent of these pupils reached what was defined as the minimum level, and only 13 percent reached the "desired" level. The analysis of the relationship between input and output indicators showed that the major input indicators associated with outcomes were:

> "1. The level of academic qualifications of teachers in the school.
> 2. The provision in the classrooms of sufficient sitting places, writing places and furniture in general.
> 3. the provision of sufficient textbooks, exercise books and note books.
> 4. the provision of sufficient space per pupil in the classroom and also sufficient toilets.
> Points 2, 3, and 4 are all concerned with the Ministry's norms not being achieved in many schools.
> At the same time, pupils from richer homes with more books and where the pupils ate meals regularly performed better than those who came from poor homes with few or no books and where the pupils did not eat regularly" (IIEP 1991:4-5).

Interestingly enough not all the schools who achieved well were in 'well-off' areas, and not all the poorly achieving schools were from poor areas. One of the recommendations made in the study is

> "that experienced inspectors visit those schools from poor areas which are achieving well and those schools in 'well-off' areas which are achieving poorly. From such visits information can be gleaned on what is actually happening in such schools to make them effective and ineffective schools" (IIEP 1991:5).

Whether this has been done or not is not known but very important to follow up.

The findings on inputs showed i.a. that only 10 percent of pupils were in schools which had incomplete classrooms; the pupil/teacher ratio was 1:40.5; teachers were absent only about 2 days in one term; teacher qualifications varied, but most teachers had 0'levels as a minimum academic qualification; 67 percent of all pupils were in classrooms with classroom libraries; 94 percent of teachers lived in houses with brick walls and good roofs; only 18 percent of pupils were in classrooms that had a sufficient number of sitting places (chairs), and only 12 percent of classrooms had enough writing places (desks) for all pupils; the provision of school supplies, such as pens, notebooks etc was far below ministry norms for the vast majority of surveyed pupils.

The results of the study indicate that primary education quality is a concern that needs to be addressed by MEC and donors, especially by taking action to improve teachers' general qualifications; the provision of school furniture; and textbooks, exercise books, and note books.

This coincides to a large extent with the conclusions of UNICEF's sector study (1993):

> "Government's aim of achieving universal primary education has been accomplished, but there remain difficulties in maintaining an adequate quality of schooling. The most serious difficulties concern the large proportion of untrained teachers and the general shortage of learning materials and teaching equipment. In each case, imaginative solutions are necessary in the current financial constraints" (UNICEF 1993:3).

Th World Bank sector analysis (WB 1990) highlights teacher utilization, as a crucial area needing improvement:

> "While the number of trained teachers has increased significantly since independence, half of the existing teachers have never had any formal course of teacher training. This large number of untrained teachers jeopordizes student achievements, not so much because untrained teachers are less competent than trained teachers, but more because attrition rates among untrained teachers are high (about four to six times higher than those of trained teachers ....). The schools most affected by these high staff turnover rates are council and rural schools.... Trained teachers do their best to avoid posts in these schools because rural service often means poor working conditions, social and professional isolation, ...(WB 1990:35).

At secondary level there is a particular shortage of teachers of specific subjects, notably mathematics, science, non-African languages, music and physical education. In technical and vocational training the shortage of

teachers is acute, with a large number of vacant posts and underutilized facilities.

Teaching competence among trained teachers is influenced by the quality of the teacher training colleges and the training curriculum. The generally unsatisfactory standard of English among College students has been identified as "a threat to teaching standards" (UNICEF 1993:10). The UNICEF report recommends a compulsory course in English during training Year One and that a pass in English at O'level should be an entry requirement in all Colleges. The minimum entry qualifications to all Teachers' Colleges are five O'level passes, including English language or Shona or Ndebele. Another conclusion of the same study is that the management of resources is a neglected area of training that all student teachers in Zimbabwe need to be provided with (UNICEF 1993).

Judging from reported achievements in Maths at the exams of Grade 7, ZJC and O'level, this is a subject that needs special attention in all possible ways, not the least through teacher training. In 1991, only 6,6 percent of students who wrote the junior secondary ZJC exam passed in maths, while about 42 percent who wrote the grade 7 exam passed in maths (UNICEF 1993:82, 114) (See these exam results in table of Appendix D).

The insufficient amount of learning materials in disadvantaged rural schools is considered to be one of the school factors hampering better learning achievements. A study on the distribution of school materials made by the Ministry of Higher Education (MHE), in 1989, concluded i.a. that " the distribution system was so unsystematic and inefficient that while schools and pupils were chronically in need of some learning materials, these were stored (in abundance) at either Head Office, regional Offices and District Offices."(Quoted in WB 1990:50). These problems have negatively affected the use of ZIMSCI (Zimbabwe Science Program) in teaching of Science. The innovative ZIMSCI was developed as an alternative to expensive science laboratories. It is a package of instructional texts and experiment kits, that needs to be re-supplied regularly. The adequate supply of ZIMSCI materials has suffered seriously from the problems experienced in the distribution of school materials. Improved storage facilities are needed at an estimated cost of 4.6 million Zimbabwean dollors according to the 1989 MHE report.

The principal causes for weak learning achievements, especially in rural secondary schools, were by the WB identified as "Lack of resources at the school level, uneven distribution of qualified teachers and learning materials, and constrained professional support and supervision" (WB 1990:24).

One of the most acute problems of **University** training affecting the quality is the instability of senior staff, i.e. difficulties in retaining or replacing staff at this level because of declining salaries.

> "The high vacancy rate, currently nearly one in three among the academic staff as a whole, and two in three among full professors, makes it difficult for many Departments to maintain adequate

> standards of teaching and research. Many lecturers are unacceptably overworked" (UNICEF 1993:246).

A declining availability of learning materials is a further threat to the quality of training. The Unicef sector study stresses the need for a general inquiry into the role of university education in Zimbabwe, and the relevance and quality of existing courses.

The internal efficiency of **Technical and Vocational training** institutions is reported to be low. For example, the low number of graduates from Technical Colleges is due to underutilization and high failure rates in the exams. Among 1806 students of Bulawayo Polytechnic who took exams, in 1989, only 39 % passed. Performance was poorest in Commerce (74 % failing) followed by Construction and Mining (46 percent failing). The problems identified by available reports are shortage of staff, especially in electronics, engineering, and commerce, and lack of adequate equipment and learning materials (NUFFIC 1991).

> "Colleges are unable to attract qualified and experienced staff due to low salaries and poor conditions of services. On the other hand instructors trained at Gweru technical College lack adequate practical skills and have no industrial experience. ....
> Evidence (...) shows that financial allocations to technical colleges and vocational training centres have continued to decrease despite the serious shortages of books, equipment and tools, and staff experienced by these institutions" (CIDA 1991: 65-66).

The analysis and information on **Adult and Non-Formal Education** in the available documents are very scattered and unsystematic. Much of the learner statistics presented are difficult to interpret due to incomplete information. However, the compilation in Tsosane and Marks (1992) of Literacy statistics for the period 1985 - 1990 provided by MEC, in 1990, gives an idea of the "internal efficiency" of the adult literacy programme. Learning achievements were tested in 1985, 1987, 1989 and 1990. Between 22 and 30 % of all the enrolled learners took the test and were declared literate. For example, in 1985, the initial enrolment was 82.169. Among these learners 28 570 (34%) took the test, and among them 21.657 "passed", i.e. 26.4% of the enrolled learners. In 1990, the total enrolment had declined to 59.968, only 28.5 % of these took the test, and 22 % of all learners who enrolled were declared literate.

Adding the numbers of successful literacy "graduates" over the years 1985 - 1990, gives a total of 68.600, representing about 5 % of the (1982 census figure) estimated 1.4 million adult illiterates. The majority of the learners are either "pushed out", due to tutors dropping out, drop-out and/or choose not to turn up when the test is administered. The vast majority of learners are women in rural areas. They have consistently expressed their demand for literacy classes by enrolling and attending in tens of thousands every year. This demand could obviously be better catered for if the programme was better resourced. For example, if the renumeration of literacy tutors, currently

a ridiculous 5 ZIMD per month, was more reasonable, then the literacy classes would not be closed down so often, due to the tendency for tutors to quit after short periods of service. During the first years of the literacy campaign the tutors were not paid at all, and this was identified as the main constraint of the programme. The budget allocation to all activities under the responsibility of MEC's Division of Adult and Non-Formal Education was, in 1992, approx. 4 million ZIMD (UNICEF 1993), only 0,002 % of the total education budget. Of this 1.3 million is shared between adult literacy and pre-school education! (In countries really committed to adult education and literacy, at least 2-3% of the education budget has been set aside for this purpose.)

In addition to the very low priority given to adult education in the government's education budget, the main problem affecting the quality of existing adult education programmes is the lack of an overall national strategy , especially taking account of the need for coordination between different government and NGO actors.

> " In the areas of staff training and production of materials, in particular, there are indications of unnecessary replication of functions. .... it is evident that any increase in financial support, from either public or private sources, is likely to be dependent on evidence of greater efficiency and co-ordination in the sector as a whole" (UNICEF 1993:269).

2.4.4 External Efficiency and Quality: Education and Employment

Very little is in fact known about what Zimbabwean youth actually do after they leave school or graduate from any post-secondary training. It is known, however, that nearly ALL university graduates are absorbed by the economy according to a survey carried out in 1990 (CIDA 1991).Some of these graduates take up temporary teaching jobs while waiting for more professional employment. It seems as if the more and better academic education a school leaver has the better chances does he/she have to enter the labour market.

Only about a third of Zimbabwe's school-leavers found jobs in the formal sector of the economy during the late 1980's. (Benell & Ncube, 1992). The Government of Zimbabwe has taken a number of initiatives in order that education and training becomes more "practical and relevant" . The introduction of practical subjects in secondary schools was one such step meant to make the curricula less academically-oriented .

The value of this "vocationalization" has recently been questioned for various reasons, e.g. lack of cost-effectiveness:

> "What has become clear is that vocational syllabuses at secondary level are not effective in producing 'employable' graduates. In the first place, the technical subjects are given only the same period

> allocation on the timetable as academic subjects such as English. It is clear that much more intensive courses would be required to achieve satisfactory levels of skills attainment. Moreover, schools have perceived that the MinEd was not really serious about this technical bias in education, and as a result many have quietly dropped the emphasis in favour of the academic subjects which are easier to teach. Furthermore, whilst teachers are often available for the technical subjects, many of these courses require more expensive equipment and facilities than the schools can often afford, whilst the perception is that the end results of such expenditure do not justify the costs" (Berridge 1993:26).
>
> " The inclusion of practical courses in the secondary curriculum as pre-vocational subjects intended to develop generally useful life skills and to provide an orientation to various skilled occupations can be justified in educational terms, if well implemented. When weakly financed and implemented, however, these objectives are unlikely to be attained. Under these circumstances, the time would probably be better spent on learning additional English, mathematics and science" (WB 1990:18).

What most employers ask for is, actually, at least O'level pass in English.

A study referred to in Siddique and Matare (1993) showed that there is no consensus on the objectives of vocationalizing the secondary schools. Siddique and Matare interviewed 135 school leavers seeking employment on the practical and technical subjects they had taken in secondary school. They found that although 47 percent of these school leavers had taken technical subjects , they had not been able to get jobs which required technical skills.

> "The majority of the school leavers in our sample were looking for clerical, domestic and general work. Metalwork and Woodwork were the least popular jobs" (p. 30).

A tracer study of 1088 secondary school O'level graduates of 1985 and 1988 made by Benell and Ncube in 1991, seems to contradict this, at least for male respondents:

> "Faced with what is believed to be a pervasive white collar mentality among Zimbabwean school children, the Ministry of Education and Culture started to vocationalise the school curriculum in the late 1980s in an attempt to change student values and attitudes so that they are more favourably disposed to skilled manual occupations, particularly in the rural areas. However, the survey findings clearly indicate that male school leavers were already very well disposed to the idea of becoming artisans. Furthermore, because only a very small percentage ot them were able to fulfill these career ambitions, many ended up in white collar jobs as their second rather than first best career choice. ....
> In contrast to males, the survey reveals that female school leavers in Zimbabwe did have very strong preferences for non-manual

white-collar occupations. The three most popular occupations- nursing, teaching, and secretarial/typist - accounted for nearly 45 percent of all 'top three' occupational preferences. ...." (Benell & Ncube, 1992: 12-13).

Many other findings from the same tracer study are very interesting , some of them challenging commonly held beliefs about education and employment in Zimbabwe:

"i) The incidence of wage employment was higher than expected. (Half of the 1985 school leavers, and 36.4 % of the 1988 group) .... 57,8 % and 45,8 % of the 1985 and 1988 groups respectively had been in wage employment at least once since leaving school. It is clear therefore that as long as the probabilites of obtaining wage employment are of this order of magnitude then school leavers in Zimbabwe will continue to invest considerable resources both in formal education and searching for employment.

ii) After the same period in the job market, the incidence of wage employment among 1988 male school leavers was significantly higher than among the 1985 male group.

iii) Very sizeable gender differences exist in the incidence of wage employment.
(50-70 % of the males but only 20-45 % of the females from the six core schools found jobs by early 1991)

iv) The incidence of wage employment was higher among school leavers from rural schools.
.... most of the rural school leavers migrated to the towns in search of jobs but lacking a permanent base they were (perhaps) more determined to find employment as quickly as possible .... in other words, their job expectations and thus reservation wages were lower.

v) Occupational filtering-down and qualification escalation are becoming widespread.
(lower proportions of 1988 school leavers were in skilled jobs in early 1991 than among the 1985 group. .... Whereas 50.6 % of the 1985 male group were in semi-unskilled jobs, this figure had increased to 61.4 % among the 1988 group. ...Nearly two-thirds of the 1985 female group .... had skilled jobs, while only one third of the 1988 group had skilled jobs in 1991. 20.6 percent were domestic workers and nearly one quarter were shop workers.)

vii) The relative importance of the public sector as a source of employment for school leavers fell dramatically during the late 1980's.

viii) Given a free choice. male school leavers would rather be skilled artisans than white collar workers.

> .... The relatively very high incomes earned by artisan is probably the most important reason why male school leavers want to pursue these occupations. ....
>
> ix) Very few school leavers were self-employed. (only four-five percent) ....
> The tracer study shows that self-employmnet opportunities were scarce (particularly for women) in remoter rural areas .... Only in the larger towns and cities did sufficient 'market nices' exist that could be exploited by the self-employed.
>
> x) Identifying the 'unemployed' is problematic.
>
> xi) Most unemployment was disguised
>
> xii) Fewer than one in ten school leavers had been permanently unemployed.
>
> xiii) The unemployed were concentrated in the cities." (Benell & Ncube 1992: 4-16).

Most of the findings of studies on the effect of different kinds of post-school vocational training are very discouraging. Apart from ineffective training as such due to lack of trained and experienced teachers, shortage of equipment and materials, etc, the impact on any kind of employment, self-employment in particular, is very limited. For example, a case-study on the effeciency of rural training institutions, such as Youth Training Centres (YTC), concluded:

> "Of particular concern is that only a handful of graduates from the case study training institutions have become self-employed. Thus, while considerable attention has been devoted to analysing the 'vocational school fallacy', it is equally fallacious to believe, certainly in Zimbabwe, that post-school vocational training is likely to be any more successful in promoting self-employment in the rural areas" (Bennell and Nyakonda 1992:23).

This case-study, as well as others, clearly indicates that the skills imparted during the training process are unlikely to be properly uitilized unless business management skills are part of the training programme and proper post-training services are provided, such as advice on marketing, provision of tools, credits etc. This is done by two NGO institutions, Mupfure College and Weya Community Training Centre. Mupfure has also introduced basic business and management skill training as part of all course programmes. It is mentioned as one of the most successful ZIMFEP-institutions for self-employment, with 55,6 percent of its graduates either self-employed or working in cooperatives (Siddiqui and Matare 1993:21). The main limitations are a very small annual intake and high student fees (3000 ZIMD/year).

In general, the apprenticeship training system is proven to be much more effective than long training centre courses. Hence, one recommendation made is for the government to provide more incentives for employers to train

apprentices over and above immediate requirements (Bennel & Nyakonda 1992).

More short courses are also considered to be more cost-effective: "The provision of short courses can increase the output of the existing institutions at little additional cost and should enable the YTCs and the NGO institutions to meet specific skills upgrading needs of individuals"(Siddiqui&Matare 1993:36).

3. Economic and Financial Context of Education

3.1. From "Growth with Equity" to "Structural Adjustment"

> "The economy of Zimbabwe is not a typical African economy; it has a thriving manufacturing sector which employs the majority of formal sector workers. ... . Since independence, employment in the public sector, especially in education and health, has risen rapidly. Employment has also increased in manufacturing, construction, and most of the services sectors, while it has stagnated in agriculture and decreased in mining" (ILO 1993:1).

The development plans of the Zimbabwe government after independence aimed at redressing social and economic injustices of the past, as well as economic growth, i.e. a "growth with equity" strategy. However, during the 1980's, GNP per capita decreased slightly, with "significant fluctuations owing to changes in terms of trade and weather conditions." (ILO 1993:1). While the average growth rate was 3.3 percent, the population increased at about 3 % annually during the decade, leaving little room to improve living standards.

> "This disappointing economic performance was a main factor in the change of policy which led to the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) early in 1991. .... the new policy embodied the characteristic features of similar programmes sponsored by the World Bank in other developing countries. There was to be a movement from a controlled to a market-oriented economy, through a reduction of taxes, regulations, subsidies and other government interventions in the economy. The Zimbabwean currency was to be allowed to find its real value on the foreign exchange markets. Such general principles underlay the "Second Five-Year National Development Plan", 1991 - 1995, aiming at the creation of a competitive economy which would allow for sustained improvement in the living conditions of the population" (UNICEF 1993:17).

> "The structural adjustment programme in Zimbabwe was introduced under different circumstances than in most other African countries and its objectives were slightly different. In many African countries, adjustment programmes were a direct response

> to an acute crisis situation. This was certainly not the case in Zimbabwe. The issue in Zimbabwe was much more how to cope with an economy which was hardly growing and the dire need for additional foreign exchange.... "(ILO 1993:3).

The second year of implementation of ESAP coincided with a serious drought. According to the analysis of very poor economic performance in 1992/93, made in "Zimbabwe: Policy Framework Paper, 1994 - 1996" , the recession was "drought-induced". In 1992/93, production fell drasitically, real GDP fell by 8 percent, consumer prices increased by 46 percent, terms of trade declined, and government revenue decreased by almost 4.1 percent of GDP (PFP 1994).

The ILO-report on structural change and adjustment in Zimbabwe contains an analysis of the negative effects on living standards and the economy of the reform programme itself:

> " The first year of the reform package thus witnessed a sizeable destabilization of the economy owing to elements of the package such as devaluation, reduced price control and liberalization of imports. This resulted in higher inflation, a large current account deficit, and increased nominal interest rates. Figures for 1992 confirm further destabilization of the economy, a result of the drought combined with the destabilization brought about by the reform package. The political decision to move from the controlled regime of the 1980s to a less controlled regime has in fact been the major destabilizing factor in the economy. ....
> It is clear that a number of low-income groups have suffered severely as a result of the adjustment programme, although the precise magnitudes of effects are not known because the start of the adjustment programme coincided with the drought. .... Another consequence of ESAP was severe cuts in health and education expenditure, which occured in 1991 and 1992. It appears that Zimbabwean women are particularly affected by present developments: whether or not they have a job, they bear the brunt of the responsibility for feeding the household and safeguarding the education and health of their children"(ILO 1993:3).

A further burden on the population imposed by ESAP was the introduction of fees for health and education, i.e. for primary schools in the urban areas, and for all secondary schools. In addition, examination fees at 0' and A' levels increased. In order to help alleviate the costs of adjustment for poorer households a "Social Development Fund" (SDF) was set up.

> "At the time of launching ESAP, it was realised that the programme would have detrimental effects on the living standards of vulnerable groups. ... To complement its macro-economic approach Government adopted in November 1991 ' the Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA): A Programme of Actions to Mitigate Social Costs of Adjustment', a policy strategy for this area." (GOZ 1993:11).

The SDF, established within the Ministry of Public Services, Labour and Social Welfare, was supposed to cover four areas: a) employment and training; b) targeted food subsidies; c) exemption from cost recovery in social services; d) monitoring and evaluation of SDA. One of the concrete functions of the SDF is to pay school fees and health charges for families with incomes below 400 ZIMD a month. SDF started very slowly and was very soon found to be inefficient in pursuing its aims:

> "The Zimbabwean experience of individual targeting through the SDF with respect to food money, school fees and health charges, suggests problems which can also be noticed in other countries - in particular, administrative costs and delays and, most important, a failure to reach the majority of the target population (ILO 1993:11).

For every exemption or social assistance need there was a separate application form, excluding a lot of poor people not able to cope with such a lot of forms, as well as leading to long delays in dealing with the applications. Furthermore, the majority of eligible beneficiaries were not aware of the SDF and its function. A critical review of SDF by the Government and donors led to the adoption of a "Poverty Alleviation Action Plan" in which the Government proposes

> "to broaden the overall scope of SDF, whilst simultaneously introducing an emphasis on employment creation. .... For the first phase it is envisaged that the bulk of the activities and resources will be concentrated on the improvement of the delivery systems for the Social Development Fund, the streamlining of the social safety net and the launching of a poverty assessment system" (GoZ 1993:7).

The short term concentration on capacity-building of SDF seems to be a diversion of the whole problem - poverty alleviation - not an uncommon effect of such by-pass solutions to fundamental and structural equity and development problems.

3.2 Government Finances and Expenditure on Education

Education has kept its position in the Government budget, enjoying the biggest yearly allocation of the overall budget, around 19 %. The high priority given to education is also reflected in the fact that education is exempted from the general ESAP aim of reducing employment in the civil service by 25 %. Nevertheless, since ESAP was introduced inflation has meant that the government spending on education in real terms has decreased. Increases in real terms during the 1980's stopped in 1990 when the drop in real terms started. (See figures in Appendices E:1-2, UNICEF 1993:85-86.) The per capita expenditure on all aspects of education fell from its highest ever of 42 to 35 ZimD between 1989/90 and 1993/94 (UNICEF 1993:23).

In recent years the share of higher education of the education budget and the expenditure per university student has seen a rapid increase, while primary education has seen its share of GDP drop the most. The fall in expenditures per student was greatest for secondary schools.

Another change in the expenditure pattern is that a steadily increasing share of primary and secondary education expenditure is being spent on salaries and allowances, in 1991/92 reaching nearly 95 percent for primary education and 86 percent for secondary education. In spite of this focus on staff funding, real wages for teachers have decreased considerably in recent years, which has led to an increase in the number of qualified teachers leaving the sector. This has further implied a tendency of increasing teacher/student ratios.

> ".... since the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Policy, real per pupil expenditure has been falling sharply at an annual rate of 8.4%. Real expenditure per pupil in primary school dropped by 6.1% in 1991/92 and 11.3 % in 1992/93.
> Since the commencement of the current reforms the recurrent budget for the education sector has contracted by 16 %. The secondary and tertiary education budget decreased by 18% and that for primary education alone has been cut by 32 %. This suggests that primary education has relatively been less protected than higher education, despite evidence that it yields higher private and social returns relative to higher education and also provides a solid base for sustaining growth in the economy envisaged through ESAP" (UNICEF 1993: 24).

4. ESAP: Effects on Education and Education Policy Implications

ESAP, partly combined with the drought, has so far had a negative effect on quantity, quality and equity aspects of education.

The introduction, in 1992, of school fees was one of the ESAP policy decisions, which was provided for by a Bill amending the 1987 Education Act:

> "Facing the fact that the amount of money available to education from the state was unlikely to increase and might even decline, the goals of the new legislation appear to be those of 'cost recovery' and 'redistribution'. In other words, if more money is required, it will have to come from the 'private' sector (i.e. out of the pockets of parents), and where money is already available it needs to be channelled to areas of greater need. ....
> By classifying schools into categories of urban low-density, urban high-density and rural, the MinEd is abandoning its former policy of treating all non-Government schools (financially) as equal. Table 1 shows the proposals which were suggested by the Ministry of Education for July 1992, for different categories of day schools:

Table 1 Annual school fees and grants per student by type of school in Zimbabwe Dollars

Type of School	Fee	Grants*	Total Income
Primary:			
Urban low-density	210	8	218
Urban high-density	60	12	72
Rural	0	24	24
Secondary:			
Urban low-density	450	7	457
Urban high-density	210	10	220
Rural	150	20	170

*excluding salaries and government school subsidies

In theory, higher fees at an urban school mean that it receives less in grants. What is saved at this kind of school can, in theory be devoted, at least in part, to higher grants to rural schools. It sounds like a good scheme. However, the figures given above indicate that rural primary schools will be receiving scarcely more in grants than they did in previous years, and certainly insufficient to keep up with inflation.
Perhaps the persons most seriously affected by this new classification of fees and grants will be the urban (mostly high-density) unemployed, self-employed or low paid workers" (Berridge 1993:17-18).

The quality of education in most schools, in rural areas in particular, is declining as a result of the dramatic cut in funds available for operating the school system. The resources for teaching materials and equipment, as well as in-service training of teachers, have been eroded. The urban "government" schools still receive, in addition to the per capita grant, support from the Ministry for operating costs, which, in practice, means that the urban bias in expenditure per student is much bigger than the table above indicates.

There are indications that the introduction of school fees in all schools, except rural primary schools, has made parents more reluctant to send their children, especially girls, to school. At the same time a study (referred to in Durevall and Mlambo 1994) among urban poor families showed that the initial response was to reallocate household expenses and not withdraw their children from school. However, if parents are forced to do this, girls are the ones most likely to drop out. This was confirmed by the "Findings from the Third Round of Sentinel Surveillance for SDA" (1993:20) :

> "Among the reasons for not being in school, "too expensive" was mentioned more often for all age groups of girls than for boys of all

> age groups, 34 % compared with 28%. The adverse effect of the cost recovery programme could thus be heavier on girls."

At secondary level enrolment declined by 10 % between 1991 and mid 1993 (GOZ 1993), most likely due to the increasing education costs combined with increasing poverty. This has together with the increase of O'level exam fees since the introduction of ESAP from 30 to 56 ZIMD per subject, between 1990 and 1992, led to a 14 % drop of students doing 0'level. In 1991, 209.889 entered, but in 1992 only 180.000 entered. This is a huge change of trend from the period before ESAP when the number of students doing 0'level increased significantly each year. In addition, many students do not afford to sit the exam for five subjects as required to pass 0'levels. Students could only afford on average to do 4.78 subjects in 1992, whilst in 1985 the average was 6.34 subjects per student.

In 1992, the SDF assisted 20 748 pupils with school fees, and 757 with examination fees. The number of beneficiaries increased to more than 100.000 in 1993 for fees, and to 15 462 for examination fees. A survey found that 22 % of secondary students had applied for school fee assistance and 8 % had received it. Among urban primary school students, 11% had applied and 5% had benefitted (IBRD 1994: 87). The bulk of assistance has been channelled to the main urban areas of Harare and Bulawayo (GOZ 1993). The total estimated cost for these education "safety net" programmes in 1994-1996 is USD 15.7 million of which Government will provide 8.7 million. The cost of introducing fees seems to be high:

> "Charges on education has so far raised very little (as cost recovery), at a high cost in terms of drop-outs, failure to take examinations and reduced enrolment. Consideration should therefore be given to abolishing primary and secondary school fees in all high-density rural and urban areas. Fees could be charged in low-density areas with direct exemptions (not charging and refunding) for low-income families to be determined locally, with no reference to central government. The loss in revenue would be partially offset by reduced administrative costs. Effective full-cost loans for tertiary-level students would more than offset the loss in revenue .... It should be noted that even with these changes, low income families would still face heavy educational costs because of the building and development levies that schools charge. ....(ILO 1993:104).

In the progress report on SDA to the CG meeting in Paris in December 1993, it is recognized that from the cost-recovery point of view it might not be worthwhile to charge fees for primary schools in urban areas:

> ".... urban primary school fees are just 20 ZIMD per term, not much greater than the cost of processing an application. Thus, urban primary school fee payments account for a sizeable share of SDF administrative costs, but only a small share of beneficiary payments. ....

> With regard to education, there is a debate within the Government concerning school fees. Abolishing urban primary school fees, or perhaps just high-density primary school fees, might stimulate urban primary school enrolment and simplify the SDF education programme. However, any decision would have to be based on a more detailed understanding of the revenue implications" (IBRD 1994: 94 and 98)

One would have expected the same kind of careful understanding of the economic and educational implications of introducing primary school fees in the first place. Other measures to simplify the administrative burden of "SDF programmes" are considered. For example, it has been discussed to introduce block grants to each school to cover the loss of income by exempting a certain proportion of their pupils from fees, in stead of the present centralized system of assessing individual applications for assistance (IBRD 1994).

In technical and vocational training the cuts in recurrent budgets for operational costs, combined with the high vacancy rate among teaching staff, have had a serious detrimental effect on the quality of training. In this area most analysts recommend that government investigates ways in which support may be provided by the private sector.

However, the SDA "Poverty Alleviation Action Plan" includes as one of its project proposals, a programme to reduce youth unemployment, i. a. by "revitalizing" the rather inefficient Youth Training Programme (YTP). The total capacity of existing 12 YouthTraining Centres (YTC) of 3000 trainees has been severely underutilized, with a total of only 918 trainees in 1992. It has been recognised that this kind of training programmes need to be more sensitive to the demands of different skills in the labour market. This project proposal together with a transport project of the SDF is estimated to cost 7.5 million USD for 1994 to 1996. Other training programmes, especially for retrenchees, are also included in the SDF-administered employment and training programme. A voucher system is considered as a way of making the SDF vocational training activities more efficient. (IBRD 1994)

The SDF runs programmes or projects in most sectors. The problem of overlap between SDF- functions and the line ministries has been raised but not solved. Inter-ministerial committees and working groups have been set up in order to build consensus around SDA policies such as the Poverty Alleviation Action Plan. A working group on Education, planned to be led by the MEC

> "will consist of participants from the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, Department of Social Welfare and SDF, Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, and Ministry of Finance. UNDP; UNICEF, the World Bank will be invited to participate" (GoZ 1993).

Unfortunately, it seems as if the de facto policy decisions of most sectors, especially the social sectors, have ended up in the hands of the ESAP/SDA

designers, working through the SDF within the Ministry of Public Service, Labour, and Social Welfare. While the MEC emphasizes education as a basic human right and hence its goal of "Education for all by the year 2000" (primary and secondary education), policy changes are introduced that counteract the goal. Reviewing a variety of documents deriving from different actors confirms this impression. Most sector reviews strongly recommend strengthening of the planning and management functions of the ministries of education. The question is whether this would make any difference in case strategic policy decisions are not taken by the ministries themselves.

In conclusion, ESAP- implications of increasing poverty, increasing school fees and eroding value of resources allocated to schools have had a negative effect on education. The declining value of teachers' salaries has meant a less stable teaching force affecting the quality of schooling. Access to education at all levels has become more differentiated than before. The inequalities have increased. More money is invested in education for the elite and less for mass education. Quality has started to go down especially in disadvantaged schools, mainly in rural areas. ESAP has meant that the problems of the education sector identified at the end of Zimbabwe's first independent decade have become more acute. Above all the financial constraints have become a challenge to the overall GoZ education policy . It is also clear that the safety net measures introduced via SDF to cushion the effects on "vulnerable" groups have not solved any fundamental problems of the education sector. ESAP has so far not either provided any prospects of considerably increasing the opportunities on the labour market for educated or trained school leavers. In stead unemployment is growing with a lot of employed people being retrenched.

5. Critical Education Issues for Meeting Needs of Society and the Economy

Two main issues are identified by nearly all available analyses, i.e.:
1) the need to concentrate on improving education quality, especially in disadvantaged rural schools; and
2) the inadequate supply of jobs for the majority of school leavers.
A third concern, not recognized by everyone, is that
3) free Universal Primary Education has not been achieved, or in other words:

> "Education is still neither 'free' nor 'compulsory', and large numbers (perhaps even increasing numbers) of children are not attending a complete educational programme" (Berridge 1993:12).

Targets have been set to acheive Universal Primary Education, by the year 2000, by the GoZ in close collaboration with UNICEF in "Zimababwe's National Programme of Action for Children" (MEC 1994), but without a radical change of economic conditions and policy it is hardly likely that primary education will be free of charge and that 100% of Grade One entrants will complete primary education by then.

There is a clear consensus that the 1990's will represent a move from the period of education expansion to consolidation and quality improvement under financial constraints. How to achieve this with not more, but probably less, resources, is a major challenge. Nevertheless, political decisions have to be made on a number of issues concerning the education system as such and its priorities.

Among the recommendations given by the different sector reviews available, very few are suggesting any radical change of the education system. The proposals concentrate mainly on different ways of using existing resources, i.e. redistribution within the system, as well as on how to get greater contributions from the private sector and areas suitable for donor support.

The proposals on **redistribution of resources within the education sector** focus on
a) more equitable government funding of different types of primary and secondary schools;
b) more 'cost recovery' at higher levels of the system;
c) redefining strategies and priorities within the education system; and
d) more cost-effective teacher utilization.

Since the quality problems have a much higher incidence in the disadvantaged council schools, the quality **and** equity problems could be alleviated by a more equitable system of government grants or rather a system which positively discriminates in favour of the council schools. One of the ways suggested for generating the resources needed for doing this is by redistributing salary grants from the most privileged government schools to the poorer rural schools, hence implying more 'cost-recovery' by richer urban schools. Another proposal for financing such a redistribution is:

> "Shifting the financial burden of university education to the individual beneficiary, together with an increase in the percentage take by the training levy to 2 or 3 percent (through ZIMDEF) could raise upwards of MZWD 100 per year. Considerably more resources could thereby be generated to finance the schooling of the most disadvantaged groups in the society, whose children presently receive little more than a primary schooling of very dubious quality" (SIDA 1990:93).

A tertiary education study loan system with a higher and more strictly applied repayable component is suggested by several analysts. This would mean that the recent trend of increasing higher education's share of the education budget would have to change in favour of lower levels of education.

While the World Bank (1990) analysis gives priority to better quality and more equitable non-vocationalized secondary education, without really discussing the question of what 'Basic Education for All' should mean, i.e. whether 7 years of primary education is enough for all, or if O'level is needed for all etc. The priorities within the education system need to be defined. The

Ministry of Education and Culture has as one of its main goals to "universalise access to primary and secondary education" (MEC Summary report on SIDA-funded projects 1994:10).

The Ministry also states that a goal is to provide "Education for all by the year 2000" (GoZ 1993). In a recent MEC analysis of the education sector (MEC 1994) 'basic education' is defined as covering early childhood education, primary education (7 years) and non-formal education, including adult literacy. However, it is not clear what the implications were of introducing a 'Basic education system' of 9 years, in 1986. It could have meant that a cut-off point had been made after the completion of Form II, and the ZJC. But by keeping the automatic promotion policy between Form II and III, this was not done. It did, however, mean that a lot of efforts were made to provide access to lower secondary schools in areas where previously no secondary schools were available. UNICEF (1993) and Berridge (1993) are in favour of ZJC as such a cut-off point , after which a "Multi Pathway Approach" would be applied, implying that students could be given options of entering, for example, Vocational Training Centres.

UNICEF (1993) argues that this should be done in stead of maintaining the idea of offering all secondary students the same mix of practical and academic subjects. It would be a way of using available staff and equipment more rationally by concentrating graduate teachers in a smaller number of academic secondary schools, at the same time as technical instructors and equipment could be concentrated in Vocational Training Centres.

Berridge (1993) argues that priority must be given to at least primary education to every child in Zimbabwe, since the provision of basic education is a social necessity, not just for employment but for "progress in every area of life" (p.21-22):

> " In order to ensure primary education for all children then it must become really 'free', especially for the rural population which is extremely sensitive to increased costs of even the smallest kind. How to fund this? By spending less on secondary education. Hard choices (unpopular with the voters in 1995, perhaps) need to be made in favour of primary education over secondary"

A different road for secondary education is at the same time proposed. Berridge (1993) as well as the World Bank (1990) argue that distance education through study groups could be a cheaper alternative for students from poor families, an approach which "is likely to be a cost-effective complement to the formal schooling system" (WB 1990:54). The MEC (1994) agrees that more distance education should be used for secondary education. (In 1990, about 30.000 students were enrolled in about 370 study groups.) It is recommended that secondary schools adopt such study groups so that teachers can serve as mentors. As regards the quality problem of this alternative, Berridge (1993: 23) argues:

> "Study groups that already exist are achieveing exam results no worse than district council schools in any case, so an expansion of

> the distance education sector of secondary education would not contribute to a decline in standards."

It is further necessary to reform the O'level system because now it implies a huge waste of resources by producing failures in large numbers. It would be much more efficient and adequate to introduce an alternative syllabus and assessment system more relevant to the students' needs:

> "All students need the 3 'Rs' but they are not getting them partly because of the inadequacy of the O'level system. The syllabuses are generally too academic for most students, inappropriate for their needs and the exams are too difficult. Students without any background in education at home are struggling through English, their second language. The O-level system has been scrapped in Britain for years now. Even when it was used, it was designed for only about 20 % of students. The other 80% did an easier, more practical exam, the Certificate of Secondary Education. Now Britain has a combined exam, ... more appropriate for the students and relies heaveily on continuous assessment by the school of the student. The Zimbabwe system does not use continuous assessment, but instead an end exam which so many fail" (Berridge 1993:24).

Utilization and training of teachers are crucial issues for quality and equity, and not the least for the cost of education:

> "The two main variables which affect the levels of unit costs are average earnings of teachers and the teacher-pupil ratio, ... The main influences on average earnings are, of course, the salary scales themselves, and the structure of the profession, i.e. the proportion of teachers trained and untrained, and their levels of seniority" (SIDA 1990:88).

No one is suggesting that teachers' salary scales should be lowered. On the contrary, it is already a problem that the value of teachers' salaries has declined, and there is an urgent need to increase the incentives to attract people to enter or stay in critical areas of the teaching profession, particularly technical instructors and teachers in rural schools. To maintain gains made in education, teachers' real salaries cannot be allowed to erode further.

As regards the distribution between trained and untrained teachers, estimates have shown that the costs of replacing untrained teachers with trained ones would be too high for the financially constrained education budget. This has led the World Bank (1990) to suggest that new teachers should not be trained at the maximum capacity level, and that the utilization of existing trained teachers should be increased, while the present large proportion of untrained teachers should be retained. Trained teachers would be offered to teach additional classes on a double-shift system, in return for substantial additional renumeration.

A more favoured alternative strategy is to redistribute teachers more equitably, and to find different ways of supporting untrained teachers. Redistribution requires approaches that can attract trained teachers in rural areas, something which has not been easy to achieve. The supervision and in-service professional support to teachers, especially untrained teachers, is considered as essential for enhancing the quality of teaching. UNICEF (1993) argues that the extension of the ZINTEC distance education model to all primary and secondary Teachers' Colleges would be a useful way of upgrading untrained teachers, provided that the colleges' capacity to operate distance education programmes is built up. In-service training is recommended by all analyses as a crucial area for quality improvement.

As regards increasing the pupil:teacher ratio, no firm recommendations are made. The WB (1990) shows for illustrative purposes that raising class size on average by five students would considerably lower the number of teachers needed for secondary schools. Another way of saving costs for teacher salaries is the double shift system. Limited use on a pilot basis in areas where there is a shortage of classrooms is recommended by the SIDA report (1990).

The equitable and efficient distribution of textbooks and learning materials is recommended by most sector reviews as one of the priority areas for improvements. The need to improve the supply of materials at all levels of the education system is stressed by, for example UNICEF (1993:4-5):

> "It is essential that Zimbabwe should devise and implement a strategy for the supply of learning materials, aimed at providing schools and individual students with an adequate range of books and periodicals. Elements of this strategy could be taxation exemption; greater emphasis on literature by donor agencies; closer co-ordination between publishers and Education Ministries; and the growth of a Zimbabwean export publishing industry, based on licence agreements."

The lack of basic learning and teaching resources, as well as storage facilities, has been identified by the MEC as critical to effective learning. Minimum basic needs, such as exercise books, pens. pencils, rules, school furniture, textbooks, supplemenatry readers, were identified at a workshop, in 1992. Since then two main actions have been taken by MEC to improve the situation:
1) the establishment of School Development Committees charged with among other things the purchase of textbooks from funds levied from parents as well as per capita grants from government;
2) an agreement with the Commission of European Communities (CEC) to expend counterpart funds on provision of basic school materials for disadvantaged primary and secondary schools.
According to MEC (1994) it is possible that primary and secondary education could receive similar counterpart fund support in 1994/95. This would enable the Ministry to reduce the student:textbook ratio.

The whole question of **education for employment** is answered by most of the analyses by basically stating that schools or the education system cannot be blamed for unemployment, nor can schools be expected to provide specific employable skills.

> "While the frustrated aspirations of the educated unemployed are cause for concern, the expansion of education none the less constitutes an important social gain. .... Educational expansion cannot be blamed for the problem of educated unemployment. The blame should instead lie with economic policies which failed to generate growth and attendant formal sector job creation. .... The limitations of formal sector employment growth should also condition discussions of technical and vocational education as a possible panacea for the unemployment problem. .... it is often argued that increased technical and vocational training would solve both the skill shortages and the educated youth unemployment problem. While increased technical and vocational training might solve the skill shortages, it would not solve that of educated unemployment" (ILO 1993:13).

What schools can be expected to provide is learning skills which make it easier to benefit from any further job training, in particular English, science and maths. The extremely poor learning of these critical subjects for the needs of 'basic education for all by the year 2000' or of any kind of job, or further training is a very serious problem that needs special attention by the Ministries of Education, as well as donors. These subjects need to be reviewed from all points of view, curriculum, syllabus, teaching-learning materials, teacher training, teaching methods, assessment procedures etc.

The reasons for lack of trained teachers in maths, or the high number of vacant posts in the area of maths teachers at all kinds of educational institutions need to be properly identified. The vacancies among posts for teachers in engineering and other more technical subjects have been hard to fill because the private sector offers more attractive salaries. However, since this is a field where there is obviously a lack of trained candidates, an overall improvement of achievements in maths and science would in the medium term provide a much broader base for higher levels of technical training, which could lead to a much bigger supply of candidates for teaching posts in some of the areas of great shortage today.

An emphasis on basic 'academic' education does, however, not mean that practical subjects should be abandoned:

> "Rarely does any academic or practical subject prepare a student for a specific job. Rather, school training should be basic so that a work place can employ a school leaver who is now ready for particular training relevant to the job. Anyway, education should be generally suited to students' needs, a preparation for their lives; education is not for the workplace only. Therefore, some basic

knowledge and inexpensive training in practical skills should still be maintained" (Berridge 1993:27).

The most common conclusion is that education-for-employment is best done by more specialised institutions, and by industry and other employers. More resources for apprenticeships would probably be one of the best ways of investing in relevant technical skill training.

The ILO-report (1993) emphasizes the need for an assessment of what changes are required in human resources development policies as a result of structural adjustment. A survey of new skill needs and the implications of this for the training system is strongly recommended. In addition, the report recommends i.a. quality improvements in general secondary education "as it is the very foundation of efforts to raise international competetiveness" (p. 14), and in vocational training, in close collaboration with the private sector; revised pay scales for technical college staff so as to become competitive with the private sector; and effective training for the informal sector.

Other identified needs agreed by most analysts including the ministries themselves are:
- *strengthened education planning and management capacity at all levels, including an improved Education Management Information System (EMIS).* UNICEF (1993) recommends the establishment of a common planning unit for the two Education Ministries and in general the development of more effective working partnership in the area of educational administration.
- *closer partnerships between Ministries, NGOs and the private sector* interested in education, as well as more cooperation among individual institutions so as to share staff and facilities and thereby make better use of scarce resources.
- *greater attention to girls' education* in a variety of innovative ways that can help remove the obstacles hindering girls from advancing through the education system on an equal par with boys. There are many interesting suggestions, which seem to enjoy a lot of support from the ministries and donors. For example, according to MEC (1994) the Ministry is considering the findings of a recent study commissioned by the Ministry : "Factors Affecting the Education of Women and Girls in Commercial Farming Areas of Zimbabwe".

The needs to provide *better education opportunities for disabled children* are highlighted by SIDA (1990) and MEC (1994). The Ministry is working towards addressing constraints such as inadequate staff training in Special Education, negative attitudes among parents and schools, inadequate equipment and lack of sklills and knowledge to use, repair and maintain existing equipment.

(1993) and MEC (1994) point out the need for improved and additional efforts, but all stress that the approaches or strategies need to be reviewed. However, without substantially increasing the allowances for literacy tutors, it is hardly likely that more "relevance" and "functionality" will make much difference. For the motivation and functionality of the literacy programme, it is

true, however, that the "publication of a Basic English for Communication Primer was a mile stone in the production of functional literacy materials" (MEC 1994).

6. Recommendations for future Swedish Support

The recommendations below are in agreement with the general conclusion of "ESAP and Education for the Poor" by Berridge (1993: 36):

> "Even in an atmosphere of financial restraint imposed by ESAP, the fundamental right and need for education remains indisputable. Primary education must be accessible with adequate resources, especially for the poor. The 80's were a time of expansion and making education available to all; the task of the 90's is to consolidate the quality in our schools. For the sake of equality, resources need to be reallocated from better-off schools to the disadvantaged schools, mainly in the rural areas. The O-level system needs to be questioned and reformed to make it more relevant and lead to less failure.
>
> To allow a reverse in educational standards in the name of economic reform and cost recovery will hit back on the economy itself. A rise in educational standards contributes to economic growth. Education is not consumption of resources but basic long-term economic investment and human development. To demand that poor people sacrifice their educational chances for the sake of the economy is an injustice."

For these reasons and with the purpose of enhancing quality, equity, efficiency and relevance, the following areas are suggested for possible future Swedish support:

1. Universalization of Primary Education, that is improved access and completion rates. This would mean to make primary education more affordable for poor families, and to improve the quality especially of rural schools so as to prevent drop-outs and improve learning achievements, especially in Maths.

This could imply support to a number of activities, for example:

1.1 Increasing the per-capita grants to rural primary schools, in particular, in order to make primary schooling more affordable. This would provide the schools with funds for purchasing teaching and learning materials, as well as school furniture or other basic equipment. Budget support from Sweden could be planned on a declining basis over a five to ten year period so that the Government of Zimbabwe eventually can take over the costs when more resources have been allocated to primary education through reallocations within the sector and/or savings through other reforms .

1.2 Additional direct financial support to disadvantaged schools in the same way as has been done since 1991, assuming that the results of the planned evaluation will be positive.

1.3 In-service training of untrained teachers through the ZINTEC model with support from Sweden for setting up distance education structures and for developing capacity in the area of distance education at the teacher training colleges.

1.4 Special actions to cater for disadvantaged groups, such as continued support to special education, as well as to children in large-scale commercial farm areas, for example, through support to training of heads of schools in the area of integrating children with different kinds of disabilities, and in commercial farm schools so that they over time can become part of the overall education system.

1.5 Improving teaching and learning of Maths through Swedish support to a comprehensive review of all aspects of teaching and learning Maths (curriculum, syllabus, context, contents, textbooks, link between theory and practice, abstract and concrete, teacher training, assessment and exam system etc). This could eventually become an area of support ranging from curriculum development and teacher training to textbook development, and could also in the process eventually cover secondary education, and also higher education through teacher training. This might be one of the best ways of improving the prospects of the majority for viable self-employment, since the biggest problem in training for the in-formal sector has been weaknesses in business management training, for which basic maths is essential. Another advantage of improving maths is the base it creates for the future training of more and better teachers in maths, technology and natural sciences.

2. Strengthening of the study group system at secondary level for out-of school youth and adults, inter alia through appropriate distance education methods combined with face-to.-face mentor tutoring. Swedish support to this area could partly be combined with the proposed support to the ZINTEC model of in-service teacher training through assistance to distance education development.

3. Strengthening the planning and management capacity of the ministries through Swedish support, firstly, to the development of the statistical monitoring system , i.e. a fully functional and operational Education Management Information System , EMIS, especially within MEC. Secondly, Swedish support to the capacity of the University of Zimbabwe to provide masters and doctoral training programmes in education, not only of ministry staff, but also of new students, so as to develop a sustainable capacity in the field of education research and planning.

4. Developing new approaches to training employable school leavers through Swedish budget support to additional apprenticeships, for example, through ZIMDEF by providing funds for employers and

apprenticeship candidates to undergo on-the-job training even if jobs cannot be guaranteed for all the trainees. In this way school leavers could get work experience, learn new skills and presumably become more employable compared to, for example, long expensive and inefficient vocational training. At the same the problems of maintaining and renewing equipment and staff would be avoided. This system could be tried out on a pilot basis with Swedish financial assistance. If it turns out to be successful, then employers and the state could perhaps more easily be convinced to increase their contributions to the fund for employment training purposes.

5. Funding of scholarships for training at Mupfure College (and, if identified, at similar institutions), i.a. according to criteria with regard to family income and with a specified quota for female students. This would mean some kind of continuation of Sweden's support to ZIMFEP, and at the same time serve as an encouragement of this successful model of training for formal and informal sector employment developed by Mupfure. (The available documents have not dealt with ZIMFEP. It is therefore not possible to assess the value of continued overall support by Sweden to ZIMFEP. This probably needs to be analysed separately.)

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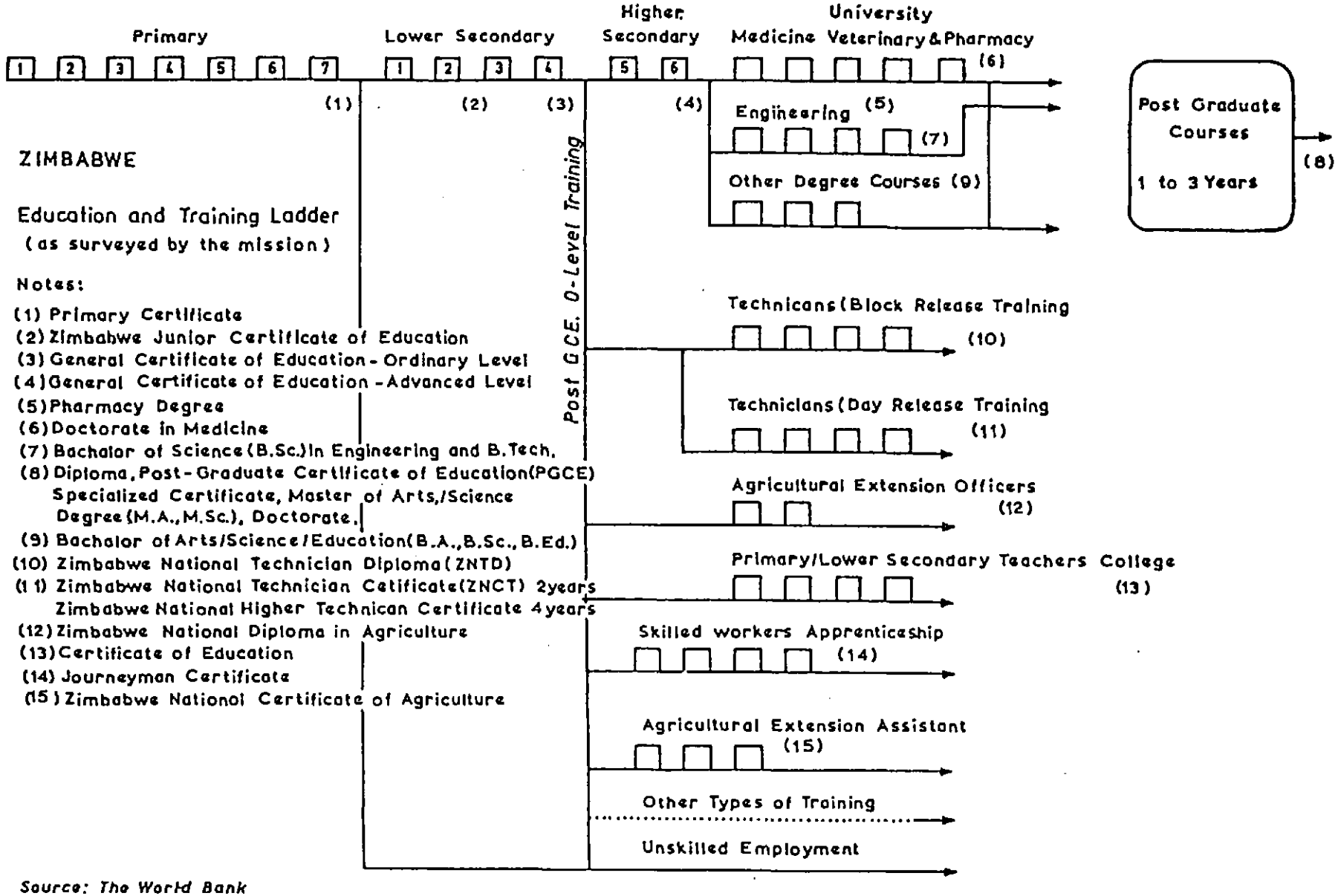


Notes:

(1) Primary Certificate
(2) Zimbabwe Junior Certificate of Education
(3) General Certificate of Education - Ordinary Level
(4) General Certificate of Education - Advanced Level
(5) Pharmacy Degree
(6) Doctorate in Medicine
(7) Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) in Engineering and B.Tech.
(8) Diploma, Post-Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) Specialized Certificate, Master of Arts,/Science Degree (M.A., M.Sc.), Doctorate.
(9) Bachelor of Arts/Science/Education (B.A., B.Sc., B.Ed.)
(10) Zimbabwe National Technician Diploma (ZNTD)
(11) Zimbabwe National Technician Cetificate (ZNCT) 2years
Zimbabwe National Higher Technican Certificate 4years
(12) Zimbabwe National Diploma in Agriculture
(13) Certificate of Education
(14) Journeyman Certificate
(15) Zimbabwe Nationol Certificate of Agriculture

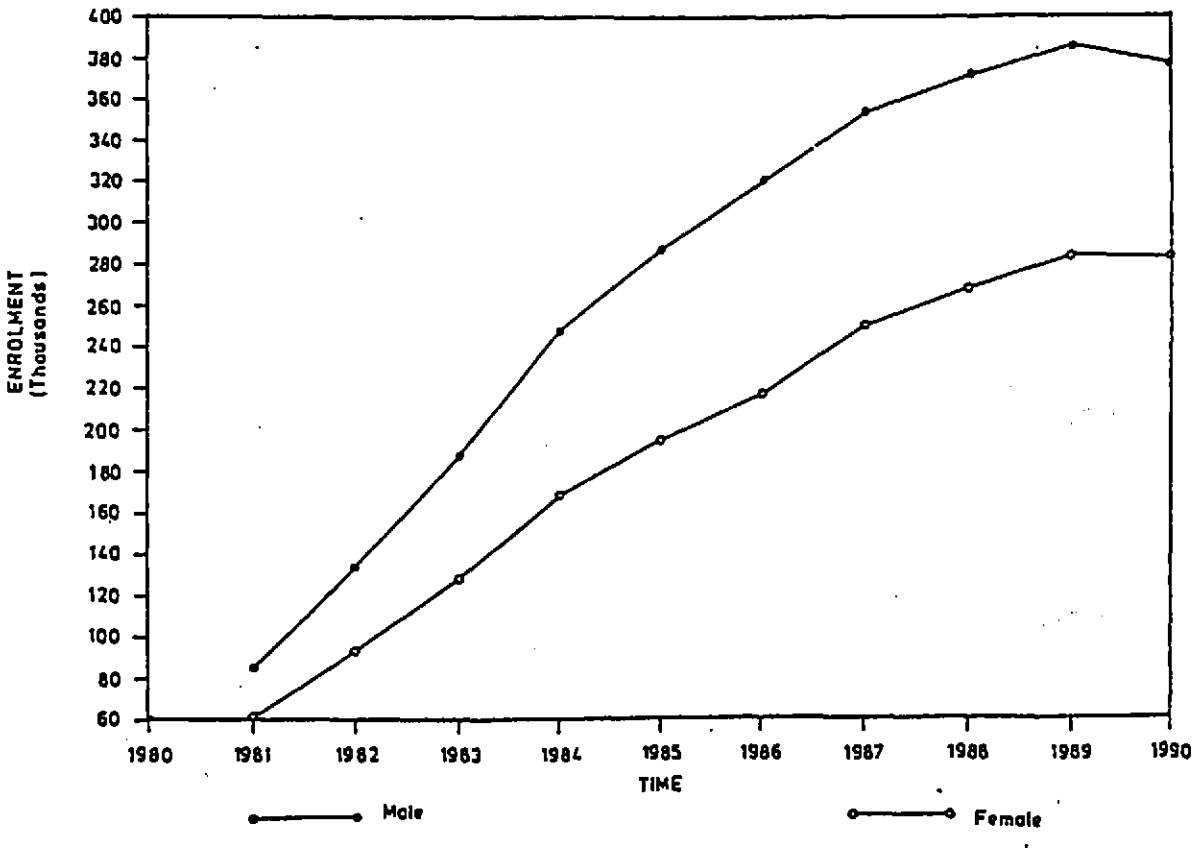
Source: The World Bank

possibility that selection based on the ZJC examination will be introduced which will limit the numbers proceeding to senior secondary schools (Forms III and IV) to those whose passes are sufficiently high to qualify for the academic and technical streams.

2.3.1.2 Enrolment by Gender The overall proportion of girls in secondary schools remained relatively constant between 40 - 43 percent. However, at senior secondary school levels the proportion of girls to boys has actually declined since 1979.

FIGURE 2:4

ENROLMENTS ACCORDING TO SEX: SECONDARY 1980 -1990



Source: Ministry of Education and Culture.

2.3.1.3 Since independence although the transition of pupils from the primary to the secondary level of education has had an overall increase. A higher percentage of girls drop out at the end of primary school, 33 percent versus 27 percent for boys. Although the actual number of girls having access to secondary education has increased, the proportion of girls to boys has actually decreased at the senior

secondary school level since independence as the following Tables 2:7 and 2:8 show. The proportion of girls at Form IV has decreased from 43 percent in 1979 to 38.8 percent in 1989. At Upper Sixth Form the proportion of girls has decreased from 35 percent in 1979 to 29 percent in 1989.

TABLE 2:7
Form 4 Enrolment Trends by Gender, 1979-1989

Year	Boys %	Girls %	Total Enrolment N
1979	57.0	43.0	12 201
1980	57.0	43.0	12 811
1981	56.5	43.5	15 323
1982	58.7	41.3	15 772
1983	57.4	42.6	24 509
1984	62.0	38.0	71 014
1985	62.0	38.0	89 517
1986	62.0	38.0	97 820
1987	61.0	39.0	113 915
1988	61.0	39.0	112 865
1989	61.2	38.8	117 061

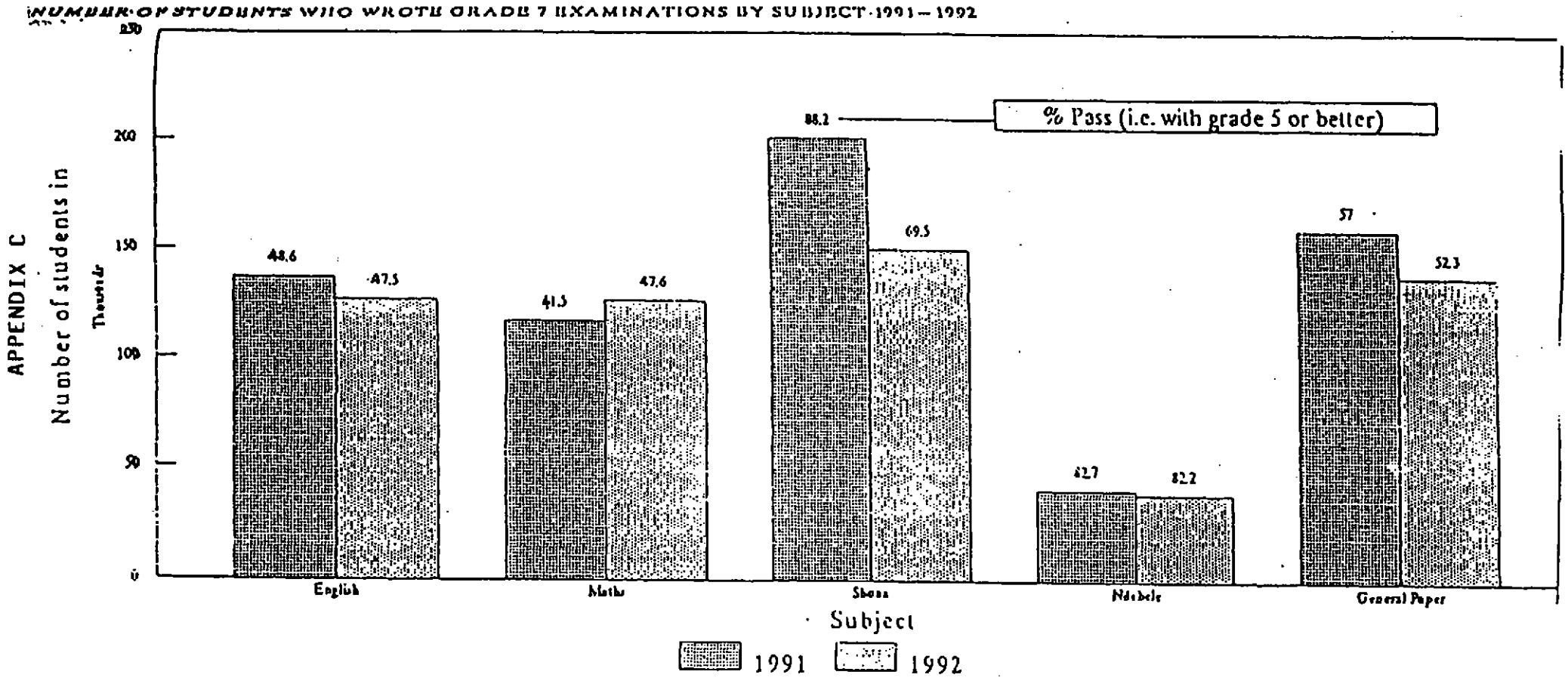
Source: Zimbabwe Government, Annual Reports of the Secretary for Education, 1979-1989. Harare: Government Printer.

TABLE 2:8
Form 6 Enrolment Trends by Gender, 1979-1989

Year	Boys %	Girls %	Total Enrolment N
1979	65.0	35.0	1 067
1980	71.0	29.0	1 413
1981	70.0	30.0	1 673
1982	70.0	30.0	1 729
1983	67.6	32.4	2 890
1984	73.6	26.4	2 911
1985	72.8	27.2	3 281
1986	75.8	24.2	5 258
1987	69.0	31.0	5 966
1988	74.0	26.0	6 186
1989	71.0	29.0	6 959

Source: Zimbabwe Government, Annual Reports of the Secretary for Education, 1979-1989. Harare: Government Printer.

APPENDIX C


NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO WROTE GRADE 7 EXAMINATIONS BY SUBJECT 1991 – 1992
Number of students in
Thousands
250
200
150
100
50
0
% Pass (i.e. with grade 5 or better)
88.2
69.5
57
52.3
48.6
47.5
41.5
47.6
42.7
42.2
English
Maths
Shona
Ndebele
General Paper
Subject
1991
1992

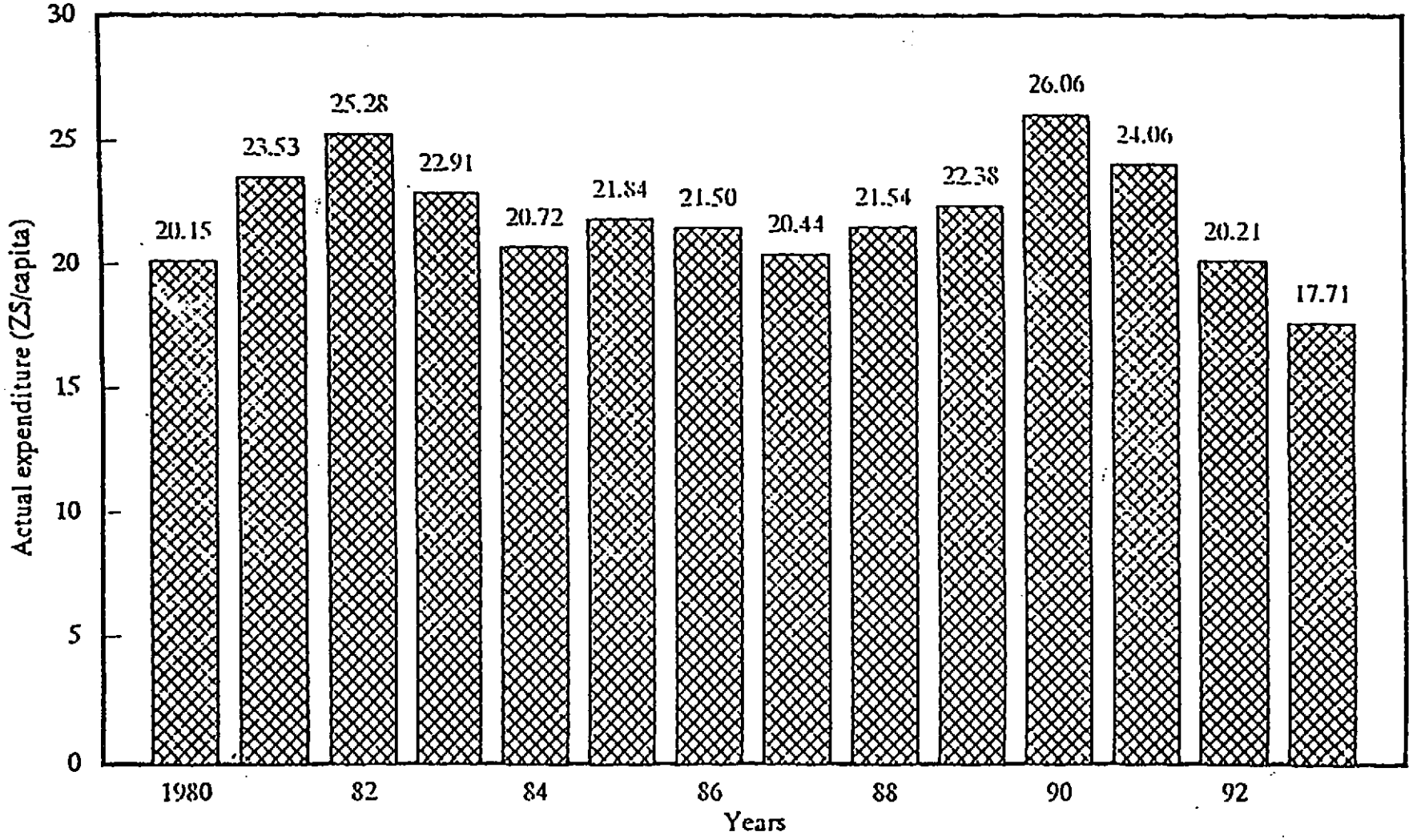
J.C. EXAMINATION RESULTS BY SUBJECT FOR 1991

	GRADE																					
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		N/A			Pass	
Subject	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total	No.	%
glish	3170	1.9	3413	2.1	5392	3.3	7749	4.7	10356	6.2	27245	16.4	32208	19.4	30751	18.5	37039	22.3	8510	5.1	165833	30080	18.1
ths	2480	1.5	1318	0.8	1800	1.1	2358	1.4	2952	1.8	8428	5.1	14606	8.9	26453	16.0	96836	58.7	7674	4.7	164905	10908	6.6
ence	3418	2.1	2869	1.7	4110	2.5	5784	3.5	7523	4.6	21742	13.2	32880	20.0	40386	24.5	38770	23.5	7242	4.4	164724	23704	14.4
ma	1489	1.1	2351	1.7	4882	3.6	8548	6.3	13117	9.7	36481	26.9	34164	25.2	18659	13.8	10475	7.7	5425	4.0	135591	30387	22.4
chele	403	1.4	571	2.0	1077	3.8	1743	6.1	2426	8.5	5997	20.9	6185	21.6	4500	15.7	4122	14.4	1620	5.7	28644	6220	21.7
tory	2583	1.9	2556	1.9	3698	2.7	4734	3.5	5555	4.1	14306	10.5	19332	14.2	28282	20.8	48008	35.3	6952	5.1	136006	19126	14.1
ography	2499	1.6	2839	1.8	4789	3.0	6905	4.3	9153	5.7	24477	15.3	30855	19.3	32942	20.6	38054	23.8	7140	4.5	159653	26185	16.4
riculture	2300	2.7	1080	1.2	1832	2.1	2548	2.9	3387	3.9	8918	10.3	11661	13.4	17766	20.5	28302	32.6	8953	10.3	86747	11147	12.9
odWork	116	0.9	192	1.4	288	2.1	533	4.0	698	5.2	2156	16.0	3061	22.8	3013	22.4	1358	10.1	2034	15.1	13449	1827	13.6
shion & Fabric	842	2.5	875	2.6	1474	4.4	2197	6.6	2816	8.5	7273	21.9	7293	22.0	4177	12.6	1215	3.7	5020	15.1	33182	8204	24.7
od & Nutrition	478	4.2	521	4.6	724	6.4	893	7.9	957	8.5	2196	19.4	2144	19.0	1712	15.2	917	8.1	752	6.7	11294	3573	31.6
ilding	358	2.4	347	2.3	487	3.2	737	4.9	944	6.3	2540	16.9	3117	20.7	2458	16.4	1112	7.4	2933	19.5	15033	2873	19.1
mmerce	1713	3.4	1545	3.1	2237	4.5	3051	6.1	3988	8.0	10821	21.7	12135	24.3	8253	16.5	3190	6.4	2951	5.9	49884	12534	25.1
counts	211	0.8	159	0.6	223	0.8	432	1.6	635	2.3	2471	8.9	5452	19.7	9579	34.6	6669	24.1	1820	6.6	27651	1660	6.0
ligious Studies	1292	2.2	1299	2.2	1880	3.2	3182	5.4	3764	6.4	9597	16.4	12263	20.9	11216	19.1	11071	18.9	3091	5.3	58655	11417	19.5

see Table 4.5

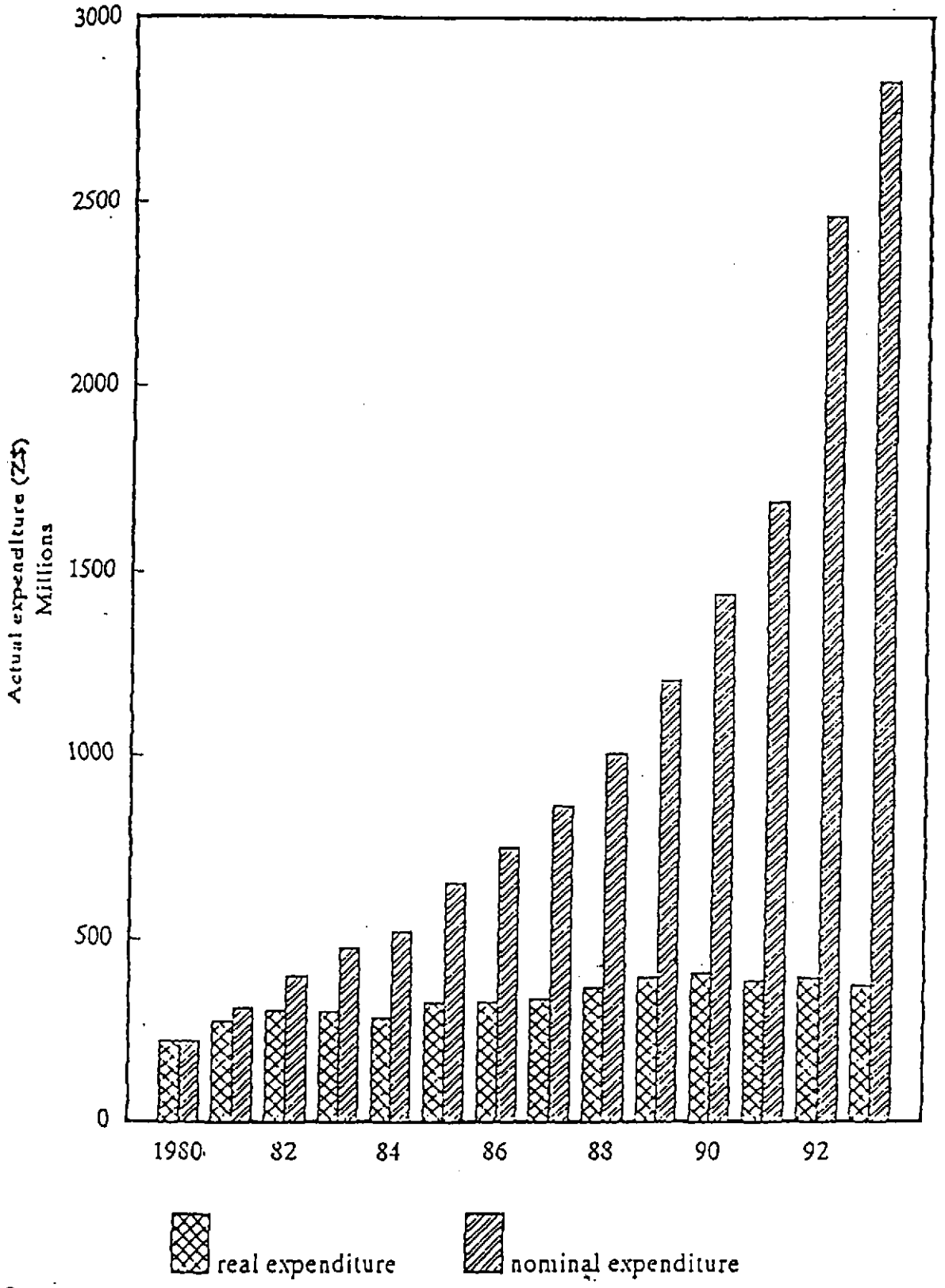
APPENDIX D

Figure 4.7 Real Recurrent Expenditure Per Capita on Primary Education, 1980–93



Source: (1) GOZ. Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (1980–92). (2) GOZ. EOE (1993/94). (3) MOE. Reports of the Secretary for Education (1980–92).

Figure 4.7a Trends In Total Government Recurrent Expenditure on Education, 1980–93



Source: (1) Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (1980–92).
(2) MOE. Reports of the Secretary for Education (1980–92). (3) GOZ. EOE (1993/94)

Development Cooperation
Office
Harare, Zimbabwe
Bengt Troedsson

94 07 08

TERMS OF REFERENCE

A desk sector study of the education sector in Zimbabwe

Background

The present four year agreement on Swedish support to the eduaction sector in Zimbabwe expires in June 1995. Prepations for and consultations regarding a new agreement will take place mainly during the period July 1994 to February 1995. To be able to participate in consultations and decide on what to support it is necessary for SIDA to have an in-depth knowledge of the present situation in the education sector and the role of the sector in national development. SIDA has therefore decided to carry out a study of the sector.

The main purpose of the study would be to give SIDA an up to date overview of the sector with an identification of needs, problem areas, assessment of policies and actions as well as indication of possible measures which could be undertaken.

As some relevant studies and documentation are already available it is considered sufficient to base the SIDA study on already available material rather than on field work. If it is felt that available material is not satisfactory for conclusions, such areas should be identified for further study.

Tasks of the consultant

Describe present objectives of educational development in Zimbabwe;

Discuss the objectives in relation to the needs of the Zimbabwean society and economy;

Assess and describe the educational needs in Zimbabwe (as perceived on the basis of available information);

Analyse and describe the present situation with regard to educational development, fulfilment of objectives etc, including identification of areas where development has been largely successful as well as of areas which have been neglected or where development has been less successful;

Identify areas critical for a successful development of an educational system capable of meeting the needs of the society and the economy;

Suggest which of these areas might be suitable for Swedish support.

Identify issues for further study.

The study shall include all levels of education, both formal and nonformal.

Implementation

When writing the report the consultant should quote from other sources or attach excerpts from such sources when ever possible rather than rewriting the message.

The study should be completed before the end of September 1994.

All costs will be coverd by SIDA.

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