CHAPTER ONE

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The study examined the issue that thecontentand structure of the existing curriculum discriminates against women and it does not help them as much as the men in the formal sector to gain access to better jobs.

One important aspect of formal education is the school curriculum and the implicit roles which textbooks, assign to women and girls. Many textbooks, research suggests, focus more on males and what they can do and are able to do, than females, and in the process reinforce the positive self- images of boys and the negative images of girls. Where books do focus on females, their images are frequently shaped by stereotypes, for example showing women in the home with babies rather than in offices running businesses. In this way, it is suggested, the textbooks reinforce male dominance in society. While they encourage males to aspire to professional, high status jobs, they encourage females to aspire to domestic and low status jobs.

The method that was used was content analysis, supplemented by interviews and questionnaires. The sample included secondary school textbooks used in the country for instruction in the subjects of literature in English, History, Religious Education and civics.

The premise of the study was that the implicit and explicit messages and images of school textbooks did not only help to shape social reality (Callagher, 1981: 48) but also the character and attitudes of school boys and girls and their future positions in society after leaving school.

From the early beginning of formal education in the country, Women's expectations from formal schooling and their subsequent participation in the modern economy were set to be lower than those of men. The main emphasis of colonial education, which Zambia inherited at "independence", was placed on men. Women's position was understood to be

in the home, particularly in the kitchen, and hence their participation in the formal education was simply an interlude in a line of domestic responsibilities. Colonialisation and colonial Education emphasized and prepared men for labor and women for Domestic activities. (Bardouille, 1992:23).

The result has been women have limited access to better employment opportunities owing to a number of factors such as social- cultural and institutional, marital status and administrative constraints.

Formal education facilitates access to better employment opportunities by enabling an individual to decode new information and know when and how to maximize benefit from a limited amount of inputs. Research has shown that formal education is closely linked to productivity, social morbidity and the process of adaptation to a changing world. It is a promoter of rational attitudes, desire for a better life, achievement motivation, self-confidence and innovativeness and on an individual level; formal education increases one's chances for horizontal and vertical mobility as well as integration, at various levels, local, national and international. (ibid, 1992:24).

Formal education is the main and probably the only route, for marginalized groups in society such as women, to better social status high- paying waged employment and better life. Denying any of such group's access to formal education, therefore undermines and limits their chances to accessing scarce productive resources in society and leading productive lives.

Historical data that shows educated Women at Independence and now.

Representation of women in waged employment in Zambia has been disproportional to their total population in the country. According to the 2000 population and housing census, women constitute 51% of the Zambian population; however, the figure available for participation of women in formal employment was placed between 8% and 15% for 1996. In addition, the majority of women in 2000, in formal employment are in service

jobs such as nursing, teaching, public service, secretarial, which do not generally have high remuneration (Census report, 2000, 56)

This under-representation of women in waged employment, particularly in the high – paying professional positions, such as in main productive areas of Engineering, Mining, mechanized Agriculture etc. indicates the limits which formal education, the entry requirement for waged employment, has imposed on women. As a result it has been far more difficult for women than men to use education to gain access to productive resources.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There is an issue in the country that the disadvantaged position of women is a result of a number of major factors, one of which is the curriculum used in secondary schools. While formal education has shaken the old order to a significant positive degree, it has also worked to reinforce the existing traditional patterns of social stratification between men and women especially in the economic sector of the society.

The study therefore addressed the problem that the content and structure of existing curriculum used in secondary schools as it is currently taught in Zambia, does not help women as much as men in getting better jobs.

"Considering that education is an effective agent of socialization, content of education emerges as one of the key elements in reflecting, reinforcing and reshaping society's norms, expectations and aspirations concerning the position of women and man." (Zeenatunnisa, 1989: 7)

Although there has been an improvement in female school enrolment at various levels in the country from 1964 to date, female education has not been emphasized enough as a significant component of the overall national educational planning. Research findings, for

example ZARD 1985, suggest the following as the main problems of formal education concerning women.

I. Women's proportion of enrollment at all formal school levels is smaller than that of men. Besides, women are concentrated in a few low- income earning subject specializations such as cookery, home economics and secretarial work, unlike their male counterparts who are taught and encouraged to take technical and engineering courses.

II. The biases against women in the curriculum which date back to the colonial era when formal education was first introduced and prepared women to become good mothers, housewives, are still there today and continue to play a significant role in the discrimination against women at all levels of formal education.

III. There has been very little recognition of women's achievement and contribution in society in curriculum and school practices.

1.3. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The study was very significant in improving the quality of policy analysis in the area of formal educationas the results and recommendations of this study could be of vital interest to policy makers and other groups interested in women issues and education for development.

1.4. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study was to assess the role that the curriculum plays in determining women's future occupations.

The specificobjectives of the study were:

a. To provide a critical assessment of females images as in school textbooks used in Zambian secondary schools.

b. To investigate whether these images of women in school textbooks reflect the real conditions as lived by Zambian women in the formal sector

c. To elucidate the manner in which content, subject offerings and structure of formal education discriminate against and marginalize women.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question of this study was: What role does the curriculum play in determining women's future jobs?

The specific questions of this study were:

a. How are female images portrayed in school text books used in Zambian secondary schools?

b. Are the images of women in school textbooks reflect the real conditions as lived by Zambian women in the formal sector?

c. How does the curriculum discriminate against women?

1.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The sample size used for this study was 210 which was small. For a study of this nature one would wish to interview most if not all, the groups with interest in the problem such as parents, teachers, local prominent educationalists, women and employers in the formal sector. As such the findings of the study may not be too reliable to generalize over the whole population of the country. Therefore future researches of this topic should look to increase the sample size especially inclusion of women who are working in the formal sector.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Beginnings of Formal Education: The missionaries.

Formal education in Zambia was introduced by missionaries during the nineteenth century as a means to spread evangelism. Evangelization in Africa automatically incorporated education. According to the testimony of Bishop Tucker of Uganda, when the missionaries required the local people to read the Bible, their interest was not to offer them education:

"Education was not our first object in making this rule. It was made rather as a test of sincerity. Large numbers were coming forward and asking for baptism of their lives we knew nothing. They said, we believe and wish to be baptized'. Very well was our answer. 'We don't know you. We must test you. We must see that you have an intelligent knowledge of the way to salvation here are the gospels. We will teach you to read them and when you have read them we shall expect you to give an intelligent answer to the questions we shall ask you'. And so it came to pass that many thousands acquired the art of reading. Many of these taught their fellows and so the thing spread". (Tiberondwa, 1978: 104)

At the time if a pagan wanted education, the only way to get that education was through Christianity" Tiberondwa writes; and Africans sought eagerly education for the jobs, prestige, and high social and economic status derived from it.

"The school as introduced by the European missionaries in Africa represented progress, not of the masses, but of those few who were fortunate enough to go to it.It was an instrument for separating the few lucky ones from the masses, and the missionary teacher was the agent operating this instrument of separatism' (ibid, 1978:100).

Mwanakatwe states that:

"As in many other African countries, the Africans in Zambia know and accept willingly that but for the pioneer effort of missionaries education would have been late in coming and very slow in its dispersion to every remote part of the country. By leaving the three R's in the mission schools, in addition to religious instruction, our forefathers were at least introduced to the tools of progress" (mwanakatwe, 1974:33).

However, the so –called 'progress' introduced by missionaries into Zambia just lay, unfortunately, the seed for many ills in both education and the African society in general by alienating the people from their own culture and traditional education. To cite Tiberondwa again:

"What was going on in the African schools was described as deplorable by the members of the Phelps- stokes commission which made reports on African education in 1922 and 1924:

'Children and not playing games or doing any of the things they would do out of school. The music you hear will not be a native song but the parody of familiar European hymn. None of the acute problems of village housing, sanitation, water or food preparation are present either in theory or practice. Here there is no building, making or repairing with hands, no cultivation of the garden. The chorus of unintelligible sounds is the sing-song of the syllables as they follow one another in meaningless succession. You will hear reading, but it will not describe, explain or appreciate any of the hundred and one real things and actions of the village… in fact you will wonder if the schools belong to the village world at all."(Tiberondwa, 1978:102).

And elsewhere:

'In the village schools the people were not only taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic and scriptures, they were also repeatedly told that African customs and traditions were wrong and unacceptable to the 'new' God." (ibid, 1978; 58).

Although conservative in its as any other traditional education, African traditional education promoted, unlike the education introduced by the missionaries, intellectual and personality growth, whereas missionary education undermined the sense of identity and self- confidence of its recipients. Instead, "by preaching absolute obedience of the slaves (Africans) to their earthly masters (colonialists) in order to avoid hell- fire (Colossians 3. 22-24), the missionaries introduced an element of fear into the Africans' minds" (ibid, 1978; 111).

Indeed, some elements of traditional African education needed drastic revision, particularly where women were concerned, in order to help upgrade women's position and get rid of practices imposed originally by men and met to perpetuate women's subordination, e.g.Certain women's initiation ceremonies and circumcision practices. However, when missionary education rejected indigenous forms of education and cultural practices it was not with a view to help eradicate social injustice against women, and there was no effort to integrate two cultural and educational systems. Simply, one oppressive system (branded as modern) replaced the other (branded as evil), without setting off a process for real progressof course, the European missionaries lacking higher education themselves and ignorant of the African reality, were bound by the cultural restrictions imposed on women within the western culture of that era.

Content, structure and women in colonial education:

On this foundation, laid by the missionaries, Formal colonialeducation was built. In Zambia the British colonial office together with local colonial government only became interested in formal education for the indigenous people during the inter- war

Years from 1918 to 1939, when the major issue was neither imperial expansion nor decolonization, but rather how best to govern the colonies and in whose interests. The motives for colonial education for almost all the colonies can be summarized in the following three statements:

I. Creation of a competent artisan class;

II. Diffusion among the masses of the people of education to enable them to understand the merest elements of the machinery of government; and

III. Creation of a small administrative class. (Clarke, 1986, 8).

For Northern Rhodesia (asZambia used to be called by then), the aims of the Department of African education in 1952 included one which stated as follows:

"To equip comparatively small numbers to take part in the administrative and social services and in industry, trade and commerce of the territory" (African Education Annual Report, 1952:19).

The colonial school curricula had an educational system which was divided into primary (9 years) and secondary (four and a half years) Primary education was further divided into elementary (four years) and senior (2 and half years).

The subjects offered are presented in table 2, Latin was used as a substitute for one of the local vernacular languages.

In the views of the colonial authorities and the missionaries a few years of primary schooling was sufficient for the majority of the population, who only needed it to lead improved lives in their own villages, read the bible, or perform simple tasks in manual employment. Thus a practical bias to the curriculum was considered a very relevant policy. Only a minority was admitted into the higher grades first beyond standard 2 later beyond standard 4, to be trained as teachers or for work in Government service as clerks and interpreters. As a result secondary schooling was provided in the area at a comparatively late stage (1938) and the number of secondary graduates at the time of independence was very low (approximately one thousand). (Hoppers, 1980: 13).

Indeed, higher education in Zambia was deliberately delayed and it was not until 1938, when the first authorized secondary class for Africans began. It only enrolled 9 students in standard 7, all boys, at lubwa Training school (Coombe, 1967: 67).

In 1946, the first secondary school for girls began in chipembi, with 3 girls enrolled in form 1. In addition to that delayed start and although formal education provision for the African children was very limited (of the estimated number of 20,000 children for whom education was required at the end of 1923, only about 50,000 were in any kind of school), the colonial government's effort to increase school opportunities was negligible, in a deliberate effort to reserve the administrative positions for the Europeans. (Gladsden, 1993: 34).

In the period 1924 to 1938 the record of new school buildings built wholly or partly with government funds is scandalous. This accounts for the proportionately small number of African children who were able to enroll in schools and obtain a reasonable standard of education which at least guaranteed permanent literacy for scholars.   The question might be asked just why so little was done by the colonial office administration to provide adequate education for Africans in Northern Rhodesia, which had a much higher average income after the Second World War than many African dependent countries? In any event, it was not intended that Africans would take up white collar jobs in direct competition with Europeans. (Mwanakatwe, 1992:67).

As a result of this colonial policy, the following numbers of people in Northern Rhodesia had passed recognizes examinations by May 1963:

Table 1

Estimated Number of Educated Africans in Northern Rhodesia; 1963

Stage	Males	Females	Total
Standard lV	86,900	23,300	110,200
Standard Vll	28,200	4,200	32,400
Form ll	3,940	480	4,420
School certificate	884	77	961

Source: Mwanakatwe

The report of the UN/ECA/FAO economic survey mission depicted education in Northern Rhodesia as follows:

"The real weakness of this education is not at the primary level but above. Until two or three years ago, the educational pyramid tapered to the point of disappearance more sharply than in most other African territories. In the last three years, the increase has come later than in many countries elsewhere in Africa. Even in 1963 school system implied that of every 100 Africans who start primary school, 82 would reach the fourth year, 42 the sixth and 21 would complete their full primary course. Of this 21, only six would find a place in secondary school, of them only three would enter a senior secondary form and only two would end up with a school certificate" (Ibid 1992:58).

In addition to the numbers being so discouraging, the content of colonial education meant very little for most African children in Zambia. Education in every society has a very important role to play. It socializes the young to carry on their cultural values, beliefs and ideologies for the maintenance of the social structure and preservation of society. The

content of education is therefore, a reflection and product of its environment. This is why in pre- colonial era children learnt about fishing hunting skills, trees and their uses and other subjects of relevance to their livelihood and survival.

The content of colonial education on the other hand, was not relevant to the African environment and it worked to re-orient the mind of its recipient to look to the outside of his or her immediate environment for a livelihood. It exaggerated the value of waged employment and exhorted the artificial, heavily subsidized, lifestyle of the colonial administration. The young school graduates were socialized to believe that the only way to succeed in life was to get waged employment, in other words to work for somebody else and not for one's self, and to associate literacy with urban life and modernization, while associate illiteracy with manual labour, rural life and traditionalism.

This belief thoroughly permeated Zambian society and conditions school pupils for many years that followed. When the author was in primary school, girls of his age often sang: KUTI CHAWAMA WAUPWA KULI BAMUSESHA INKI UMWANA ALAITILA UKUCILA KULI BAMUSESHA ISEMBE UMWANA ALAIKOMA. It means: I would rather be married to a man who is telling me keep that ink in a safe place so that the child does not spill it, than married to a man who is telling me move that axe before the child cuts himself/herself. The message in a song clearly presented education associated with the easy modern or town life, away from the 'brutish 'rural and agriculture life. (ibid, 1992: 78).

Schooling often became a passport to town. This limited perception of education had numerous adverse consequences on the population some of which included: massive rural- urban migration and its associated problems; low agricultural productivity and hence inability of the economy to make a decisive take-off as agriculture, which forms the basis of any independent development, got neglected by many; lack of people with strong and developed leadership and entrepreneurship capabilities (the seeds of current

serious leadership crisis in the country); and school leavers' problems such as youth unemployment and urban crime.

The syllabus, curriculum and textbook images used in secondary education had more to do with European men than Africa and African women.

"By 1960 African students could feel confident that their schools offered the same curriculum available in any French town. Children in French colonies studied Voltaire, Moliere, Victor Hugo and other French authors, and sat the Baccalaureate examinations. Their counterparts in British colonies studied Shakespeare, Dickens, Wordsworth and other British authors, and sat the school certificate examination". (Clarke, 1986, 9).

Rodney's assessment of colonial education states that:

"Colonial education was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment… whoever had an opportunity to be educationally misguided could count himself lucky, because that misguidance was a means of personal advance within the structure created by European capitalists in and for Africa and it is not surprising that such individuals would carry over colonial value into the period after independence was regained" (Rodney, 1982:214).

Given the little that colonial government did for secondary education in Northern Rhodesia, it is no surprise that it did not even give thought to the idea of developing University education facilities in the country. In 1933, the Acting Director of Native Education officially stated that no Africans in the territory would be requiring higher education in the future' (Mwanakatwe, 1992:173).

University education for Africans was rare and also perceived dangerous for the Africans. Even Makerere College in Uganda (established in 1921) was started not out of the colonial government's desire to promote education among Africans, but out of fear for the politically dangerous influence young Africans were receiving while studying at

United States Universities. The aim behind the starting of Makerere College was stated as follows:

"I think we may be able to prevent young men going abroad for education, at any rate to Alabama, for the next two or three years, when we shall no longer be able to do so. We must if possible, anticipate this time by providing an advanced course of study locally. (Tiberondwa, 1978:114).

In summary, colonial education was neither designed to promote rational use of material and social resources nor to give young people, men and women confidence, independent analytical thinking and pride as members of an African society.

Colonial education structure and content was characterized by:

    I.   Discriminating against women by reflecting them to such courses as embroidery, dress making, needlework, home science and crochet, which were traditional western women's occupations, aimed at making them good mothers and housewives. Although colonial government established in the mid 1920's boarding grants for girls at much higher level than that for boys in an effort to encourage girl's education, it also stressed the need for a heavy emphasis on domestic science in girl's curriculum content, at the expense of the academic content. Girl's education served the primary purpose of preparing them for marriage to educated African men in paid employment, or for serving at the homes of the Europeans, and only marginally to train them as teachers and nurses. (Gadsden, 1986: 173).

Colonial education's failure to provide African women with equal education opportunities was a reflection of what was happening in the metropolitan society itself. Women's position there still had the characteristics of feudal and pre-feudal eras, women were not liberated, they did not have responsible jobs an equal pay with the men and civil

service was almost exclusively for men. It was therefore highly unlikely that colonial education which was modeled on the western system of ideology and philosophy of life would empower African women and improve their position.

II.   Creation of tight control on native education which meant that the few primary schools that existed, especially in the rural areas, involved long distances of walking, sometimes for two days before reaching the school, a situation which became almost impossible to accommodate girls.

III.   A reinforcement of patriarchal values which preceded colonialism, traditional stratification, and also creation of its own stratification, by operating racially segregated schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans, and favoring certain groups over others.

IV.   An uneven distribution of school provisions both in the country and tothe people.For example, urban areas and children of chiefs, prominent civil servants and clergy had more access to schooling and school provisions than rural areas and children of peasants.

Women's access tocolonial education has been described as a limitation within other limitations. In addition to the colonial education bias against women, local negative cultural and social attitudes towards female education also made it difficult for women to attend school. Gadsden gives the example of the daughter of an evangelist who was taken to school by her father, only to be removed by her grandmother and her fiancée (Ibid, 1986, 4). We can safely assume that was only one of numerous similar cases:

"Girls are disadvantaged because they are often required for domestic duties and because parents are often afraid that they will become pregnant at school. They also have weaker incentives to remain in school than boys because they are less likely to seek paid employment and are therefore less likely to need a school certificate" (Clarke, 1986,62).

The serious enrolment disparity between boys and girls does not only apply to initial enrolment in school, but also worsens progressively toward the higher grades. In addition, the 1990 census revealed that approximately 67% of adults both sexes were illiterate and about 70% of women over 21 years were illiterate. (mwanakatwe,1992,149)

Considering the conditions under which girls schooling was taking place, such as the hostile male school environment, the societal expectation for girls to marry early, to help mothers in domestic chores at home, and the fear of being taken advantage of by boys when travelling long distances to school and when taking long absences from home, girls often made up the majority of school drop- outs. Colonial education did not have an interest to help women to assert themselves and take advantage of the unfolding processes of economic and political developments. Not surprisingly, therefore, the profile of educated or simply functionally literate women at "independence" was very insignificant.

'Post-Colonial "Content, structure, and women

Zambia emerged with the lowest educational profiles among the African British colonies at the time of her independence in 1964:

"At independence, Zambia had fewer skilled and educated citizens than virtually any other ex- British colony. There were in 1963 in total under 100 Zambian graduates and under 1,000 secondary school graduates comparable to the number of African secondary school graduates in Ghana in 1943, in Uganda in 1955, in Kenya in 1957, and in Tanzania in 1960. Zambia's deprivation was the result not of poverty but of priorities restrictive legislation made it illegal for any African to be apprenticed until 1959 (Elliot ,1971:21).

The critical lack of trained and skilled humanpower put pressure on the new government to adopt drastic measures in the education sector.

In the following year 1965, the government launched the Transitional Development plan (1965-1966) in which among other things, the nation's first educational policy was established.

The new government's educational policy consisted of seven years of primary course (divided into two segments, a lower primary segment of four years and upper primary segments of three years), and five years of secondary course (also divided into two segments, a junior secondary segment of two years and a senior secondary segment of three years).

The new policy gave formal education a structure of seven (Primary) and five (secondary). The education policy aimed at achieving a system of universal primary education. It increases educational facilities so that:

I.   All seven –year old children can enter grade 1 in 1970 or as soon as possible.
II.   In urban areas all children entering grade 1 in 1967 and subsequent years can complete a full primary course
III.   In rural areas about 75% of Grade IV can proceed to grade V and
IV.   Approximately one third of all grade VII primary school leavers can enter form 1 (Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1967:8).

As for secondary education, the ministry of education's policy was aimed at achieving the following aims:

I.   That approximately one –third of the total primary school output should proceed to form one.
II.   Those two- thirds of the form two outputs should proceed to senior secondary.
III.   That the curriculum at the senior secondary level should be diversified without prejudicing the academic progress of pupils with the potential of graduate studies or higher professional courses

IV. That the selection for higher education , for the University of Zambia and certain other courses should be at the "O" level or its equivalent and

V. That the quality and efficiency of secondary schools should be improved through better equipment, increased supply of teachers, etc. (Ibid, 1967:8)

These statements constituted the new government's educational policy that has guided the country's formal education to this day, despite effort made in the later years to either change or modify it.

Table 2

Subjects of Instruction in the School curriculum

Colonia period	Post-colonial period
Reading	English language
Writing	English Literature
Composition	Arithmetic
Arithmetic	Science
Geography	Zambian Language
Nature study	Home Craft
Moral and Religious instruction	Social studies
Character Training	Agricultural Science
Physical Education	Environmental Science
Singing	Religious education
History	Creative Activities
Civics	Physical Education
English	Handwriting
General science	Music
Gardening and handwork Training in	History

simple carpentry, building and Agriculture	
Latin	Geography
Courses mostly for girls	Science
Sewing	Civics
Home science	French
Reading	Biology
Catechism	Physical Science
Crochet	Commerce
Needle work	**Courses mostly for girls**
Dress making	Office practice
embroidery	Home Craft
	Domestic science
	Home management
	Food and Nutrition
	Typing
	languages
	Art
	Courses mostly for boys
	Technical Drawing
	Metal and Wood work
	Agricultural science

Source: Northern Rhodesia, African Education; Annual Report 1952; and Ministry of Education Annual report 1971.

In the 1992 "Focus on learning" report sponsored by the Ministry of education, this curriculum articulation attracted the following criticism;

"The equal right of women and girls to the levels and fields of education available for men and boys, though acknowledged in principal, is often negated in practice girls constitute an unacceptably low proportion of the enrolment in secondary and tertiary institutions and the fields of study are so apportioned that women and men are shown as having and experiencing different options in their career choices. The school's task will be to foster in all members of the educational community the deep conviction that every human being has a dignity which is independent of gender and which reflects the individual's unique inner worth. The school must help to eradicate all beliefs that go against the fulfilment of women. In particular, it must seek to eliminate every practice and attitude which demeans, excludes or under-represents women and girls or which shows itself favourable to men and boys" (Kelly, 1992:8)

The curriculum of "post –colonial" formal education changed and updated to some extent the one that preceded it.

However, the government continued to depend on foreign educational advisors and planners, expatriate teachers, outside examination accreditation bodies, foreign textbooks and publishers of educational school materials.

"The content of the primary school curriculum was largely foreign with very little in it that was relevant to the African Child's immediate environment. Many textbooks too were unsuitable. This situation applied to secondary schools and it was considered the more serious at that level because senior secondary classes were geared to meet the requirements of external examinations" (Mwanakatwe, 1992:42)

One therefore questions whom the "new" educational system was designed to serve, and what agenda it had. There is no such thing as a "politically neutral" educational system. All educational systems, including the Zambian one transmit and foster certain values and attitudes to their pupils for a specific agenda which may be manifest or latent.

An issue, therefore, that was not adequately captured and addressed by either the educational planners or the government authorities, is that while school syllabi and

subjects of instruction were re- organised, the underlying colonial ideology and philosophy (i.e. the fundamental beliefs, goals, principals and values) of education remained more or less the same. Until now there has been no critical examination of the goals, of the goals, principals and values guiding our educational system, and also of the reality subsequently created through the students' future actions, character formulation and behaviour.

Once the ideology and philosophy of the education system have been defined to address and serve the social reality of the Zambian society, then such issues as school curriculum, subject offerings and structure of education, will simply have to be designed as the instruments for carrying out an, at last truly national, educational system.

However, as in the colonial education, the philosophy behind post-colonial formal schooling was perpetuating discrimination between boys and girls and between rural children and urban children, serving the so- called imperial mother country, and was academic and hardly relevant to the real needs of the young developing nation.

For example, agricultural science, commercial subjects and industrial arts had a very insignificant share in the curriculum. In 1967 only four secondary schools offered agriculture science as a subject of study. What was not done in this kind of schooling was adequate preparation of each school grade for the different needs of the student, such as independent analytical thinking, use of initiative, entrepreneurship and leadership skills, and self-employment.

The system produced graduates with a "sickness" of system dependence, graduates who were not only unable but also fearful to strike it by themselves without leaning against the employer or somebody else in a similar capacity.

At this level of analysis, the reasons for teaching what is being taught in schools today are not different from colonial education of yester year. In other words today's education is still colonial education.

"In this way the policy reinforced a tradition, established during the colonial period that the school was there to offer children a chance to escape from poverty by becoming part of the modern economy. Parents accepted this function, limiting their role mainly to expressing a demand for more opportunities to enter the educational system as well as to continue within it at higher levels. The actual provision was left to the government, which was predominantly using national resources to do so." (Hoppers, 1980:49).

When the Second National Development Plan was launched in 1971 it was realized that;

"Schools had been giving young people false expectations about a 'fancy 'life in town, making rural life look inferior while at the same time instilling knowledge skills which were not relevant for an agricultural environment" (ibid, 1980:16).

The plan stated that;

However, it had become increasingly evident that the curriculum was not offering realistic goals for the school going children for example children who left grade seven without entering secondary school, could not find employment. The curriculum had to be changed and its objective to be interpreted in the light of the fact that, for many years to come, most children would receive no more than help children to prepare themselves for a productive life in their communities, whether rural or urban. Also that the curriculum should foster children's self- confidence and self- reliance, by arousing vocational interests and teaching practical skills, and by helping to make intelligible the social and economic change which their communities are undergoing. The community therefore should in fact become instrument of Education. (ibid, 1980:160).

The curriculum has faced criticism for many years for example in 1992; the curriculum was cited as the major weaknesses of the Zambian educational system. The curriculum of Zambian secondary schools is primarily concerned with "cognitiveknowledge and skills almost to the complete exclusion of other dimension. Even within the cognitive domain it is directed more to the acquisition of factual, verifiable bits of knowledge than towards the easy mastery that arises from genuine understanding. It stresses the passive role of

asrecipients of knowledge transmitted by teachers, but does little to stimulate independent thinking, discovery, self- expression, or an investigative attitude. There is also an absence of realism and relevance in the way much of the curriculum content takes little account of community needs and interests or of the socio- economic realities that will face the majority of students upon completion of their secondary school" (Kelly, 1992, 27).

Actually, the curricula at secondary and tertiary school levels suffer from the same weaknesses as the one at primary school level because they are guided by the same alien ideology and philosophy of education that mold the public educational system in the country.

Meanwhile, in spite of the fact that the new structure of education increased school enrolment for both boys and girls, female pupils were still fewer than boys across all levels of education. Proportionately girls always had smaller figures than those for boys in the total primary and secondary school enrolment in any given year, for a period of twenty years between 1964 and 1984. The enrolment disparity between boys and girls for the period from 1964 to 1984 is shown in table 3

Table 3

School Enrolment Differences between Boys and girls 1964-1984

Primary School	1964 Enrolment Boys	1964 Enrolment Girls	1984 Enrolment Boys	1984 Enrolment Girls
Grade 1	38,414	36,229	104,116	101,073
Grade 4	39,081	28,573	96,348	88,059
Grade 7	-	-	94,049	68,118
Secondary school	**1964 Enrolment Boys**	**1964 Enrolment Girls**	**1984 Enrolment Boys**	**1984 Enrolment Girls**
Grade 8	9,234	3,768	-	-
Grade 9	2,852	1,226	20,557	12,026
Grade 12	653	130	8,841	4,412

Source: Religious Education Textbook, Grade Eleven, Zambia syllabus 2044.

The fact that the new structure of education increased school enrolment for both girls and boys, female pupils were still fewer than boys across all levels of education. Proportionately girls always had smaller figures than those for boys in the total primary and secondary school enrolment in any given year, for a period of twenty years from 1964 to 1984. The age patterns of school attendance reveal that more than four out of ten children in the primary ages seven to fourteen are not covered in the formal education system. This position alters marginally for boys in the secondary ages fifteen to nineteen, but registers a steep decline in the case of girls, in that more than two thirds of female population is out of school. In the higher education group twenty to twenty four, this position assumes serious dimentions as only 3% of females attend school whereas the proportion of males is about five times higher than that of female. Thus there are marked

differentials by sex in school attendance at secondary and higher levels. (CSO, 24, 1990).

These differentials have continued to rise steadily, the higher the level of formal education becomes, the less females are represented. Part of this problem could be explained by a number of old factors still operating, like negative parental attitude towards female education, school environment which still seems to favor males, and high drop- out rates for girls because of pregnancies, early marriages and domestic chores at home.(Ministry of education report, 1992, 49).

In recent years, the government in maintaining a balanced sex ratio between boys and girls at secondary school level. This was done by lowering the pass grade for girls only in grade 7 for secondary school selection. Although this measure has been criticized by some researchers for reinforcing the idea that girls are not as bright as boys, it did play a crucial role in increasing girls' accessibility to formal education.

In view of the above conditions discussed there are more males with formal education than females, and more men have access to high- paying professions and employment than women. Although the basis of inequality in women's work opportunities was laid during colonial times, the post-independence government has not assigned much of an economic role to women outside the domestic domain. A certain level of education, training and skills are a necessary prerequisite to getting a job in the modern sector. The majority of women lack such credentials and marketable skills in order to qualify for wage employment. Women are thus disadvantaged in wage employment, partly because they lack the prerequisites and partly that employer's attitudes and practices are discriminatory against women. Therefore most women are marginalized from the wage employment in the modern sector. (Bardouille, 1992: 5).

In addition as a result of gender- biased values which women internalize during their socialization, the majority of those women with access to formal education have taken what is generally referred to as feminine and easy subjects. For example, only 3% of

women compared to 97% of men enrolled at national technical and engineering training institutions in 1980. (CSO, 199: 7).

This further prevents women not only from accessing better paying jobs, but also offers them fewer chances necessary for achieving economic success. The structure and content of both colonial and post- colonial formal education in Zambia all reveal a strong negative environment against women. Although it can be seen that to some extent women's access to formal education has been improved compared to how it used to be in the colonial era, women's position is still weaker compared to that of men.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories that were used in this research can be grouped into three major categories, and these are women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (WAD). These theories were chosen because they explain how women have evolved in their right to be recognized in the development process.

The history and theory of Women in Development

The beginning

As early as 1947, the UN established a Commission on the Status of Women, charged to prepare recommendations and reports on promoting women's rights in political, economic, social and educational fields. Thus, attention to the rights of women was expressed concretely at the very foundation of the UN system. That this Commission was initially a constituent part of the Commission on Human Rights demonstrates a clear vision that women had an inalienable right to 'freedom and equality'. Even at this early stage, however, there were foreshadows of future 'efficiency'-based arguments for mainstreaming women in development: (Chodorow, 1989:32).

Well-being and progress of society depend on the extent to which both men and women are able to develop their personality to the full and are cognisant of their responsibilities to themselves and each other.

Despite the forward-looking gaze of the UN Commission, throughout the 1950s and 60s the prevailing view of women in development was summed up in what Moser describes as the welfare approach. Agencies treated women (as was largely the case in the developed world) as objects of reproductive potential, with motherhood and being wives as their assumed most important roles in the development process; since development entailed some notion of beneficial social change, this change equated for women with enhancing their health and abilities as wives and mothers. Mother and child health (MCH) schemes like the Mothers' Clubs proliferated, created in many developing countries with the assistance of aid agencies holding specific mandates for women and children, such as UNICEF. Similarly, large numbers of 'skills training' schemes concentrated (as some still do) on teaching women sewing and cooking, reinforcing a gendered division of labour within the household and society. (Ibid, 1989:32)

Though well intentioned, the welfare approach depended on a view of women as passive recipients of development; the problems of women's subordination by men did not even make it to the development agenda. Women in developing countries and in the West reacted to this patronisation with increasing anger:

Women know that child-bearing is a social; not a purely personal phenomenon but our bodies have become a pawn in the struggles among states, religions, male heads of households, and private corporations.

Indeed, it can be readily argued that the emphasis on women as mothers was a very Western prejudice. For many developing countries, the crucial concern had always been the status of women in a broader sense. The critical role played by women in the struggles for independence was frequently reflected in explicit guarantees of equality within the new constitutions, and in the rise to political leadership of women in developing countries well before the same became more common in the industrialised world. (Gardiner, 2002:17).

Ester Boserup published *Woman's Role In Economic Development* in 1970, and with it provided much of the basis for modern WID scholarship. Indeed, it is hardly possible to read a WID text now which does not at some point pay homage to Boserup's pioneering study. The importance of her work derives from highlighting that development was far from a gender-neutral process: with modernisation of agriculture and with migration to the towns, a new sex pattern of productive work must emerge, for better or for worse'. Boserup did not say that development was uniformly bad for women: Whether this danger is more or less grave, depends upon the widely varying customs and other preconditions in different parts of the underdeveloped world'. Indeed better data than she had available to her in 1970 depicted just such a complex picture; but the need to look closely at the gendered impact of socio- economic change was a vital point well made. (Brooks, 2007: 57).

Boserup's work coincided with a more generalised shift of development paradigm in the early 1970s. The apparent failure of 'development theory' to deliver benefits to the poor and oppressed by 'trickle down' begot a number of new angles on development as a process which hitherto had ignored those important constituencies. Where Boserup considered the plight of women, and Schumacher focused on 'Small is Beautiful', Paulo Freire originated 'conscientisation', arguing that any successful theory of transforming

action 'cannot fail to assign to the people a fundamental role in the transformation process.'All of these approaches shared features in some sense with the theories of *dependencia (*dependent development) which had their origins in Latin America during the same period, and which insisted on focusing development around the poor and marginalised in society. (Ibid, 1989:14)

The UN Decade for Women (and its legacy)

The foundations for WID laid by Boserup and others were built upon by the UN during the 1970s. In 1975, the World Conference of the International Women's Year took place in Mexico, emphasising three themes in its Declaration: Equality, Development and Peace. One hundred and thirty-three governments were represented, as well as the major multinational agencies, intergovernmental organisations and organisations of national liberation. Growing out of the conference, the 'World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year' consisted of 'recommendations for national and international action, including economic, legal, social, administrative, and educational measures'. Importantly, the Plan called for governments to set up 'national machinery' such as Ministries for Women to 'promote and oversee their national efforts to advance the status of women', and for international organisations such as the UN to extend assistance to governments and NGOs in this endeavour. (Buch, 2007: 117).

The UN system designated the ensuing decade (beginning 1976) as the 'Decade for Women', a move which formally 'put women on the agenda' and which provided legitimacy for the proliferation of a wide diversity of women's organisations in the South. Five year targets for women had been set by the Mexico Conference, which included a marked increase in literacy, modernised farming methods, comprehensive health education and services, legal guarantees of equitable political participation and equal employment opportunities. The Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen (1980) assessed the attainment of these goals. (Hook, 2000:14)

The conclusion of the Decade saw the 'Nairobi Forward- Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women' adopted by the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women (held in Nairobi, Kenya, 15-26 July 1985), and endorsed by the UN General Assembly in Resolution 40/108 of 13 December 1985. Aside from the three continuing themes of Equality, Development and Peace, the strategies called for:

- Sexual equality

- Women's autonomy and power

- Recognition of women's unpaid work

- Advances in women's paid work

- Health services and family planning

- Better educational opportunities

- Promotion of peace

- Minimum targets for the year 2000

Similar themes recurred in the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which was adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and became an International Treaty in 1981. (Fausto, 2000, 12).

The impact of the Decade for Women was large in changing the focus in policy discussions from women within the family, towards an 'understanding of the complexities of women's employment. The WID terminology, first coined in the 1970s by the women's committee of the Washington DC Chapter of the Society for International Development (and based on the work of Boserup) stemmed from an 'efficiency' recognition of women as an untapped resource for economic development. The term and the approach were adopted and championed jointly by the US Agency for International Development's Office of Women in Development and the Harvard Institute of International Development in a sequence of projects and casebooks through the 1980s. (Ibid,2000:15)

There was another, rather different legacy of Nairobi, however. The Conference provided an international launch for DAWN, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era. Meeting initially in Bangalore, India, in 1984, DAWN comprised committed women mostly from developing countries who 'questioned the impact of development on poor people, especially women and voiced a sense of urgency regarding the need to advocate alternative development processes'.

DAWN encouraged a critical examination of the implicit assumption behind much that the UN Decade had emphasised that is that 'women's main problem in the Third World was insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development'. Studies cited by DAWN pointed out that 'fundamental conflicts have arisen between women's economic well-being and wider development plans and processes'. Such thinking remains a vital questioning force in WID debates today.

(Tony, 2010:14)

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT (WAD)

WAD emerged from a critique of modernization theory and sees WID theories as an application of dependency theory. It argues that women always have been a part of development and seeks to challenge the relationship between women and the development process.

The demarcation between the WID and the WAD approaches is not entirely clear. Historically, the WAD approach probably emerged in the second half of the 1970s. It draws some of its theoretical base from dependency theory although dependency theory for the most part like Marxist analysis, has given remarkably the specific attention to the issues of gender subordination. However, the feminist liberal proponents of WAD theories stressed the important recognition within the Marxist theory of women's unpaid domestic work and reproductive services as critically important for capitalist employers. The WAD approach begins from the position that women always have been part of development processes and that they did not suddenly appear in the early 1970s as the result of the insights and intervention strategies of a few scholars and agency personnel. Achola Okello quoted by (Rathgeber, 1988, 17) at the international development Research Centre Ottawa in Canada at a conference in 1989 noted that the mid-1970s that the notion of "integrating women into development" was inextricably linked to the maintenance of economic dependency of third world and especially African countries on the industrialized countries.

The WAD perspective implicit assumes that women's position will improve if and when international structures become more equitable. In the meantime, the under representation of women in economic, political and social structures still is identified primarily as a problem which can be solved by carefully designed international strategies rather than by mere fundamental shifts in the social relations of gender. It is also noted that there is tension within the WAD perspective which discourages a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men since both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged within oppressive global structures based on class and capital. Since the WAD perspective does not give detailed attention to the overriding influence of the ideology of patriarchy, women's conditions primary is seen within the structure of international and class inequalities. (Halse, 2005:17).

The other weakness shared by WAD approach is a singular preoccupation with the productive sector at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives. WID/WAD intervention strategies therefore have tended to concentrate on the development of income generating activities without taking into account the time burdens that such strategies place on women (Speech, 2001, 18).

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD)

This approach was popularized in the 1980's. It is a critic of the past development approach, GAD emerged as an alternative to the earlier WID focus as they are seen to be preoccupied with women and for meaningful development to take place, "we cannot just be talking about women because men also have a role to play. GAD argues that the pay approach tended to be women focused. It finds its theoretical roots in socialist feminism and bridged the gap. (Hesse, 2007: 114).

GAD offers a holistic perspective looking at all aspects of women's lives. It questioned the basis of assigning specific gender roles to different sexes. GAD views development as a complete process involving the social, economic, political, and cultural betterment of individuals and of society itself. It recognizes women's role inside and outside the

household (productive which refers to paid work and reproductive work which is unpaid work of children). GAD focuses also on the social relations between women and men in the work place and other settings. (Ibid, 2007:118)

GAD approach sees women as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development and it stresses the need for women to organize themselves for more effective political choice. It recognizes the importance of both class solidarity and class distinction but it argues that the ideology of patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women. Consequently socialist feminist and researches working within the GAD, perspectives are exploring both the connections among and the contradictions of gender, class, race and development. (Hyam, 2004:124).

These theories are appropriate for this study as they help to explain the position of women in society and how they are perceived by men. Women are marginalized in all sectors of the economy including the education sector. There has been very little recognition of women's achievement and contribution in society in curriculum and school practices. In addition, formal education also reinforces marginalization of women from getting better jobs through content and structure of the syllabus being taught at secondary schools. Women are perceived to be weak therefore they are encouraged to do subjects such as home economics and typing to prepare them to become good mothers and housewives and also to just help them get secretarial work which does not require them to do a lot of thinking. (Leavy, 2007:112).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter looked at the methods that the study used to conduct the research, as well as the main findings of the study from content analysis of the textbooks and their interpretation.

3.1 Methodology

The methodology that this study used was content analysis of main text books. In the context of the study, content analysis refers to a research technique for the objective, systematic, qualitative and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. There are three assumptions of this definition regarding the technique of con tent analysis:

    i.   That the study of manifest content is meaningful:

    ii.   That inferences about the relationship between intent and content, or between content and effect can be established

    iii.   That the qualitative and quantitative description of communication is meaningful.

The sample consisted of text books used for classroom instruction at secondary school level, (i.e. grades 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 for ages between 12 and 19). This level was chosen over pre- school, primary, and tertiary school levels mainly because, even if the socialization process in children begins much earlier, this is the stage at which concepts about relations of sexuality are about to crystallize in young minds. This is also when students seriously start preparing themselves for entry into the occupational roles.

The study was carried out in four secondary schools in Lusaka, namely: Munali secondary school, Kamwala secondary school, Rhodes park school and Lake Road secondary school these schools were purposefully chosen due to their location which made the researcher access them easily.

3.2 Sampling

The study sample was 210,this consisted of 8 conveniently selected teachers of the 4 subjects, 50 students from each school who were randomly selected and 2 personnel from curriculum development Centre.

In addition,eight secondary school textbooks used in four subjects that are important to the socialization process were used and these were; literature in English, History, Religious Education, and Civics. Of the textbooks , four came from Literature in English (i.e. Things Fall Apart by Achebe, Ghosts and other plays by Ibesen, Down second Avenue by Mhahlele E., and The River Between by Ngugi J.); two from History (i.e. Basic Education Social Studies History; Man Past, Present, Future, one for Grade 8 and the other for Grade 9, by Tembo M.V.); one from Civics (i.e. The Zambian Community and its Economy by Hoppers et al); and one from Religious Education; Grade Eleven Syllabus 2044.

Data collection

Data from school textbooks were collected by counting, how many times gender pronouns and human characters appeared, pictorial presentation of females and males, what occupations were being assigned to the sexes, frequency of lesson themes, leading examples and of the sexes, and occurrence of gender associated activities.

In addition, there was a review of relevant literature, records and documents, interviews with personnel at the curriculum Development Centre and teachers in the schools where the study took place, and administration of questionnaires to secondary school students in four conveniently selected secondary schools in Lusaka province.

The province was chosen on the basis of accessibility and prior familiarity with the researcher.

Data analysis

The methods of data analysis includeddescriptive, interpretations, distributions, frequency tables and percentile distributions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Content analysis of the sample and interpretation of data.

This chapter presents the findings which were collected during the study. The analysis was done using content analysis of text books and their interpretation.

4.1. Textbook content Analysis

Content analysis of textbooks was structured around the following issues; invisibility and Non- recognition; sexual division of labour; and images of feminist/ masculinity

An overwhelming majority of the images, characters, occupations and stereotypes for women represented in school textbooks were found to be inferior to those of men.

4.2. Invisibility and Non- Recognition

This part discusses the under- representation and exclusion of female figures from many textbooks in secondary school. The discussion is organized under two sub-headings. The first one being sex ratio of leading human characters by subject and the second one is the sex ratio of characters according to theme.

1. **Sex Ratio of Human Characters by subject**

Table 4

Frequency of leading examples and characters by sex

HISTORY: Basic Education Social Studies and history, Man Past, Present and Future

Sex	frequency	percentage
Female	140	5.42%
Male	2,443	94.58%
Total	2,583	100%

LITERATURE IN ENGLISH: Things fall Apart, The River Between, Down Second Avenue and the Ghosts and other plays.

Sex	frequency	percentage
Female	4,932	29.77%
male	11,635	70.23%
Total	16,567	100%

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: Grade Eleven Syllabus 2044

Sex	frequency	percentage
Female	659	30.06%
Male	1,533	69.94%
Total	2,192	100%

CIVICS: The Zambian Community and its Economy.

Sex	frequency	percentage
Female	19	2.62%
Male	706	97.38%
Total	725	100%

Table 2

Total frequency of leading examples and characters in all subjects (History, Literature in English, Religious Education and civics) by sex

All subjects combined.

(ALL SUBJECTS COMBINED)

sex	frequency	percentage
female	5,750	26.06%
male	16,317	73.94%
Total	22,067	100%

Table 1 and 2 show a gross under representation of women in school textbooks. The frequencies of 5.42%, 29.77%, 30.06% and 2.62%, for leading examples and characters in History, Literature in English, Religious Education and Civics respectively, address the inequality between men and women in the context of formal education which continues to socialize the young to believe that men aspire, plan execute meaningful work, whereas women are mere spectators.

In the textbooks for Civics and History that were examined, almost all representations were for and about men. It was disheartening to find that, For example, the civics school textbook which dealt with Zambian issues pertinent to individual initiative and entrepreneurship, such as productive resources, banking and money matters, formation of companies, politics, farming and rural development, business organization and manufacturing used men in over 90% of the examples, stories and illustrations.

Men were being shown as:

- The builders,
- All the students,
- The progressive and wise subsistence farmer, t
- The knowledgeable trader,
- The trustworthy relative,
- The minister,
- The responsible father,
- The progressive mechanic,
- The storekeeper,
- The successful egg producing farmer,
- The emergent farmer,
- The co-operative member,
- The miner,
- The factory worker,
- The printer,
- The commercial farmer,
- The starting up businessman,
- The whole board of directors,
- The school graduate interviewing for employment,
- The personnel manager,

- The semi-skilled and skilled worker,
- 88% of lawyers, the tailor,
- The farmer dreaming of becoming a businessman,
- The bank manager,
- The enterprising maker of beautiful baskets,
- The trader,
- 85% of the Agricultural officers, and
- The foreign aid skilled person.

On the other hand, women when rarely appearing in the same textbooks were only used in examples in traditional women's occupations and roles like;

- being the mother,
- being the minister's wife,
- rearing chickens,
- nursing and
- Harvesting.

When earning income, women were used in the roles of;

- having a stall at the market,
- being a farm worker,
- a lawyer (12% of all lawyers shown),
- an Agricultural officer (15% of all Agricultural officers shown), and
- Foreign aid skilled trainer, albeit in clothes sewing compare to her male counterpart teaching the use of a tractor in Agriculture.

A sample from the same book reads;

"Many businessmen do not want to borrow large sums of money to make their business grow quickly; you might decide to join with one or more businessmen. You and the other

businessmen who joined together to form the business would be partners. We find that most small capitalist business are either owned by one man or are partnerships". (Hoppers, 1986: 135).

In the mind of the girl or the boy that studies this school textbook, the old notion that has been handed over from one generation to the other becomes deeply imprinted, that 'this is a man's world" and women have very little room in it.

"The absence of female images from class- room situations is conspicuous and may implicitly convey the message that girls do not go to school and that they do not necessarily have to be in schools. This image reinforces the traditional attitude towards female education (education is not important for girls) in both female and male. In addition, this discriminatory message limits educational aspiration of girls" (Zeenatunnisa, 1989: 47).

At secondary school level, the socialization and indoctrination of gender ideas in young people play a significant role in defining the respective positions of men and women in society for them. The students internalize the explicit and implicit messages contained in textbooks.

Women are invisible and their contribution is not recognized in textbooks. The students learn to understand that women have very little contribution and participation to make.

The following is an illustration of invisibility, non- recognition and down- grading of women from one of the literature in English school textbooks examined.

"So Okonkwo encouraged the boys to sit with him in his Obi, and he told them stories of the land masculine stories of violence and bloodshed. Nwoye knew that it was right to be masculine and to be violet but somehow he still preferred the stories that his mother used to tell, stories of the tortoise and his wily ways and of the bird but he now knew that they were for foolish women and children, and he knew that his father wanted him to be a man. And so he feigned that he no longer cared for women stories. And when he did this

he knew that his father was pleased, and no longer rebuked him or beat him. So Nwoye and Ikemefuna would listen to Okonko's stories about tribal wars, or how years ago he had stalked his victim, overpowered him and obtained his first human head" (Achebe, 1958: 49).

In this way, the traditional patriarchal control and subordination of women is perpetuated and carried over to the present by the young generation:

"Nothing pleased Nwoye now more than to be sent for by his mother or another of his father's wives to do one of those difficult and masculine tasks in the home, like splitting wood or pounding food. On receiving such a message Nwoye would feign annoyance and grumble aloud about women and their troubles. Okonkwo was inwardly pleased at his son's development. He wanted Nwoye to grow into a tough young man capable of ruling his father's household when he was dead and gone to join the ancestors and so he was always happy when he heard him grumbling about women. That showed that in time he would be able to control his women – folk. No matter how prosperous a man was, if he was unable to rule women and his children (especially his women) he was not really a man" (Ibid, 1958:49).

The young males grow up to learn that they have not only to be rough and assertive in order to make it in life, but also to control women in order to become real men.

"And once this message has been learnt, the children reproduce inequality. Boys begin to extend their horizons to grow in self-esteem. Girls however, learn to reduce their expectations, to lower their self- esteem. They have been persuaded to distort their own being in order to be consistent with the distortions which surround them" (Zeenatunnisa, 1989:320).

It follows therefore, that a young woman socialized in this way by formal education will find it difficult to assert her in a man's world and compete for access to scarce goods and resources

1. **Sex ratio of characters according to lesson Themes**

(Historical, fictional, religious and general)

The characters were distributed into themes of lessons to investigate which themes dominated with most characters.

Table 5

Sex Ratio of leading examples and characters in Themes.

Theme	Male	Female
Historical	94% (2,443)	5.4% (140)
Fictional	70.23% (11,635)	29.77% (4,932)
Religious	90.14% (6,023)	9.86% (695)
General	97.50% (741)	2.5% (19)

Source; Field Data, 2013

In all the lesson themes, of 132 in 8 books, the frequency of male images dominated that of women. In lessons with historical theme, the frequency of male images was 94% as compared to that of females of only 5.4%. In lessons with a fictional theme, the frequency of male images was 70.23% as opposed to 29.77% of that of women. The lessons with a religious theme accounted for the frequency of male images of 90.14% in contrast to 9.86% of female images. For those lessons with a general theme, the frequency of male images was 97.50% whereas for women it was only 2.50%.

The books that provided the historical and general themes were Zambian and it was striking, for example to note that in the books with the general theme for example, political, Economic, etc. the frequency of women images was only 2.50% compared to

97.50% that of men. This finding confirmed what has been assumed for a long time, that the Zambian society has kept the women away from participation in the economic and political spheres of society. Women images were rarely mentioned in the Zambian society's economy and politics. Their exclusion in these subjects and others discussed above is an indication of male control of society and its knowledge.

"It is not that women have not played an equal part in history, but that men have written the history books and have focused on the problems of men: It is not that women have not generated religious thoughts, formulated political philosophies, explained society, written poetry or been artists, but that men have controlled the records for religion, philosophy, politics, poetry and art and they have concentrated on the contributions of men this was also observed by (Zeenatunnisa, 1989:34).

Although research has confirmed that the majority of farmers in the country are women (more than two thirds of all farmers), yet school textbooks insist on using men as examples of ideal farmers. The civics school textbooks examined in the study has the following illustrations:

"What can a subsistence farmer do to be as successful as the commercial farmer who has a big farm, many hectares and lots of machine? **He** can make a start, however, so that the amount of money **he** earns becomes more each year. The best way for **him** to grow more crops without having to employ workers is to learn about new methods of farming if **he** needs it, **he** may be able to get a loan. If **he** does all **he** has learned, **he** will be able to get much bigger yields than **he** got before… I **he** is wise, **he** will save some of the money **he** has earned. **He** will use this money to buy fertilizer and seeds for the next year's crop. If **he** wants to be even more successful, **he** can clear more land, so that **he** can grow a bigger crop. **He** can employ some workers to clear more land or **he** can hire a tractor to plough his land. If **he** does this**, he** will grow a bigger crop again and will earn more money. After some years **he** will have a have a high income." (Hoppers, 1986, 93).

Beyond the non- recognition of women's hard labour in farming, it is particularly unfortunate that a female student could not really benefit from this example, and others like this also focusing on men. A woman subsistence farmer would need different guidance on men. A woman subsistence farmer would need different guidance on the procedures of obtaining land and loan, for example, given the constraints imposed on women's access to land, labour and credit by the traditional cultural system in conjunction with current official regulations.

4.3. Sexual division of labour

Socialization for children into adult life begins early in the family when children observe and learn from the adult world. From an early stage boys start learning how to become men by imitating their fathers and playing adult roles like building a house and imitating a chief, while girls learn how to become women by imitating their mothers. The respective toys they have and the games they play all resemble their future roles in society. Boys could have axes and car toys, while girls may have baby dolls and miniature pots, depending on the environment in which they are.

Formal schooling reinforces what the pupils have been taught by their families:

"The ideology of women as homemakers comes to the surface much more directly when secondary school pupils have to make their subject choices. It is at this point that the links with the sexual division of labour can be most clearly seen"(Zeenatunnisa, 1989:40)

Through school textbooks the young people get ideas about various occupations that are available in the adult world.

Table 6

Total Assignments of Occupations in all 4 subjects by sex

sex	frequency	percentage
female	23	10.60%
male	194	89.40%
Total	217	100%

Source: Field data, 2013

Table 7

Occupations Assigned by sex

Subject	Male	Female
Civics	92% (23)	8% (2)
Religious Education	90.91% (10)	9.09% (1)
English Literature	86.79% (92)	13.21% (14)
History	92% (69)	8% (6)

Source: Field Data, 2013

In the subject of civics, the frequency of assignment of occupations to men is 92% and to women 8%. In Religious Education the frequency of assignment of occupations to men is 90.91% and to women 9.09%. For literature in English and History, the frequency of assignment of occupations to men and women is 86.79% and 13.21%, and 92% and 8% respectively.

Across all examined textbooks, women were assigned or depicted in the following occupations:

- Nun,
- Prophetess,
- Wizard,
- Princess,
- Queen,
- Chieftainess (frequency of the above occupations was much lower than that corresponding to same occupations for men)
- , Mother/ Wife,
- Nurse,
- Secretary,
- Farmer,
- Marketer,
- Lawyer,
- Agricultural officer,
- Trainer, and
- Researcher. (The last four examples came from one photograph each in one textbook).

In addition to the extremely limited range of occupations assigned to women, these occupations are usually either prestigious but non- income generating or non- prestigious.

On the other hand, Men's occupations in the same textbooks were:

- Pastor,
- Preacher,
- Prophet,
- Witch,

- Disciple,
- Headman,
- Governor,
- Prime minister,
- President,
- King,
- Chief,
- Minister,
- Colonel,
- Mayor,
- Warrior,
- Head-master,
- Teacher,
- Father/ husband,
- Politician,
- Captain,
- Doctor,
- Engineer,
- Architect,
- Businessman,
- Trader,
- Judge,
- Explorer,
- Sailor,
- Shopkeeper,
- Postman,
- Bricklayer,
- Factory worker,

- Policeman,

- Manager,

- Driver,

- Blacksmith,

- House Stewart,

- Toilet cleaner,

- Refuse collector,

- Scientist,

- Fisherman,

- Lawyer,

- Cartographer,

- Researcher,

- Commander,

- Carpenter and

- Pilot.

To alleviate the otherwise terrible discrepancy, the textbooks of Religious Education for Grade Eleven, surprisingly, is outstanding among the textbooks examined for the support it offers to women's empowerment through employment.

"The large scale employment of women has many repercussions. The working woman has an economic independence not present in her unemployed sister. It is true that her income enters the family budget, but in theory at least, she is not obliged to stay in an impossible marital situation for economic reasons. Work however, is not merely a source of remuneration. It is an activity that offers companionship, a source of social identity and the growth of self- confidence. Thus through work women gain the double advantage of economic freedom and personal significance which in turn shapes their role in

marriage. If they feel that marriage is destroying them, they come out of it much more easily than before."(Quoted from Religious education Grade Eleven, Zambia 2044).

In contrast with the Religious Education Textbook Instruction through the civics Textbook states as follows;

"A modern family produces directly almost nothing. Instead the husband and possibly the wife use another resource, their own labour, when they go out to work. In Exchange for this, they earn money" (Hoppers. 1986, 26).

The illustration on the same page shows a typical day of a family in town as follows: The husband works in the mines, the son goes to school, and the wife remains behind doing house chores like cleaning, welcoming the husband back home, and going to shop.

These findings confirm what has been widely assumed that participation in the economy, politics, history and religion has been almost an exclusive preserve of men. Being excluded from occupations which are key areas of decision making, women find it extremely hard to access the scarce resources in society necessary to improve their position. As a result, the majority of women also become unable to sustain themselves and their children on low income which their usual occupations provide.

4.4 Images of Femininity/ Masculinity

Conceptually, image used in this study refers to:

"A form, sign or symbol of an object or attribute. Image is not the form in itself, rather the form as perceived by a subject. Image is a mediating agent between mind and world, and between subject and object. (Zeenatunisa, 1989, 15).

Imaging one form of perception and communication of phenomenon in which inferences are made about things and reality. For example, if unpalatable or glamorous images are associated with something, we tend to perceive that phenomenon and make inferences

about it in line with that associated image. Imaging is, therefore, an important tool in our communication, perception and interpretation of social reality.

"Images formed from mediated percepts become part of a woman's conception of herself. Mediated percepts of the status and abilities of other women for example stereotypic housewives affect her image of her own status and abilities." (Ibid, 1989:16).

Images have been used in school textbooks to portray a sexist position of women in society. Sexism is used here to mean a belief that one sex, male or female, has fundamental, innate differences and capabilities which make it better than the other. Images have been used in textbooks to socialize the young about the traditional patriarchal attitudes that society holds about both women and men. This is done in an effort of perpetuating the same position of each sex in society. As most books are written by men, patriarchal attitudes of downplaying the position of women dominate in these images. Patriarchy simply refers to the dominance of male power over women.

Being consistent with the earlier findings, the number of images of masculinity (46, 79%) is higher than that of femininity (12, 21%) from the four subjects analyzed. The most frequent attributes of women images were found to be connected to feelings, hence women being perceived as emotional compassionate, childish, and kind. Men images were related to intellect, thus being perceived as brave, wise and intelligent.

The Religious education textbook examined offers following images of women;

- The woman who remains loyal to her husband even though she believed he was dead.
- The woman who exemplifies proper veneration for the ancestors.
- The popular good- looking girl who failed at school.
- The obedient daughter who does not understand the reasons, and yet obeys her mother.
- The mother who has her priorities right.

- The girl who chooses to follow her personal choice of a husband over her disapproving family.
- The wife who succeeds to reform her ill- tempered husband through her conduct of perseverance, patience and meekness.
- Gentle and quite caring as the critical qualities of the truly beautiful woman.
- The young saint with a strong sense of role in life.
- The courageous caring nun.
- The Woman leader, inspiring her people to fight for freedom when the male leaders were demoralized.

  From (Religious Education Grade Eleven)

As seen earlier, Religious Education text book offers the most examples of women of about 30.06% of total number of leading characters compared to the textbooks in the other subjects. Each of these examples is used to create and instill a specific image of a woman's/ man's living mode into the female and male student mind. The following is an example.

"In boys the first awakening of sexual drive tends to express itself in the creation of a new world of interest and desire. In girls it may express itself in romantic flights of fancy, day dreams, extreme sentimentality in regard to babies, and preoccupation with clothes and dress. Girls become bitter, disillusioned, heart- broken and sometimes marry wrongly in their emotionally distressed state, or may even resort to other undesirable methods for meeting the situation" (Ibid, 106:107)

An interesting stereotype of a young woman from the same textbook reads:

"For me, I wish to go to the University because this is the only way to get a better job. As well, I will probably marry a rich man, have a big house and family and be respected in the community."

Where the woman aspires to use education as a means for getting a "free ride" to wealth and society's respect, her male counterpart in the same lesson is ready to fight through education for his personal fulfillment and success. Whereas the female image is represented as weak and calculating, the male image is represented as strong and noble.

"I would like to be a doctor when I finish school. I see so many people suffering. I Would like to help them in their pain.

Stereotypes present interpretations of groups which conceal the real "cause" of the group's position, and that they tend to exaggerate as portrayed in school textbooks. While they may exaggerate and raise the egos of males to unlimited heights they can also exaggerate and lower the egos of females to unlimited bottoms.(Perkin, 1979:67).

Consider, for example, what a strong influence the following image of a man have on both boys and girls empowering the boys but leaving the girls without a similar counterpart for inspiration to wonder whether they were unlucky to be born as females or females are not supposed to have such qualities, anyway.

Another example taken from the history textbook reads;

"He was an athletic and intelligent man. He was a disciplined person, a brilliant solder and later a commander of great strength of body and mind. As a politician, he was a brilliant organizer and an administrator. He was an ambitious person. He did not only wish to do things, but he also started doing those things wholeheartedly an imposing figure with a strong personality". (Tembo, 1986: 84).

Such qualities would help the female student to aspire higher and pursue it wholeheartedly, if only were assigned to and taught through female images. Other attributes and qualities critical to empowerment in society and accessing productive resources are those abundant in male images, for example, in the Civics textbook presented earlier. There as well male images only are used as carriers of innovativeness and development, knowledge and resourcefulness.

"Images which put too much emphasis on feelings and that too on the negative feelings of helplessness and loss of control, are internalized by the female student, creating psychological dependency. It subtly works towards lowering their self-esteem in their own eyes. The contradiction inherent in the stereotypic traits of femininity is that these ideologically desirable traits in reality handicap women put them in a disadvantaged position in today's social-economic context which demands confidence, achievement and problem-solving skills rather than passive dependency and helplessness" (Zeenatunnisa, 1989:50).

Stereotypes as reflected in these images of femininity/ masculinity work against women's self-esteem and achievement motivation all of which are necessary for women to assert themselves and access productive resources. In addition to the creation of psychological dependency, stereotypes also keep on reminding women of their handicap, limitations and helplessness in a male- dominated society

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings and interpretation of data.

This chapter presents the complimentary findings of the study from the analysis of questionnaires administered to secondary school teachers and students, as well as interviews to curriculum development Centre staff.

Content analysis of textbooks was supplemented by questionnaires for students (198), and teachers (8), administered in 4 secondary schools. The 198 student respondents had an average age of 17.3 years. (17.6 for boys and 17.0 for girls). 54% were males and 46% were females. The majority of them 71% were senior secondary school, as opposed to 29% in junior secondary school. Of the 8 teacher questionnaires administered, 3 were female and 5 were male, with average teaching experience of 6 years and 10.7 years respectively. In addition, there were also interviews with staff at the curriculum Development Centre in Lusaka.

Teacher's Responses

1) Of all the teachers responded, 70% indicated that the subjects whom boys and girls take at school pre- determine their future jobs. For instance, the non- availability of practical and commercial subjects to girls spells out low income jobs for them after leaving school. One respondent noted that:

   "At grade 9 level, drop outs are discarded for lack of real preparation. Even at grade 12 many graduates are dumped on the street. The reason is that practical subjects are neglected. Similarly, those who did well in practical subjects at secondary school are already engineers, and teachers of science and medicine at the University of Zambia. Surely, the subjects a student takes do indeed determine his or her future job."

2) On the question of whether the respondents thought images of boys and girls in textbooks reflect their real living conditions after school, 56% of the teachers observed that school textbooks do not reflect real living situations of students after graduation.

One male respondent commented that:

"A lot of books reflect exaggerated way of life, books normally do not highlight the suffering of people and how to solve these problems. So pupils get false hopes from school textbooks"

3) 60% of the teacher respondents indicated that the current curriculum content, subject offerings and structure of formal education discriminate against girls. One male respondent explained that:

"Curriculum developers feel that certain subjects are suitable for boys and other subjects for girls. For example, there is no female teacher among the four schools visited who teaches carpentry. Typing is for girls only, but don't men need to type? This type of curriculum makes females believe that they are inferior and dependent."

4) 90% said that female pronouns, names and titles in school textbooks are not mentioned as often as male's and the images found in these books reinforce inequalities between boys and girls. Almost all the good positions, occupations, titles and images in textbooks are assigned to men.

5) When respondents were asked what role they thought formal education should play to empower women and give them access to better jobs , several of them had this to say:

"Formal education should put emphasis on girls doing practical subjects. Instead of teaching them only typing, and needle work and cookery, girls should do

agricultural science, wood work, etc. There should be incentives on the part of the system to cultivate interest in the girls for them to see sense in these subjects" (Male teacher).

"Girls should be encouraged to do all the subjects' boys do. This situation would enable them to compete favorably with men, get lucrative jobs. Textbooks should balance in presenting issues about men and women so that women could feel that they are part and parcel of the system. For example, single women do "citemene slash and burn form of shifting subsistence cultivation an all men's job" (female teacher).

"Women's awareness programmes should be brought forward to school level not after school so that women can know or realize their potential early. Generally, women do not like dirty work when in fact that is the work which is productive. The education system should prepare women not for white collar jobs but to settle on their own without having to depend on them" (male teacher).

6) 70% of respondents indicated that formal education as it is practiced now, is responsible for women's lack of access to land ownership, credit facilities, and technology necessary to improve their quality of life. They noted that:

"The subjects offered to females now by the curriculum are not preparing them for their future practical occupations. Apart from cookery, they are not given practical and commercial subjects which can be used to improve their lives" (male teacher).

7) There is also some indication that girls perform better when in girl's school only schools. One reason for this situation was given by a female teacher respondent who observed that:

"In single sex secondary school, girls and boys regard themselves superior and work to their best. But in co – education schools girls feel low and do not work as hard".

Staff at Curriculum Development Center.

1) The interviews conducted at the curriculum development Centre gave a mixed, and often self-contradicting picture for example the male respondent gave these answers, "Textbooks mention mostly males ", and school curriculum content tries to reflect both sexes."

2) Answering the question whether school curriculum discriminates between boys and girls, the male respondent said, "NO…. Naturally girls learn subjects like home craft. So do boys with science subjects like physics, chemistry, etc.).

3) The most interesting element of these interviews was their common tendency to deny anything wrong with the existing curriculum in terms of its treatment of women. "School curriculum does not discriminate at any cost", "inequalities in the curriculum does not exist". "Everyone can do whatever they want to do or study". "The trend has been changing since 1989, the female pronouns, names, titles are now being balanced and both sexes are taken into consideration and strike a balance".

4) Finally, the male respondent saw only the reverse discrimination in school curriculum particularly discriminates against boys due to that girls can take up almost any subject, but boys are not allowed in that they would be told that particular subjects are only for girls e.g. typing

Students Responses

1) Confirming what content analysis and teacher's interviews have shown, 78% of all the student respondents (71% of boys and 82% of girls) indicated that men were assigned better and more admired positions and titles in school textbooks.

2) 51% of boys and 64% of girls also noted that most examples in textbooks show non- Zambians, a situation that makes them with real life students assume after leaving school.

3) The majority of students, 44% of boys and 46% of girls found that textbooks do not teach equality between men and women. 40% of boys and 31% of girls answered that school textbooks teach equality between men and women, whereas 16% of boys and 23% of girls they did not know.

4) It is interesting to note that female students appear significantly more sensitized to all the above issues than male students.

5) Another interesting finding regards the list of subjects the students said would have taken if they had been at a different school, for example, boys school, girls school or co-education school;

Table 8

Desired Subjects not offered in the Student's School

SUBJECT	BOYS	GIRLS
Technical Drawing	5.0%	29.0 %
Accounts	15.0%	7%
Physics, computers	6.3%	13.0%
Metal and wood work	14.4%	9.5%
Commerce	11.9%	9.5%
Book keeping	9.0%	6.5%
Office practice	6.9%	4.8%
Art and music	6.9%	5.4%
Literature	6.3%	0

Source: Field data, 2013

The school curriculum as it is taught today, has divided school subjects into two mutually exclusive groups. One group of subjects for girls and the other for boys. Especially in one school this is followed very effectively and the result is that boys tend to concentrate on those so-called masculine subjects' like mathematics, physics, carpentry, metal work and technical drawing, while girls concentrate on the so-called 'feminine subjects' like office practice, typing, home economics, book- keeping and literature.

However, the students would wish to take subjects from each of the two groups in order to strengthen the content of their course load, in the case of girls, or create a breathing space in their course load, in the case of boys, but the system does not give allowance for such a practice.

Another explanation for the reversed preference could simply be that students would want to get a well-rounded perspective of education by making their

own subject combinations, a situation which is denied to them by the present education system.

6) Regarding the positions/ occupations the students gave as the ones they admire the most, from the examples in their textbooks, the results show that both male and female students have essentially identical objects of admiration. They both also provide the same reasons to justify their choices. The reasons most often given for boys as well as for girls are: "Iam good in the relevant subjects." "They are high paying jobs", "I have a desire to help people", and "they are important and respected jobs requiring intelligence and high education."

This finding defies the traditionally held position that they are feminine and masculine occupations. In fact, occupations traditionally regarded as feminine (secretary, air hostess) featured extremely low (1 out of 60 choices).

Table 9

Positions Admired Most from Textbook Examples

OCCUPATION	BOYS	GIRLS
Doctor	22.5%	22.5%
Teacher	15.3%	6.6%
Engineer	9.6%	9.8%
Lawyer	3.8%	12.0%
Accountant	5.3%	9.8%
Nurse	0.5%	2.7%
Business Administrator	6.7%	2.7%
Scientist	4.8%	9.8%
Pilot	7.7%	3.3%
Technician	6.2%	3.3%
Journalist	5.3%	4.4%
Farmer	4.8%	0.5%
Secretary	0.5%	1.6%

Source: Field data

7) In answering the question of what job they wished for themselves after finishing school, both boys and girls gave astonishingly similar job choices. Professional and Managerial jobs featured prominently almost in identical order between male and female students.

Table 10

Job Wished by Students after Completion of School

Profession	boys	girls
Doctor	14.7%	20.0%
Engineer	26.5%	7.8%
Nurse	0%	12.2%
Business Administrator	7.8%	3.3%
Accountant	10.8%	21.0%
Lawyer	3.9%	11.0%
Computer scientist	3.9%	4.4%
Pilot	6.9%	3.3%
Agriculturist	7.8%	2.2%
Secretary	0%	1.1%

Source: Field data

The above two results reveal differentiation in the curriculum offered in schools on the basis of gender attributed a predilection of the students is groundless and bound to be detrimental for the future of the students and the country. Girls aspire as much as boys for the same high- positions and high- power mostly requiring scientific and technical orientation, and in the right measure- for both practical and idealistic reasons. Girls are as much eager as boys to study "difficult" subjects and to strive in order to be of service to fellow men and women, the development of their country, as well as to earn a good income for themselves.

However, the present system is creating an unjust contradiction affecting the female students. On one hand, it imposes obstacles on the female students of study through curriculum discrimination.

On the other hand, the kind of images that are instilled in them, through the use of textbooks addressed to men primarily, are unattainable without proper preparation and studying of the very subjects absent from girls schools.

As a result, this system of education instills in our children, particularly and predominantly our girls, unrealistic and unobtainable aspirations which sooner or later become translated into shattering and terminal frustrations. Unless efforts to address this anomaly are made urgently, our national development, at least through formal education, may be in permanent jeopardy.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of the study, set at the beginning, have been met. The study has provided a critical assessment of female images as portrayed in school textbooks used in Zambian secondary schools, the images of women in school textbooks have been investigated as to whether they reflect the real conditions as lived by Zambian women, the manner in which content, subject offerings and structure of formal education discriminate against and marginalize women has been elucidated.

The study has examined the extent to which formal education helps women gain access to better paying jobs. This has been done by investigating how formal education, the entry requirement for waged employment that could lead one to accessing better jobs, discriminates against women through its content and structure. Education in any society plays a very important role of storing and reinforcing societal values, ideologies, philosophies, norms and aspirations as well as passing them on to the young. In these values, images and role expectations are assigned to both men and women, and children are socialized early in their development by their families to know and assume what society expects of them.

Formal schooling reinforces, although it may also help to alter the socialization process which began in the family, attributes and positions assigned to them. The school textbooks reviewed showed men being dominant in society over women. Most occupations, attributes and positions assigned to them were superior to those assigned to women. For example, men were the leaders, intellectuals, professionals, and kings while women were the followers, illiterates, housewives and beasts of burden. School socialization of female students in these images does not only erode and lower their self-esteem, confidence, expectations and assertiveness, but also maintains the status quo in which males dominate.

It has been confirmed that textual imagery conserves and reinforce the existing gender inequalities. These images, when internalized by young minds of students through the process of socialization, affect females in terms of what they do, what they think of and aspire for themselves, and their access to better paying jobs.

A critical assessment of female images as portrayed in school textbooks has been presented and showed that these images are written by men in a men's society and hence portray women as second class citizens. These images generally work negatively on women and positively on men. The reverse can be said to be sometimes true too, although it is a minority of females who, as a result of their lower assigned status in society, work their way up to demonstrate that after all they can perform as much as men even better. On the other hand, some males may end up failing in their performance as a result of a complacent feeling and belief that they can do it and succeed any way, as they are in a men's world.

It was found that images in school textbooks, the level of practice, do not reflect the real conditions as lived by Zambian women in the formal sector because most examples shown in textbooks come from abroad. On another level, that of characterization, it was found that these images show women in less popular and prestigious roles, which undoubtedly reflect the living conditions of Zambian women in the formal sector, as well. Women are generally relegated to traditional feminine occupations which come from specializing in such school subjects as secretarial and office work studies, teaching, nursing, and home economics and management.

Subject specialization based on sex-stereotyping only succeeds in marginalizing women further by preparing them for different and often looked upon job markets. This process not only legitimizes and reinforces gender roles, but also restricts women's employability, competition with men in the job market, and curtails their chances and opportunities to fully participate as much as their male counterparts in the development

of their country. All-girls schools, in particular, have a propensity to load their student with a number of such weak subjects.

The study also looked into how subject offerings to boys and girls pre-determine their future jobs assumed after graduation. It has been found that student subject offerings may have a significant relationship to the career later assumed in adult life. This is so because by taking those subjects and doing well in them the student is slowly developing a career orientation and /or specialization upon which further studies are built later. If for example, the student had been offered a course in computer skills and she liked it as a subject of study, that student would have high chance of ending up being a computer programmer. Subject offerings do indeed, to a large extent, determine future jobs of boys and girls.

Finally, it has been ascertained that the issue of women's subservient position in Zambia is vitally linked to the content and structure of formal education by way of reinforcing a traditional socialization process that has discriminated against women since the creation of man and women. Formal education, as a system of communication through which a body of knowledge and a set of cultural values and norms are transmitted from one generation to another, reinforces and hardens the sexist and gender-biased socialization process which is carried out within the institution of the family.

Having come this far to answer the question posed at the beginning of the study, we have found significant evidence that content and structure of formal education, as currently practiced in Zambia today, does not systematically help women gain access to better paying jobs in the formal sector, and it also implicitly discourages them from doing so. The study has shown that formal education enables few women enter professional or waged employment. Out of these women in waged employment, the majority are concentrated in service low-income jobs which hardly give them any significant income or credit, with which to access productive resources in the country.

In 1985 the Zambian government ratified the United Nations convention on the eradication of all forms of discrimination against women. Although some positive scores have been made since the ratification of this convention, a lot more need to be done and seen, particularly in the area of formal education with regard to women. The role of educational institutions is too important to be overlooked in helping to re-shape and change those values, ideologies and practices in our society which have hitherto discriminated against women.

We should also consider the crucial link between women's education and empowerment, and national development. To use the words of an education expert in Niger, "the education of women benefits the whole of society; Public investment on women's education has important impact on the economy and enhances the development process".

Well –educated women could prove a major asset in Zambia's much sought economic development. In the words of the southern African UNESCO representative, "education opens up the mind to gain skills and enables women to get a good life through employment. It can also help women plan for their needs and participate in good governance of a country, increase productivity and, in the long run, reduces poverty". It only makes sense that solution to the grave problems currently facing the Zambian society and economy cannot be successfully addressed without the mobilization and empowerment of more than half of the population, the women of Zambia.

6.2 POLICY RECOMMENDATION

The significant of the study lay in promoting and improving the quality of policy analysis in the area of formal education. Therefore the results and recommendations of this study could be of vital interest to policy makers and other groups interested in women issues.

The policy issues relevant to this study include:

1) The urgent need to readjust and revitalize existing formal education's structure, curriculum and content in order to uplift women's position in society.

2) Re-orientating the education system to become responsive to the needs of marginalized groups such as women in society.

3) Expanding women's participation in the formal sector for increased national productivity and development.

Given the gravity of the issue of formal education and the various groups affecting its success, the study has worked out policy recommendations relevant to the role of the various interest groups involved.

Teachers, parents, community at large (PTA's MP's), ministry of education and telecommunication media have been identified as the group with interest and influence on formal education and women issues and are being individually addressed in the following recommendation:

TEACHERS
1) Instill a sense of self- confidence and competitiveness in females
2) Emphasize academic capability and challenge rather than gender inequalities and sex role differentiation.
3) Encourage females through career counseling, to take up courses and jobs traditionally for males.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

1) Re-define and re-orient the ideology and philosophy of the country's national education and re- write those school textbooks which should be rewritten.

2) Re- orients formal education for females so that it prepares them for economic independence, self- actualization and assertiveness.

3) Overhaul the structure and content of formal education with the view to remove or make optional all those subjects which have been dominated by women and yet have not helped them access better paying jobs.

4) Educate the population on the necessary cost to the nation by not allowing the development and deployment of the full potential of the womenfolk in society.

5) Introduce gender issues and involve women in school curriculum development with the aim of initiating a process of unlearning gender-biased family socialization.

6) Design special educational programmes in schools and the media to help parents develop positive attitudes towards female education, and teach girls about safe sex and the virtue of postponing marriage in order to stay long in school.

7) Sensitize men in policy making about gender inequalities embodied in the content, structure and curriculum of formal education.

Zambian women's access to better paying jobs in the formal sector must increase to enable them to uplift their standards of living from the mere subsistence level. In order for these women to increase their access to better paying jobs, their participation in different levels and fields of formal education must be improved and expanded, their self-confidence, positive attitude and self-empowerment must be promoted and encouraged, the prevailing sexist socialization practices in the home, which in turn are reinforced by

formal education system must be changed, and sexist career and vocational guidance services provided in the school system must be radically revolutionized.

As the Chinese saying states that WOMEN HOLD HALF OF THE SKY, therefore, mobilization of women's potential will not only help women access better paying jobs but also complement men's potential and thus boost Zambia's national development.

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APPENDIX

1. STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE
2. TEACHER'S INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE
3. INTERVIEW QUESTIONARTE FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTRE STAFF.

STUDY QUESTIONAIRE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

1. AGE:

2. SEX: A. FEMALE   B.MALE

3. SCHOOL GRADE YOU ARE IN:……………………………………………………

4. WHAT ARE THE MAJOR COURSES THAT YOU HAVE TAKEN OR PLAN TO TAKE FOR YOUR CAREER? ……………………………………………………

5. WHICH COURSES WOULD YOU HAVE LIKED TO TAKE IF YOU HAD BEEN AT A DIFFERENT SCHOOL, FOR EXAMPLE, BOYS SCHOOL ONLY, GIRLS SCHOOL ONLY, BOYS- AND –GIRLS SCHOOL?..
……………………………………………………………………………………………

6. WHICH GROUP BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN DO YOU WISH TO HAVE BEEN USED IN EXAMPLES, ILLUSTRATIONS OR DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE TEXTBOOKS THAT YOU ALWAYS USE IN SCHOOL?
    A.WOMEN   B. MEN

7. IN YOUR SCHOOL, ARE THERE SEPARATE COURSES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS? IF SO, WHAT ARE THEY?
    A. COURSES FOR BOYS ONLY ARE:……………………………………………….
    B. COURSES FOR GIRLS ONLY ARE: ....

8. BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN, WHICH ONES HAVE BETTER POSITIONS OR TITLES AMONG THOSE USED IN EXAMPLES, ILLUSTRATIONS OR DEMONSTRATIONS IN YOUR SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS?
    A. MEN   B. WOMEN

9. DO YOU THINK TEXTBOOKS TEACH MEN AND WOMEN TO RELATE TO ONE ANOTHER ON EQUAL BASIS?
    A. YES   B. NO   C. I DO NOT KNOW
        GIVE   REASONS   FOR   YOUR ANSWER:……………………………………………………………………

10. AMONG THE POSITIONS OR TITLES MEN AND WOMEN HAVE IN YOUR SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS OF YOUR MAJOR COURSES WHICH TWO DO YOU ADMIRE MOST?

A…………………………………………………………………………………

B…………………………………………………………………………………

EXPLAIN   THE   REASON   WHY

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

11. THE MAJOR COURSES OF YOUR CAREER WILL GIVE YOU:

   A. A HIGH PAYING JOB

   B.   AN AVERAGE- PAYING JOB

   C.   A LOW- PAYING JOB

12. THE MAJOR COURSES OF YOUR CAREER WILL MAKE YOU:

   A. A GOOD FATHER

   B. A GOOD MOTHER

13. MOST OF THE EXAMPLES OR ILLUSTRATIONS GIVEN IN YOUR SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS SHOW THE CONDITIONS AS LIVED BY:

   A. ZAMBIAN WOMEN

   B.   ZAMBIAN MEN

   C.   OTHERS NOT ZAMBIAN

14. WHAT DO YOU WISH TO BE DONE TO IMPROVE ZAMBIAN EDUCATION SO THAT YOU CAN BENEFIT MOST FROM IT TO LEAD A BETTER LIFE

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

15. WHAT JOB WOULD YOU WISH TO HAVE AFTER COMPLETING SCHOOL?

…………………………………………………………………………………

TEACHERS INTERVIEW QUESTIONAIRE

1. TEACHER'S   SEX.
2. TEACHER'S YEARS OF TEACHING.
3. SUBJECT OF TEACHING……………………………………………
4. DO YOU THINK THE SUBJECTS BOYS AND GIRLS TAKE AT THIS SCHOOL PRE- DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE JOBS?

   A. YES   B. NO

      IF YES, HOW?

      ………………………………………………………………………………….

      ……………………………………………………………………………….

5. DO YOU THINK FEMALE PRONOUNS, NAMES, TITLES E.T.C ARE MENTIONED IN BOOKS OR CLASS EXAMPLES AS OFTEN AS MALES?

   A. YES   B. NO

      EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER,

      …………………………………………………………………………………..

      …………………………………………………………………………………

6. DO YOU THINK THAT SCHOOL SUBJECT OFFERINGS, IN THE CURRICULUM DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS?

   A. YES   B. NO

      EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

      …………………………………………………………………………………

      ……………………………………………………………………………….

7. DO YOU THINK IMAGES OF GIRLS AND BOYS IN TEXTBOOKS REFLECT THEIR REAL LIVING CONDITIONS AFTER SCHOOL?

   A. YES   B. NO

      EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

      …………………………………………………………………………………..

      …………………………………………………………………………………

8. TO WHAT EXTENT DO TEXTBOOKS IMAGES REINFORCE INEQUALITIES BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS?

A.VERY MUCH   B.AVERAGE   C. LITTLE

9. WHAT ROLE DO YOU THINK THE CURRICULUM SHOULD PLAY TO EMPOWER WOMEN?

10. What role do you think formal education should play to empower women access better paying jobs?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONAIRE FOR CDC STAFF

1. **S**TAFF SEX.

   A. MALE   B. FEMALE

2. DO YOU THINK THE SUBJECTS BOYS AND GIRLS TAKE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL PRE- DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE JOBS?

   A. YES   B. NO

   IF YES, HOW?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

3. DO YOU THINK FEMALE PRONOUNS, NAMES, TITLES E.T.C ARE MENTIONED IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AS OFTEN AS MALES?

   A. YES   B. NO

   EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

   ……………………………………………………………………………………..

4. DO YOU THINK THE CURRICULUM CONTENT AND STRUCTURE OF FORMAL EDUCATION DISCRIMINATES BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS?

   A. YES   B. NO

   EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

   …………………………………………………………………………………….

5. DO YOU THINK IMAGES OF GIRLS AND BOYS IN SCHOOL CURRICULUM CONTENT REFLECT THEIR REAL LIVING CONDITIONS AFTER SCHOOL?\

   A. YES   B, NO

   EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER'

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

6. TO WHAT EXTENT DOES SCHOOL CURRICULUM CONTENT REINFORCE INEQUALITIES BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS?

   A. VERY MUCH   B. AVERAGE   C. LITTLE

7. DOES FORMAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM ENCOURAGE OR DISCOURAGE INEQUALITIES BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS?

    A. ENCOURAGE   B. DISCOURAGE

    EXPLAIN HOW.

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………….

8. DO YOU THINK FORMAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM CONTENT, AS IT IS PRACTICED NOW, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WOMEN'S FURURE JOBS?

9. WHAT ROLE DO YOU THINK SCHOOL CURRICULUM CONTENT SHOULD PLAY TO EMPOWER WOMEN?

10. DO YOU THINK SCHOOL CURRICULUM TEACHES MEN AND WOMEN TO RELATE TO ONE ANOTHER ON EQUAL BASIS?

    A. YES   B. NO

    EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.