From Jomtien to Dakar: A quality assessment of Malawian Education for All policy, 1990-2010

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Abstract

The Jomtien World Conference and the Dakar World Education Forum declared Education for All (EFA) as a primary policy goal of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Malawi, a participant of both Jomtien and Dakar, first achieved EFA through its Free Primary Education policy of 1994. However, this early effort resulted in a number of unintended consequences typical of EFA, including negative impacts on educational system quality. In this paper, a quality assessment framework is used to evaluate whether Malawian EFA policies were designed with the necessary support for an effective universal primary educational system as defined by planning, social barriers, budgetary limitations, and educational quality. Two policy phases were evaluated, each a ten year period following Jomtien (1990-2000) and Dakar (2000-2010). Results indicate that EFA policies in the Jomtien phase often failed to consider social and structural considerations necessary to improve the educational experience, which belied a quantitative achievement of universal primary education. While policies in the Dakar phase addressed many of the quality deficiencies of the previous era, lingering issues such as enrollment and retention remained.

Introduction

The Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (1990) and the World Education Forum (2000) affirmed the importance of universal education and gender parity as central policy goals of the developing world, substantially influencing education policy in sub-Saharan Africa. The Jomtien Conference, also known as the World Conference on Education for All, was conducted in Jomtien, Thailand from 5-9 March in 1990. With participation from 155 countries and 150 organizations, Jomtien's focus was to universalize primary education and decrease the illiteracy rate before 2000, reflecting concerns over the 100 million children without access to primary education, the 960 million illiterate adults, and the 30% of the world adult population that lacked access to printed knowledge [1-3]. The collaboration at Jomtien resulted in the World Declaration on Education for All, a mandate to meet basic learning needs for all children across the world and declaring that education is a fundamental right for all people, that it can help ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous world while simultaneously contributing to cultural evolution, that it is indispensable for personal and social improvement, that traditional knowledge and indigenous heritage have value, that the current provision of education is deficient, and that sound basic education is fundamental to self-reliant development [2, 3].

Jomtien framed education as a vehicle to pass on moral and cultural values, something able to serve as a “foundation for lifelong learning and human development” [2, 3]. Underneath the umbrella of basic learning needs, Jomtien established additional goals: making access universal and completely equitable; a focus on learning; widening the means and scope of education; paying attention to learning environments; and strengthening partnerships. There was a push to end gender stereotyping in education, improve the quality of education, eliminate educational disparities particularly for those that are underserved such as the poor, refugees, and ethnic/racial/linguistic minorities, and focus on the integration of those with special needs into the educational system. To

achieve these goals, countries were to provide multiple opportunities for continued education such as apprenticeships, formal and non-formal educational methods, and were responsible for mobilizing information and communication technology into education [2, 3]. Finally, a Framework for Action provided countries with a general schedule for policy implementation throughout the 1990s. Major goal and agenda setting for EFA improvement plans was up to the discretion of individual state governments, but countries were to follow a specified timetable towards implementation (Appendix 1).

Through a 2000 assessment of Education for All, it became clear that in the process to universalize basic primary education, quality was often compromised [4]. Despite state-level policies aimed at increasing student enrollment resulted in massive growth, there was often a 50% dropout rate (particularly in sub-Saharan Africa). Remarkably high illiteracy rates were also common. In response, World Education Forum (WEF) participants met in Dakar, Senegal, from 26-28 April 2000 to discuss a new international framework for education in the developing world. The Dakar Framework for Action was a collection of definable goals committed to the achievement of the Education for All targets for every global citizen [5]. With a target completion date of 2015, the Dakar Framework placed a universal, basic quality education under the responsibility of national governments via a cooperative framework between countries in need and various donor agencies. Countries were to develop national policy plans tailored to meet EFA goals, particularly focused on issues of gender education, adult literacy, teacher professionalism and training, HIV/AIDS epidemics, early childhood education, and crisis education, yielding six Dakar Goals (Appendix 2). Gender disparities in education were to be eradicated and EFA goals were to be regionally evaluated by 2005, and a full international assessment was to be conducted in 2015 [5].

The Dakar Goals emphasized the importance of state-level politics in the policy efforts towards Education for All, and committed the influence of UNESCO to include the participation of

“multilateral and bilateral funding agencies, non-governmental organizations and the private sector as well as broad-based civil society organizations” [5]. Dakar mandated each country to enact an EFA National Action Plan, which were to build upon the existing national education sector development strategies and be integrated into a wider poverty reduction and development framework. They were to be developed through a transparent and democratic process, involving community stakeholders such as representatives, parents, learners, NGOs, and civil society. NAPs were to be created collectively, and were to be presented with effective budgetary and time considerations. Mid-term performance indicators were also to be included. UNESCO provided member nations with rudimentary country-level guidelines for enacting a national plan of action [5].

Numerous challenges were experienced by sub-Saharan African countries that made it increasingly unlikely to achieve Education for All [6]. There were concerns that the necessary political culture and state legislation guaranteeing education as an inherent right had not yet manifested in many African countries, and the necessary funding for Education for All set by the Dakar Framework (at 26% of annual budgets) far outweighed current investments, indicating little practical importance was attached to universal access to education [7]. Perhaps most critical to the success of EFA policy was that it should be supported by a quality educational system. Both the Jomtien Declaration and the Dakar Framework for Action recognized the need for quality improvement, leading to the 2005 EFA global monitoring report, *“Education for All: the quality imperative”* [8]. Quality of education is a complicated issue, impacted by politics, culture, and the economy with no single definition [9], and must be flexible in order to adapt with the constant evolution of education [9, 10].

The objective of this study was to perform a quality evaluation of Malawian EFA policy in the post-Jomtien (1990-2000) and post-Dakar (2000-2010) policy phases using a quality framework [7]. We explore the language, discourse, and planned implementation processes of educational policy

pursued by Malawi during the two transformative periods of Jomtien to Dakar (1990-2010), highlighting the impacts resulting from a shift from pre-expansion to post-expansion of educational access. The state of the educational system and the policies created by the Malawi government are presented for both decades, drawing comparisons and contrasts in policy quality where appropriate. Analysis frames the Malawian policy process through budgetary, social equality, equity, and educational system quality lenses.

Methods

Changes in policy are viewed as responses to an identified problem in a respective sector (e.g., education) [11]; EFA policies in sub-Saharan Africa are considered to be directly responsive to the problems identified in Jomtien and Dakar. Policy analysis is therefore the study of what governments do [12]. Education policy is defined as that which “establishes the main goals and priorities pursued by the government in matters of education-at the sector and sub-sector levels-with regard to specific aspects such as access, quality and teachers, or to a given issue or need” [13].

This study is concerned with policy form, function, and impact and not with interactions, implementation processes, and policy interpretations. We assume the policy actors and actions are rational informed by valid and reliable data, producing usable knowledge, and frame the analytic perspective as *policy-theory-in-action* [14]. We adopt a stages heuristic [15] in exploring the Malawian EFA policy process, viewing policy as a series of functionally sequenced stages, and follow a case study approach for comparative policy analysis [16]. Reporting follows a narrative format [17], where policy processes and outcomes are presented as a story. Data is analyzed chronologically, important impact events are isolated for further analysis, policy events are linked through causal connections, and data is then reinterpreted into a comprehensive picture of the policy process [17].

EFA policies enacted in Malawi in the post-Jomtien (1990-2000) and post-Dakar (2000-2010) era were assessed using a quality framework (Figure 1) [7]. A series of thirty metrics (Appendix 3) across four broad quality categories (planning, budget, social barriers, and system quality) were used to determine the quality performance of each policy phase. Data were derived from a combination of primary policy source documents, country-level, regional, and international monitoring reports, UNESCO conferences and policy archives, and secondary sources. Major policies considered include the Free Primary Education policy from 1994, the Girls' Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education (GABLE) from 1991; the Education for All National Action Plan from July 2004, the Development and State of Adult Learning and Education (ALE) report from the Ministry of Women and Child Development produced in April 2008, and the Policy Investment Framework 2000-2015 produced in January 2000. The overall EFA policy process was also supported through numerous smaller policies supporting these major initiatives.

The policy language, agenda setting, and goals listed in the UNESCO World Declaration on Education for All (1990), the WCEFA Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs (1990), the Dakar Framework for Action (2000), and the Dakar Regional Framework for Action in sub-Saharan Africa (1999) were used to inform the preconditions of policy alignment in Malawi. UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Reports and governmental reports on individual EFA Policies were also considered when evaluating EFA quality, and published literature sources were incorporated for external assessments of EFA progress for sub-Saharan Africa on a variety of issues including finance, gender equity, UPE, and educational quality.

For the pre-analysis phase, all policy documentation and statistics were organized into the two major time periods under study. They were then further arranged chronologically and linked to greater Jomtien or Dakar policy goals. Any data that was deemed inconsequential to analysis was left out. In the major analysis phase, data was interpreted and reinterpreted for meaning making to

familiarize the researcher with the core of the policy process, the unique contextual environments in Malawi that both created and were created by Malawi educational policy. Each major Malawian EFA policy in each phase was assessed according to the listed ANCEFA quality metrics. Policies were reviewed for language and structural support with respect to each quality metric and the total number of metrics achieved across all policies in the respective policy phase was determined.

Figure 1

ANCEFA quality framework conceptual model

Findings

Jomtien policy phase

The intention of the Jomtien conference was to meet the basic learning needs of every child and adult, including the cultivation of learning tools (literacy, numeracy, oral speaking skills) and the requisite knowledge and life skills needed to pursue a healthy, happy life. National and sub-national

multisectoral action plans were to be created or updated in the early 1990s, with external financial and planning support given to developing countries. Inter-country cooperation for equity and quality was to be established. Teachers and administrators were to work with education sectors; education departments were to cooperate with government offices in labor, budget, communication, and social work; government and NGOs were to work with the private sector, communities, and families; and families and teachers were seen as essential in the policy process. Education was thus transformed from a pro-supply good to pro-demand, becoming a collective effort to bring education to all. Additionally, international organizations were to consider long-term support for economically disadvantaged countries in their efforts to reach UPE. Specialized programs were to be created for disadvantaged student subgroups, and assistance was to be given to countries to help in the planning and experimentation of innovative educational improvement programs. Funding coordination was to be led by state-level governments in cooperation with other development agencies. Malawi EFA policies analyzed during the Jomtien phase include GABLE (1991), FPE (1994), Vision 2020 (1998), Constitutional reforms, and the Technical and Vocational Educational and Training (1999).

Girls' Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education, 1991. Created to increase access and educational attainment for Malawian girls, GABLE was a package of systemic reforms that went beyond localized issues of low enrollment and considered more general problems of gender bias in curriculum, social equity programs, and gender specific teacher training [18]. GABLE was initially a five-year, \$20 million participatory program from Malawi and USAID that was extended by two years with additional funding (\$25.5MM) in 1994 (GABLE II) [19]. Key features of GABLE were waivers for primary education fees and social mobilization programs to reduce gender bias and encourage girls to attend school. According to the Center for Development Information and Evaluation [19], GABLE II was to “increase the long-term financial base for education; improve the quality, availability, and effectiveness of primary education; and improve the relevance of primary

education for girls”. Other GABLE II policies included a scholarship program for secondary education to girls that did not repeat primary school and extending the GABLE I social equity programs.

GABLE policies included delegating more federal funding to education, specifically primary education; establishing community-based primary schools; recruiting teachers; increasing the supply of resource materials; strengthening the Gender Appropriate Curriculum Unit; and gender streaming math classes to increase girls’ performance scores on exit examinations. Also of note was the elimination of reactionary pregnancy policies that were in place before GABLE. Pre-1991, girls who would become pregnant were automatically expelled from Malawian schools. The new GABLE policy would allow girls the opportunity to return to school after giving birth.

GABLE policies resulted in massive increases in both girls’ enrollment and government investment in primary education, and contributed to the empowerment of girls’ throughout Malawi. However, the elimination of primary school fees for girls under GABLE resulted in calls for fees to be removed for boys as well (which would eventually occur under FPE in 1994), and the pregnancy reforms concerned some teachers and families who feared they would encourage sexual activity within schools [20]. Additional concerns included the sustainability of the Gender Appropriate Curriculum Unit and social awareness campaigns, necessary linkages between GABLE programs and organizations were absent (for instance, no connection existed between the social awareness campaigns and the Ministry of Education), and there was no performance evaluation system in place [20]. The greatest concern with GABLE was of overall educational quality: although GABLE found success in those communities that dedicated efforts towards quality improvements, the added burdens associated with FPE enacted just a few years later placed substantial stress on the educational system.

Constitutionality, 1994. In response to Jomtien, the second Malawian Republican Constitution established that all persons have the right to an education Section 25(i). Free primary education and compulsory education was also set up under Section 13(f)(iii). Attempts at FPE had occurred in previous years, but not until the election of the United Democratic Front and a guarantee from the newly elected president did the policy become constitutionally guaranteed.

Free Primary Education, 1994. FPE provided school-fee waivers and removed the insistence upon school uniforms, opening access to economically disadvantaged families. Following a presidential guarantee to free primary education, the newly elected United Democratic Front passed FPE in 1994 [21, 22]. Typical criticisms of FPE related to issues of quality and sustainability. Primary school enrollment increased by 68% within the first year, but placed substantial burdens upon the already struggling educational system that had neither the structural capacity nor the resource availability to handle such a large systemic increase [23]. Critical to the implementation of FPE was the decentralization of education, with increased responsibilities being placed upon parents and the community. Exploring parental participation and the effects of that decentralization, Shojo (2009) showed that there was confusion over the responsibility for education (e.g., government or family), and that the implementation of family participation was dependent upon the access granted by individual schools [24].

FPE was a top-down impact model that was unidirectional in implementation and evaluation [21]. FPE was designed and implemented according to international mandate and directed by international policymakers, embodying development, globalization, and neo-liberal discourse. However, ethnographic research into FPE policy response revealed that despite the linear nature of FPE, in practice there was no single solitary FPE policy but many, whereby each locality of FPE implementation was guided by “a distinct constellation of forces, events, social relations, local contingencies, geographies, histories, and material realities” that shaped the discourse and direction

of FPE [21]. Additional studies further explored the impact of FPE on quality, equity, and access [23, 25, 26].

Malawi “Vision 2020”, 1998. Vision 2020 was created to eradicate poverty by 2020 [27]. Since the government of Malawi viewed education as one of the foremost emancipatory methods of poverty escapement, it was given heavy attention in Vision 2020. Vision objectives comprised an economic and social transformation in Malawi, including access to quality education and health care, a per capita income of \$1,000 USD, a fair and equitable wealth distribution, sustainable growth, and an emerging science/technology economy that generated 25% of the GDP. More a general framework for future developments than a singular policy itself, Vision 2020 reemphasized the educational strategies of eliminating primary school fees and school uniforms and a redistribution of public expenditures to areas specifically targeting the poor.

Technical and Vocational Educational and Training (TVET), 1999. With the implementation of FPE, there was now a need for extended technical and vocational education beyond the primary education level. TVET was seen as one of the four priority areas in the UNESCO education program due to the importance of technical and vocational skill sets to both educational development and economic advancement [28]. TVET programs were included in EFA policies and acted as professional education opportunities, contributing to the overall EFA goals of poverty reduction and development. According to UNESCO, “technical and vocational education should be a vital aspect of the educational process in all countries” because of the “immense scientific, technological and socio-economic development, either in progress or envisaged, which characterizes the present era, particularly globalization” [29]. Malawi began TVET reform in 1997 before creating the TVET Authority in 1999 [30].

Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP). Also known as the Decentralization Program, the LGRP was part of the wider Public Sector Reform Program designed to improve delivery of goods

and services to the local levels. LGRP was a devolution policy that translated national policy to local, authorizing power to local levels to manage and direct education provision. The LGRP was meant to develop the capacity of personnel and structures at local levels, enabling them to participate in the planning and delivery of high quality primary education services. However, the LGRP was plagued by capacity problems that limited effective service provision [31]. Specifically, the LGRP did not come equipped with structural support programs for training and development and financial management strategies. Thus, there was a lack of trained personnel and low funding.

Primary Curriculum and Assessment Reform Programme (1990s). PCAR restructured the primary school curriculum from eight years to seven. Other intentions were to reduce the number of available subjects per teacher and introduce pre-vocational training. The PCAR was to be more cooperative than curriculum reform, with increased stakeholder participation. Additionally, curriculum was to be created in tandem with proper assessment.

Dakar policy phase

Major Dakar era policies include the EFA National Action Plan (2004), ALE (2008), the Policy Investment Framework (2000-2015), the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002), and the HIV/AIDS Strategy (2003-2008). Supportive policies include the National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development, the National Gender Policy, and the National Policy on Early Childhood Development.

Policy Investment Framework (2000). The Policy Investment Framework (PIF) was created largely in response to the increased burdens placed upon the Malawi educational system during the six years following FPE in 1994 and authorized by Malawian Secretary of Education Charles Nthenda in 2000 [32]. PIF was meant to be future-oriented, as prior educational policies were largely responsive and attended to problems in the past. The PIF, in contrast, was conceptualized as a living document that was to be continually revised according to new challenges encountered by the

educational system. The PIF highlighted areas of the education sector that needed additional funding, attention, and policy planning into the new millennium. The PIF had five EFA-related goals that supported Malawi poverty alleviation policy and Vision 2020, with particular focus given to the challenges of “limited and unequal access to educational opportunity; declining education quality; a school curriculum which does not effectively address individual and societal needs; poor planning and management capacity; and inadequate financing” [32, 33].

Specific PIF policy goals for access included: a net enrollment ratio (NER) of 95% by 2015, an increase in gross enrollment ratio (GER) in secondary school from 18% to 30%, and participation growth in tertiary education from 0.3% to 1%. Universal primary education took precedence because of the greater social returns to investment when compared with other education levels. PIF policies to achieve these goals included methods to reduce repetition and dropout rates and increase attendance, such as pre-school provision, adult education and literacy programs, advocacy campaigns to fight dropout rates, a nationalized system of minimum learning requirements, and accommodations for children with special needs [32]. For equality, the PIF introduced bursary schemes to increase access for women, special needs children, and others that were disadvantaged with a goal of at least 50% female participation in all levels of education. Quality improvement policies included curriculum review, quality and sustainable programs for teacher professional development, and strategies that investigated the interaction between educational inputs and processes that lead to desired outcomes.

An atypical objective of the PIF was a call for the more affluent or sustainable members of society to share the cost of education so that the poorer sections could attend education free of charge. Communities and other private investors were expected to contribute to the development and provision of education. Other key policy changes in PIF include a unified secondary education system, textbook cost-recovery fees to create sustainable educational resources, a modern

curriculum, information technology training, reductions in the unqualified teacher workforce, a fixed pupil-teacher ratio of 1:40, higher private sector financing for higher educational opportunities, cost-sharing programs and an increase in public financing of education [32]. PIF implementation was structured to be a cooperative effort between the Ministry of Education, parents, local communities, NGOs, employers, and religious organizations, together with continued participation from international donors.

EFA National Action Plan, 2004. The EFA National Action Plan for Education for All was implemented as a cooperative framework that brought together the input of multiple stakeholders throughout Malawian society [34]. The policy was spearheaded by a technical committee of educational experts from the Ministries of Gender, Education and Health Resource, Child Welfare and Community Services, Technical and Vocational Entrepreneurial Training, and the ministry responsible for people of disability. The government of Malawi, together with a collection of international agencies including UNICEF, UNESCO, USAID, and other country-level donors provided funding.

The NAP was influenced by previous Malawian socio-economic development policies, including the Policy Investment Framework, the Local Government Reform Program, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, the National Gender Policy, Vision 2020, and the National Policy on Early Childhood Development [35]. It was a national-level policy that directly responded to the Dakar Framework for Action. Numerous lingering issues following FPE influenced the development of the NAP, including high student-teacher ratios, low classroom availability, low educational standards and quality, lack of a clear policy on basic education, the role of the private sector in education, the influence of the community in education, and the negative impact of HIV/AIDS. The National Action Plan commissioned policies that were specifically tailored to meet EFA goals. Examples of NAP objectives included steps for quality Early Childhood Development

(ECD), child protection plans, rehabilitation and counseling services for disadvantaged, disabled, or troubled children, modification of classrooms to accommodate children with special needs, new classroom construction, incentives to encourage teachers to attend to children with special needs, extending teacher professional development opportunities, granting specific support to girls, orphans, and children with HIV/AIDS, providing alternative education and distance learning, adult literacy and continuing education programs, gender equitable admissions policies, developing a quality curriculum and assessment procedures, and expanding the teacher workforce.

All policies contained in the NAP had short, medium, and long term targets and delegated responsibilities to particular organizations. For instance, NAP policy 6.1.2, which required training more teachers, set short-term targets (2000-2005) at 9,339 new teachers, medium targets (2005-2010) at 50,828, and long term targets (2010-2015) at 21,805. Responsible organizations for the implementation of NAP 6.1.2 included the Ministry of Education & Human Resource Development, Domasi College, the Malawi Institute of Education, and Teacher Training Colleges [34].

Development and State of Adult Learning and Education (2008). ALE was comprised of both the National Adult Literacy Program (operating under the 1962 Malawi Education Act) and the 2006 National Adult Literacy Policy (funded by the Malawian government and the UNDP Sustainable Economic Empowerment Programme) [36]. These policies were created to increase adult literacy rates to 85% by 2011. Adult literacy policies were multi-leveled, with specific implementation protocols at the national, district, and grassroots levels. ALP was linked to other policy goals in Malawi, including HIV/AIDS, gender, decentralization, and vulnerable children [36]. Goals for Adult Literacy Policies included “greater awareness of adult literacy issues particularly in the context of national development priorities; strategies on adult literacy are responsive to socio-economic needs of communities; linkages and coordination among literacy providers and services from public

and the non-state sector; well-funded and accessible services at all levels of literacy; accepted and recognized standards of programme quality” [36] .

National Gender Policy (2000-2005). The National Gender Policy (NGP) was an extension of GABLE into the larger Malawian socio-political environment [37]. It aimed to increase access and gender equity for women in politics, social circles, and economic development while simultaneously strengthening inclusion into education. Policy themes under the NGP included “education and training, reproductive health, governance and human rights, poverty eradication and economic empowerment, food and nutritional security, [and] natural resources and environmental management” (Ministry of Gender, Child Welfare, and Community Services [MGCWCS], 2000). The NGP came equipped with a multilevel implementation structure that included participation from community service organizations (CSOs) and the private sector. Each policy theme had extensive gender specific objectives. Examples of these objectives include career guidance programs for non-traditional fields, distance education services, elimination of ritual and culture that subjugate women, and educational services on reproductive health.

Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002). The MPRS was an attempt to translate the long-term Vision 2020 strategy into defined and prioritized medium-term action plans [38]. In addition to primary policy goals of sustainable growth for those in poverty, the development of human capital, governance, and quality of life improvements, the MPRS focused on gender, HIV/AIDS, environment, and emerging science and technology. The MPRS had a three-year implementation phase, and was subsequently evaluated by the Comprehensive Review of the MPRS [39]. According to a poverty and vulnerability assessment, the MPRS resulted in a decline in poverty levels from 54.1% to 52.4%.

The HIV/AIDS Strategy (2003-2008). The HIV/AIDS strategy included a number of specific policy objectives, but those intended to develop through the educational sector included the

HIV/AIDS Programme, which created the School Feeding and Nutrition program, and the Guidance and Counselling program. These programs were designed to target poor and vulnerable children and establish voluntary testing, counselling services for teachers and students, and the provision of anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) to students and teachers [40].

National Policy on Early Childhood Development (2003). Intended to uphold “the child’s human dignity”, ECD was an empowerment program for families, communities, and organizations to provide basic child development services [35]. ECD programs were specified for children between the ages of 0-8. Particular ECD policies included antenatal care and nutrition for pregnant women, psychosocial care and holistic development for children, universal access to drinking water and sanitation, awareness programs for nutrition and rights of the child, and redressing negative SES factors that limit development. National and local policymakers, religious institutions, families, human rights organizations, and the community were all responsible for ECD policy implementation [35].

National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development (2003). With the ultimate goal of increasing the supply of teachers into the labor market, NSTED had objectives of enrollment increases, equity in education, operational efficiency, and the use of quality inputs into educational production [41]. Key policy features included increasing teacher professional development and teacher training in various colleges.

Malawi Policy and ANCEFA Quality Metrics

Jomtien policy quality. Quality analysis of Jomtien policy activity (Table 1) shows that policies in the Jomtien era addressed 14 of the 30 metrics in the ANCEFA framework. Most of the quality support were from the comprehensive equity policies of GABLE and TVET. Within individual quality areas, Malawian policy post-Jomtien was most notably aligned with planning and budget metrics. However, policies were least effective in overall educational policy, failing to adequately

address a larger teacher workforce, pupil teacher ratios and equitable teacher workforce distribution, improving the school environment, empowering school attendees, a comprehensive assessment system, and open-access budget monitoring. From this quality perspective, it becomes clear that a dominant theme of Jomtien-era EFA policy in Malawi was broad system change. Large national policies virtually overnight established free primary education, curriculum reform, vocational and professional education, and gender equality in education. These policies intended to create large structural systems to oversee wide-scale implementation, but failed to consider a myriad of intended consequences that would result from such systemic change.

One of the intentions of Vision 2020 was to establish a coordinated, direct approach to EFA policy. It was feared that a multi-policy environment, where individual policies would act with little guidance from an overall improvement plan, would do little to effect comprehensive change and result only in conflicting responsibility and poor quality. *Vision* emphasized the importance of civic participation in the policy process and implementation, but unfortunately Jomtien-era policies frequently lacked structural support for that implementation (such as the LGRP). Many of the Jomtien-era EFA policies in Malawi were strong in enforcing the primary concerns of equity and access but overlooked important social and fiscal responsibilities that resulted in a disparate, inefficient EFA policy package.

Table 1

Quality Performance for Jomtien-Era Policy Design

Metric	Planning	Social Concerns	Budget	Quality
(1)	Yes (GABLE, LGRP, Vision 2020, TVET, PCAR)	Yes (GABLE)	Partially (FPE, GABLE)	No
(2)	Yes (c.25(i), c.13(f)(iii), GABLE, UPE)	No	No	No

(3)	Yes (Vision 2020, LGRP, TVET, GABLE)	Yes (FPE, GABLE)	Yes (GABLE, TVET)	Partially (PCAR, TVET) but incomplete
(4)	No	Partially (indirect through UPE)	Partially (TVET, GABLE)	No
(5)	No	No	Yes (GABLE)	No
(6)	Yes (UPE, GABLE, TVET)	No	No	Yes (GABLE, UPE)
(7)	--	No	Yes (GABLE)	No
(8)	--	No	No	No
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<i>Totals</i>	4	3	5	2
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Note. “--” indicates there was no available metric for the particular ANCEFA quality category.

Key areas for improvement in the Jomtien policy phase lay in the social concern and quality categories. Positively, major curriculum reforms in this phase were focused on issues of gender equity and of overcoming traditional gender bias, and technical and vocational education curriculum reforms did include new initiatives for social and economic empowerment, together with the inclusion of life skills and personal sustainability campaigns. However, new forms of civic education such as peace, tolerance, democracy, rights of the child, and support for the disadvantaged were not addressed. Additionally, EFA policies in the Jomtien phase seemed to overlook larger HIV/AIDS concerns, represented by a lack of awareness campaigns and government-sponsored assistance programs for children in the educational system. Regardless, two major social equity concerns—gender parity and universal access to education—were directly addressed in Jomtien-era policy.

It is likely that the poor quality impact of Jomtien-era policy is due to a lack of focus given to comprehensive quality reform in the actual policies themselves. Many programs were child-centered (such as the GABLE and UPE policies) that removed access barriers and integrated gender-specific curriculum and new pregnancy and awareness campaigns to impact change at the student level, but failed to consider the higher-level problems that were simultaneously restricting progress in the educational system. Little attention was given to the problems of gender equity in the teacher workforce, and there was no comprehensive evaluation system in place to assess policy impact. Available school budgets were not readily accessible by local communities and families. Policy discourse that removed traditional barriers to education did not come complete with structural support mechanisms, creating non-functioning schools. PTRs were not regulated, even with ratios approaching 100:1. Although some EFA policies came complete with funding mechanisms, others were more focused on removing financial obligations at the student-level without replacing them with federal funding. TVET programs were funded, yet there was considerable deficiency in local primary school resource funding. Available funding programs did focus on access and quality (e.g., GABLE), however no major Jomtien-era policies had mention of the implementation of donor funding or participation.

Overall, the emphasis on core quantitative EFA and MDG policy goals is reflected in the strong performance from Jomtien-era policy in the planning category. The policies of the early 1990s immediately set out to satisfy the conditions for Education for All through gender equity and universal primary education policies. Similarly, the input of CSOs was established as important and necessary to the policy process, and preliminary timelines were set for implementation.

Dakar policy quality. In response to the incomplete approach to EFA policy taken by countries in sub-Saharan Africa in the Jomtien era, a special regional-specific EFA conference was held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in December 1999. The SSA EFA framework recognized the progress

made towards UPE and educational equity, even in the face of extreme challenges, but gave particular attention to the underlying problems that hinder educational progress, such as debt burdens, poor governance, HIV/AIDS, and conflict. Additional concerns echoed the poor quality performance demonstrated by Jomtien era policy, such as irrelevant curriculum, ineffective teacher workforces, and a lack of systematic evaluation. Policy goals established at the SSA EFA that would feed into Dakar became more refined, and specific attention was given to working children, children with HIV/AIDS, disabled children, and children who lived in conflict. Curriculum was to be culturally and socially relevant, life programs for HIV/AIDS were to be introduced, and the teacher workforce was to become more efficient and balanced.

Based on the Malawi National Framework for Action, many of the gaps in Jomtien-era policies were identified and strategies were suggested to address lingering issues of sustainable EFA. Particular attention was given to quality, pedagogy, school and community infrastructure, and curriculum issues that policy in past attempts were unable to address. Specific deficiencies of Jomtien-era policies included “inadequate teaching and learning materials; no systematic monitoring and evaluation tools for ECD; critical shortage of classrooms; shortage of qualified teachers; the impact of HIV/AIDS; limited facilities for children with special needs; [and] institutional capacities”, among others [34].

Dakar-era policy quality assessment (Table 2) suggests that greater attention was given to the structural components necessary to support sustainable EFA policy. Overall, 24 of the 30 ANCEFA quality metrics were directly addressed (with acceptable policy support to ensure that they were sustainable) by Dakar-era policy. The vast majority of quality metrics are addressed by the Malawi National Action Plan. All quality metrics included in the social concern category were acceptably addressed, and 7 of 8 metrics in educational quality.

However, metrics P4, P5, B6, B7, and B8 were undefined. These metrics have to do with aid allocation, donor participation, donor aid policy, the involvement of international organizations, and debt reduction strategies. While these key areas are addressed in the implementation language of the NAP, they are merely declared as important and not given corresponding policy action or support. The NAP emphasized the need for partnerships, trust, and legislation that attends to the demands of NGOs and external partners. Furthermore, the NAP called upon international agencies to work with the Malawian government for strategies to reducing debt, to properly invest debt reduction savings, promote cooperative strategies to avoid waste, overlap, and duplication, and to evaluate donor agency policy within Malawi. While in theory these declarations satisfy the ANCEFA quality metrics, they would need identifiable policy strategies to be practically considered.

When compared to Jomtien-era policy, those enacted post-Dakar improved in three major quality categories (social concerns, budget, and quality). However, the same metrics in planning were unaddressed in both policy phases (metrics 4 and 5), which mandated that donor agencies involved in the EFA process collaborate under a unified strategy and do not act individually, and donor agencies emphasize effective educational policy with a particular focus on access and quality, being clear in which policies will receive funding.

Table 2

Quality Performance for Dakar-Era Policy Design

Metric	Planning	Social Concerns	Budget	Quality
(1)	Yes (NAP 2.6.1, 2.7.1-.3; PRSP, ECD)	Yes (NAP 2.1.1-2.1.8)	Yes (NAP 5.1-5.3)	Yes (NGP 5.1.3, 5.1.3.1, 5.1.3.3, 5.1.4.1, 5.1.4.2; NAP 2.1.4, 2.1.6-2.2.8, 6.1-6.3)
(2)	Yes (NAP, Jomtien-era c.25(i))	Yes (NAP 1.3.2-1.3.5)	Yes (NAP 2.1.1-2.1.3)	Yes (NGP 5.1.3, 5.1.3.1-5.1.3.3, 5.1.4.1,

	& c.13.f(iii); PIF, PRSP, ECD)			5.1.4.2; NAP 2.2.3, 2.2.4, 6.1-6.3)
(3)	Yes (NAP 2.6.1, 2.7.1-2.7.3, PIF, PRSP, ECD)	Yes (NAP 1.1.2, 2.1.1, 2.1.8)	Yes (NAP 3.1- 4.4)	Yes (NGP 5.1.8.5)
(4)	*	Yes (NAP 1.6.1-1.6.8)	Yes (NAP 3.3, 3.4)	Yes (NGP 5.1.1.3, 5.1.1.4, 5.1.1.8; NAP 2.1.4, 2.1.6-2.1.8)
(5)	*	Yes (NAP 2.3.4, 2.3.5; NGP 5.2.2.2)	Yes (NAP)	Yes (NAP 2.1.1-2.1.3)
(6)	Yes (NAP, PIR)	Yes (NAP 1.6.1-1.6.8)	*	Yes (NGP 5.1.2, 5.1.2.3, 5.1.1.1)
(7)	--	Yes (NAP 2.3.4.1, 2.3.5)	*	Yes (NAP 6.4)
(8)	--	Yes (NAP 1.6.1-1.6.8)	*	No
<i>Totals</i>	4	8	5	7

Note. “—” indicates there was no available metric for the particular ANCEFA quality category.

Discussion

Post-Jomtien, Malawi eliminated primary school enrollment fees and saw enrollment numbers triple over just a few years. The gross enrollment rate (GER) was over 130% during the mid to late 1990s and the female/male GER was 0.91 (compared to a GER of 1.39), suggesting low gender gaps in primary school enrollment [25]. However, Malawi had very low primary education unit costs which allowed it to circumvent the typical expansion constraints associated with high production costs. This meant that despite Malawi's large increase in primary education enrollment, the necessary funding to make a positive impact on educational quality was lacking [25].

When compared to other SSA countries, Malawi was one of the largest contributors to primary education as a percentage of government education expenditure. This was likely a result of low primary school unit costs, as similar expenditures were shown by Ethiopia which had high unit costs and comparatively poor GER [25]. Government sponsored per-pupil expenditures in Malawi equated approximately 10% of the per capita income, which was similarly reflected in other UPE countries such as Zambia and Uganda. Malawi had one of the greatest disparities in primary GER to primary unit costs as a percentage of GDP (140% to 8%) and in primary GER to primary unit costs with purchasing power parity (140% to \$50). Overall government expenditure on education in the early 1990s was 20% of the GDP. Of the government recurrent spending on primary education, 93% of it went to teacher earnings. There was also a 15% retention rate, one of the highest pupil-teacher ratios, and one of the lowest average teacher salaries in SSA (\$PPP and %GDP).

Adding to the problems of high pupil-teacher ratios and low salaries, the gender distribution of the teacher workforce was highly inequitable. Gender bias continued to be a problem in Malawi, as female teachers were predominantly responsible for classes with lower standards than advanced classes, as they are seen as easier to teach [25, 42]. Malawi schools were further characterized by an unequal resource distribution: more than twenty percent of year 1-4 classes were held outside, a result of insufficient classroom availability, and female students were often expected to fulfill the duties of a teachers' wife such as basic housekeeping [25, 42].

Post-UPE policy, Malawi schools no longer had the resources from traditional enrollment fees, and were not given any additional financial or structural support from the government. There was a massive increase in class size, which resulted in a corresponding increase in low quality teachers. Per capita financing was much lower than under the old system, and the degree of impact on literacy and skills and transition to secondary school was minimal. Students would enter school but leave a few years later: in 1995, only 62% of boys reached the 2nd grade, and only 34% reached

5th. For girls, the dropout rate was even higher [43]. Thus while equality was technically reached through universal primary education, quality would suffer greatly.

Studying the impact of free primary education (FPE) implementation, Chimombo (2005) collected data from ten schools in five educational districts from three separate regions of Malawi [44]. Results indicated that EFA efforts sponsored by the Ministry of Education were counter-productive. Multiple factors seemed to limit the effectiveness of a free primary education: parents wanted more than experienced teachers and good materials, they wanted relevance to local needs; the income reduction that resulted from children leaving the labor market to attend school was too great a burden for families to bear; women marry as soon as they reach adolescence; quality conditions within schools were exceptionally poor; and schools were characterized by extreme variation in numerous quality indicators such as pupil-teacher ratios, temporary teacher population, and instructional resource availability.

Greater success was observed in gender equity. The primary 1991 policy, Girls' Attainment of Basic Literacy and Education, was supported by other programs such as cost-reduction reforms for schooling (waivers for school-fees, no school uniform requirements, and allowing women to return to school after pregnancy), social mobilization campaigns, curriculum modification to eliminate gender bias, and gender training to teachers and other school personnel [42]. It was found that from 1990-1994, increases in primary enrollment for girls outscored that of boys, and concluded that the success of GABLE was largely a result of the multisectoral approach taken by the policy that attacked multiple constraints on access and school system development [25, 42]. Thus, in contrast to the FPE policies of the mid-1990s, the early gender equity policies were met with greater success because they attended to both the major issue (gender equity) as well as the more general constraints on school development (quality concerns). However, there were simultaneously concerns over sustainability [45].

By 2003, Malawi had implemented multiple policies for access and gender equity. Policies were in place to eliminate primary school fees and uniforms and provide government incentives or subsidies to attend school; work towards gender equity in the teacher workforce; revise the pregnancy policy for girls and school attendance; and adapt language of instruction [25]. However, there remained recommendations for policies that would focus on adult education options, encourage private education, strengthen links between schools and communities, and provide for massive quality enhancements such as resource provision, smaller class size, teacher training, school working conditions, and gender sensitivity.

In addition to the quality performance of Malawian EFA policy design, research into the policy process should similarly consider the impacts of those policies. Differences between policy intentions and consequences are of considerable importance, as a policy is only as good as its outcomes. For example, much of the Jomtien-era policy included specific discourse for civic participation, but actual implementation of the those policies demonstrated a lack of budgetary and supervisory support necessary to sustain that participation. With this focus on policy outcomes, we select specific ACENFA quality metrics and present tangible policy outcomes that emerged from Jomtien and Dakar eras. This is not a comprehensive list, but one that reveals the complications that arise when attempting to create a quality policy in design and outcome.

The state of the Malawian teacher workforce jeopardized the Planning quality area during the Jomtien-era. For example, the first planning metric required EFA related policies be created with input from civil society organizations (CSOs). The Ministry of Education, parliamentarians, and CSOs were not involved in negotiations to increase the wage ceiling that directly limits teacher salaries [46]. Thus, the Malawian government was constrained by international macroeconomic policies (the wage ceiling levels are set by the IMF and the Malawi Ministry of Finance) and could not include the participation of other interested organizations. Indeed, ActionAid International

Malawi recommended “the IMF must remove the wage bill ceiling as a conditionality in its loan arrangement so that the Ministry of Education can hire the number of teachers it needs to ensure quality education” [46]. The inability of teacher unions and CSOs to be involved in the wage policy process was as a roadblock to teacher quality outcomes, despite meeting criteria for quality policy design.

In the Budget quality category, metric four was achieved by the allocation of federal funding for the improvement of the teacher workforce and instructional materials through TVET and GABLE reforms in the Jomtien phase. However, these allocations were limited in scope (to technical/vocational education and gender equity) and did not address larger system concerns. Similarly, the fourth Social Barrier metric (SB4), concerned with combating the expanding HIV/AIDS epidemic, was largely unsupported. Teachers had limited access to VCT and ARV drugs in practice, and there were substantial drops in the teacher workforce because of deaths related to HIV/AIDS [46].

For the fourth, second, and fifth Quality-category metrics, policy consequences did not meet the expectations of their designers. Malawi failed to achieve sufficient performance on teacher quality (Q4), with a teacher professional population that was both undertrained and underpaid. Following UPE policy in 1994 Malawi tried to compensate for the increased student load by hiring over twenty thousand untrained teachers. Eighteen thousand of these teachers were hired in the post-Jomtien policy phase, and a further four thousand hired in post-Dakar. These teachers typically only had a secondary education level and very little professional training [46]. Further, at the end of the Dakar phase, pupil-teacher ratios were 90:1 [47]. The Ministry of Education set a target pupil-teacher ratio maximum ratio for 2015, but one still considered unsustainable at 60:1. Additionally, there was no planned method of equitable teacher distribution in place, and gender distribution in the teacher workforce was unequal, with only a 30% female teacher population [46]. While the

Ministry of Education had promised to attend to the uncontrolled pupil-teacher ratios and poor teacher ability with new teacher development and planning policies [47], these policies were created with target dates outside of the Jomtien and Dakar policy phases. Still further, the teacher population from Jomtien to Dakar faced a high attrition rate from retirement or disease, with thousands of teachers leaving each year [46].

While the Ministry of Education expanded the total number of schools from 3,216 in 1994 to 5,159 in 2005, the high PTR and low teacher quality kept quality low [46]. Interviews with Malawian children revealed that the necessary infrastructure to secure an effective, productive universal primary education system was not in place [47]. Were children to not have to work in lieu of schooling to offset poverty, they would be faced with no transportation to schools (with some schools being over eleven miles from the child's home), high pupil-teacher ratios, and frequent school closures. Based on a 2009 Civil Society Coalition for Quality Basic Education (CSCQBE) report, dropout and retention rates in primary education at the end of the Dakar policy era were still high, with over a 20% retention rate and 24% dropout rate [47].

Overall, a focus on quantitative metrics for universal primary education in the Jomtien era belied a quality educational experience. Policies in the Dakar era corrected many of the previous oversights of Jomtien EFA policy, but considerable roadblocks towards effective educational for all remained. At the end of the Dakar EFA policy phase, 20% of children between the ages of six and thirteen did not attend school, and various organizations were advocating for compulsory education laws [47]. As a result, in 2010 Malawi delegated more of its annual budget to education than any other area, save for agriculture, at 12%. However, universal primary education, as a singular policy goal itself, could be overstated in its effectiveness. Alternative universal primary education strategies such as compulsory education laws or the abolition of child labor may not be as effective in stimulating enrollment when compared to other economic strategies [48]. Paradoxically, shorter-

term policies focused on “education for most” may be preferable to ineffective policies for education for all. While this conflicts with traditional values of equity and equality and the fundamental right to education, it maintains the persistent issues facing universal primary education.

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Appendix 1: Jomtien Education for All Policy Timeline

1990-1991: set targets and create or modify national educational plans to meet all basic learning needs; establish a “supportive policy environment”; work to integrate information and communication tools to assist basic learning; organize available resources; and establish partnerships to implement policy. On the international level, agencies were to assist countries directly or through regional cooperation. The first year post-Jomtien was primarily a preparation phase.

1990-1993: This major post-Jomtien phase was to be spearheaded by international and donor agencies. These agencies were to create their own improvement plans for the 1990s that were “in line with their commitments to sustained, long-term support for national and regional actions”. Development agencies were also to increase financial and technical support, act as available consultants, and establish evaluation measures.

1990-1995: The first half of the 1990s was dedicated towards stage-one implementation of the national action plans. National governments were to conduct evaluations and be supported regionally and internationally.

1995-1996: The implementation of national action plans were to be submitted to mid-term evaluations; policy reviews were to be conducted regionally and globally by governments and participating national and international agencies; and adjustments were to be made where appropriate.

1996-2000: This was the second implementation stage for action plans and international support. The participating development agencies were to review the impacts of their technical and financial assistance to help countries meet basic learning needs and adjust policies appropriately.

2000-2001: The final phase was a post-implementation review and evaluation. All those previously involved in the policy process were to conduct comprehensive policy reviews regionally and globally.

Appendix 2: Dakar Goals, World Education Forum

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes;
4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills (UNESCO, 2000).

Table 1*Quality Metrics by Subgroup for the ANCEFA Quality Framework*

Planning	Social Barriers	Budget	Educational Quality
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For policies under the scope and rationale of EFA related policy plans, (including policies that are either individual EFA plans, poverty reduction strategies, MDG plans, or reviewing reports), that they are developed with the input of civil service organizations (CSOs); whether plans are “participatory and credible”; and whether there are options for civic participation built into the design, implementation, and evaluation of country-level EFA plans. 2. Whether state governments integrate the spirit of the MDGs into their EFA policy plans; the existence of a constitutional guarantee to the universal human right to education; whether that educational guarantee entails twelve years of learning; and that the educational guarantee attends to the “gender and social equity gaps”. 3. Civil society groups are consulted for planning to achieve high-quality interventions, and that the 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Whether plans address issues of gender parity and the education of women; 2. Plans address children with special needs and conflict resolution; 3. Ensure that all citizens have access to basic primary education regardless of socio-economic status or gender (through enrollment numbers). 4. Policy support to attend to growing concerns of child poverty, conflict, and child trading (so as to avoid child labor); government-sponsored awareness campaigns against on the ills of child trafficking and labor. 5. Governments must provide “unhindered access to ARVs – life prolonging drugs”, in order to combat the problem of HIV/AIDS compromising teacher commitment, community support of education, and the participation of children; schools to offer awareness programs and campaigns through HIV/AIDS-related education. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Whether the constitutionally guaranteed right to education (if available) is fully funded at least through basic education; that there are no fees for basic primary education to be assumed by the people. 2. That there is a system in place to provide all necessary resources such as instructional and learning materials to all public schools. 3. That subsidies are made available to secondary and tertiary education and support given to encourage adult education and vocational training. 4. That a portion of the national budget is allocated explicitly to the “supply and improvement of teaching and learning resources/materials”; whether a plan is in place to encourage “home grown” instructional materials and other school resources to as save on the cost of resource privatization. 5. That the federal governments have initiated funding plans to support EFA. 6. Identifiable increases in donor funding for m EFA costs; elimination of “tied aid” in donor assistance policies; aid is 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish, through policy, the importance of a larger teacher workforce; narrow the gap between regional, national, provincial, and district Pupil Teacher Ratios; encourage a balanced teacher workforce between urban and rural schools; teachers must be held accountable for student outcomes. 2. Establish maximum and minimum Pupil Teacher Ratios; create normal procedures for staffing at the school level; create a more equitable distribution of the teacher workforce by gender (more female teachers in rural schools to encourage girls’ enrollment); emphasize teacher development and the need for continued recruitment. 3. Curriculum reform to include “citizenship, democracy, governance, values, and life skills”; ensure that communities have the abilities to hold schools accountable; and increase the use of technology in the classroom, beginning with internet facilities. 4. Teachers are properly trained, supported, and paid according to their qualifications; classrooms are adequately resourced with all necessary learning materials including desks and textbooks; schools offer a safe, warm, and welcoming environment; specific attention given to improving the

<p>EFA plans successfully address the interests of civil society groups that participate in the policy process.</p> <p>4. All donor agencies involved in the EFA process work together under a unified strategy and do not operate as individual units with their own interests; notable efforts from the national governments to be “people-driven and pro-poor countries” and provide “overall leadership/direction in the education sector”.</p> <p>5. Donor organizations emphasize effective educational policy that both improve access and quality; donor agencies are clear in explaining what policies will be given funding.</p> <p>6. Effective policy dialogue for agenda setting and timelines is available</p>	<p>6. Curriculum changes to include child rights, peace, and Civic Education.</p> <p>7. Any educational policy must attend to issues of HIV/AIDS.</p> <p>8. Government-sponsored “rehabilitation programs for victims of conflict and refugees”; stop schools from being refugee camps; school-sponsored educational programs for peace.</p>	<p>allocated policies for access and quality.</p> <p>7. “Access, retention, completion, transition, and quality improvements should become top priorities in aid allocation”.</p> <p>8. Debt forgiveness; framework to divert debt accrual to education; divert up to 60% of debt accrual to finance basic education; new loans must be supported by civil society and ratified by Parliaments.</p>	<p>conditions of schools in poor areas, for women, and for the disadvantaged.</p> <p>5. Schools must be functional; education must be linked to “empowerment, survival, awareness of social, political, and community issues and rights as citizens”, as this will enhance the ability of youth to provide for themselves and their families socially and economically.</p> <p>6. Balanced attendance rates across age and social groups and low retention rates.</p> <p>7. Effective and continuous assessment and feedback for: educational policy implementation processes, school progress, and attainment of parent and community expectations of schools.</p> <p>8. School budget monitoring with information freely available.</p>
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