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Gender Issues in Post-Primary Education

Gender Issues in Technical and Vocational Education and Training

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
FAWE	Foundation for African Women Educationists
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
HIV	Human Immuno-Virus
HDR	Human Development Report
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
MDHS	Malawi Demographic and Health Survey.
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PPE	Post primary Education
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UWESO	Uganda Women's Economic Support Organisation ?????
WDR	World Development Report
WHO	World Health Organization
ZDHS	Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey

Abstract

This paper argues that post primary education in Africa is uneven, biased by gender, location, class and region, resulting in the illiteracy of the majority of girls and women in Africa. A minority of African adolescents undertakes secondary schooling. The majority have little foundation for building on technical, vocational education and training, making technical, vocational education and training the preserve of a few, usually elite students. The rest of adolescents drop out of school and join the informal sector or work on family farms, enterprises and domestic domains with little systematic training. Girls and poor boys start working as early as age five and their schooling has to be undertaken together with unpaid family labour. Boys' mobility allows them to earn better incomes while girls usually marry early, fall pregnant and have children, resulting in their occupational immobility. Educated adolescents acquire skilled and better-paid jobs with bright career prospects while poorly educated and illiterate adolescents secure poorly paid, easy entry easy exit jobs usually in the informal sector. The global sex industry has emerged a source of employment for young female adolescents who may be trafficked or recruited voluntarily for sex work in Europe, Australia, the United States and Canada. HIV and AIDS are threats to adolescents especially in Southern Africa where they may head households after being orphaned. Orphaned and other poor and vulnerable adolescents are at risk of infection with HIV, dropping out of school, entering the labour force too early and falling sick with overwork in poor quality jobs with meager wages.

The paper argues for provision of good quality formal and non-formal primary and some secondary and TVET for adolescents in Africa, especially for girls and poor boys in countries where barriers to schooling are high. The paper cites specific types of TVET which have been implemented in various countries, suggesting that secondary schooling, both formal and informal, be placed on a continuum and restructured to incorporated both formal and non-formal education, be made more accessible to poor, female, vulnerable and other adolescents and enable all students to choose any route to education and to ensure that there is equivalence, comparability and satisfactory quality in all types of education. The content of such TVET must suit the interests and life situations of the adolescents to make it relevant, effective and appropriate for generating decent levels of income and livelihoods for different types of adolescents. .

Executive summary.

While there are regional variations within Africa, the overall statistics on fertility and schooling rates in Africa indicate that formal schooling for most girls and women tends to be short and is usually undertaken between the ages of 6 and 15 after which the majority of girls fall pregnant or marry or drop out of school for many reasons. There is need for training for the 50-60% of children who are already out of school in Africa by the ages 12-14. These adolescents should be the major focus of TVET and in particular, the girls, most of whom are likely to be married or mothers by the age of 20 need specific programs with usable, effective and sustainable TVET content.

Given that a significant proportion of girls cannot access, afford and avail themselves primary schooling, it follows that most cannot even proceed into PPE, where there is literacy-based training and education. The applicant pool of women who can proceed to secondary schooling is very low in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The literature and statistics on PPE in Africa show that existing PPE is gender segmented with girls and women concentrated in the literary arts, commercial, general and domestic science sectors whereas boys and men are concentrated in the specialized sciences, mathematics and technical areas.

PPE is accessible only to a minority of women who have attended schooling at upper primary, secondary, vocational and higher education levels. It is more accessible to boys and men although there is also some stratification amongst men by class, location and age. Within the school system, TVET is limited in primary school and may be introduced in secondary schooling in the form of Woodwork, Needlework, Fashion and Fabrics, Food and Nutrition, Technical Drawing and a few other courses. The offerings are fragmented and policy frameworks tend to lack coherence. Outside the school system, private providers driven by profit usually offer TVET of varying quality and standards. Since TVET requires investment in equipment and tools, it is more expensive than general education and tends to be ignored or minimized.

There is relatively little experience with TVET for girls in Africa at the post-primary level in most African countries. Most of the TVE programming resources focus on the youth category between 19 and 30 and are directed mainly at boys and young adult men and on adult women in micro-scale enterprises where they undertake very basic training in running collective structures, writing minutes, producing, pricing and marketing goods and services as micro businesses owners.

Gender violence by teachers, male pupils, support staff and transport providers is implicated in the under-achievement, poor performance and attrition of girls from school in Sub-Saharan Africa. Girls who are afraid to come to school and whose classroom experiences are terrifying or intimidating do not like school or perform well therein. In addition, girls who fall pregnant while at school are afraid to return to school because of intimidation, mockery and abuse.

70% of the poor, the majority of them women, live in rural areas and cannot access urban labour markets that are more vibrant as well as the bulk of vocational education and training. Poor road and transportation networks, lack of reliable telecommunications, fuel and social connections all collude to lock adolescent girls in the low productivity agricultural sector. Adolescent girls work a double shift at home and at school and given the poor quality of primary schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa,

this eases their transition into domestic work and marriage rather than into better jobs outside the household and the agricultural sector in Africa. Girls have less leisure time than boys and adolescent girls have fewer opportunities than boys to exercise their agency through discussion with others, meeting people from outside their communities and learning about diverse forms of work. Early marriage closes up girls' opportunities to exercise agency, expand their networks and choices, before the onset of motherhood and increased responsibilities for children and spouses.

In the absence of a compulsory school leaving age for children in 25 African countries, adolescent girls with little or no schooling can enter domestic service from a young age and run the risk of exposure to gross forms of labour, usually with poor pay and conditions of service and high risks of sexual abuse. Adolescent girls are married off, have children and work as unpaid family labour for most of their lives. Poor adolescent boys start work as early and work in the informal sector with poor pay and drudgery for most of their lives. Increasingly, they are migrating to towns and abroad from the ages of 10 and above because of the lack of schooling, work and security in most of Africa.

There is a strong link between secondary education, access to non-agricultural employment, lower fertility and better health and nutrition of children. When girls have education and training in better child-care, child mortality may be reduced, creating the conditions for reduction of children born per woman, stimulating demand for income-earning activities and investment in training and education. This in turn, places girls on a better footing for accessing better paid jobs.

Those girls and women who are secluded for religious and cultural reasons therefore remain relatively immobile, unable to access various types of better paid work within and outside their countries and are therefore doomed to poverty and lives of drudgery.

Those students who access vocational training and education benefit from the equal pay legislation that is in place in countries such as Ghana, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia that ensures that the wage gaps between men and women in the same occupations in the workplace are narrowed. However, feminized jobs such as clerical, service and domestic work remain the lowest paid globally. In addition, caring professions such as teaching and nursing are increasingly devalued and becoming less well paid globally.

The most dominant formal employers of adolescents and young men and women are the state, parastatal enterprises and the civil society sector. In those countries with developed private sectors enterprises, a small section of young women who have gone beyond primary school work as clerical and secretarial workers and support staff. However, the majority of women and girls in Africa work in the informal sectors in both rural and urban areas. Thus, PPE advantages schooled and trained girls in relation to poorer boys and other girls with no schooling, enabling them to enter well-paid formal employment.

Illiterate adolescent girls usually venture into micro enterprise such as selling nuts, fish, fruit and vegetables or cloth and so forth. The sector is easy entry and easy exit, high competition and low profit. It is overcrowded and the opportunities to expand out or upwards are few because of poor business acumen and skills and lack of understanding of changing local, regional and global markets. Boys enter the more lucrative parts of the informal sector such as car washing, selling of costlier merchandise such as watches, mobile phones etc. Boys' greater mobility gives them an

advantage because they can move around to the more lucrative parts of cities and rural areas whereas girls are more constrained by domestic work, children and fears of physical and sexual harassment. However, both girls and boys are mobile within and outside their countries of origin as they search for better-paid jobs and more meaningful lives. Hawking and vending activities are usually undertaken in public areas where operators require licenses, which many vendors and hawkers do not have or cannot, afford or do not qualify for. In many countries where the age of majority is 18, an adolescent cannot undertake business transactions, open her own bank account or enter into legally binding contracts without the assistance of a parent or guardian. Thus, hawking, vending and related activities are usually undertaken by adolescent girls on behalf of their mothers, sisters, husbands or guardians. Those girls who are orphaned, neglected or have nobody to care for them may run their own enterprises but they do so illegally and are vulnerable to seizure of their goods and merchandise and their confiscation by municipal authorities.

Widowhood, orphan hood and single motherhood also propel adolescent girls into the workplace. For single adolescent mothers, once their parents renounce their responsibilities towards them for exercising unapproved fertility outside the moral boundaries of their communities, they are compelled to take whatever jobs are available and able to offer even minimal incomes. Many African countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Botswana have adopted legislation allowing teen mothers to return to school. However, unless these adolescent mothers have a mother, sister or other relative willing to care for their children while they resume schooling, they are forced to enter the labour market with few skills. Under such circumstances, adolescent mothers have few choices and have to perform whatever work they can find since they are perceived to have forfeited any rights to support from their families.

In Africa, as economies grow too slowly to provide decent jobs, there has been an erosion of cultural and other factors that facilitated the control of parents over children, especially adolescents. Poverty forces families to send their children to more affluent relatives within and across countries. Conflicts such as those in Uganda, Angola, Mozambique and Sierra Leone have also resulted in the death of parents and the increase in the numbers of refugee children and children living on the streets without carers or viable work or careers. In Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan, children, particularly boys became child soldiers and participated in atrocities against civilians, eroding and evading parental control as they constituted armies of different kinds. In such situations, adolescent girls were vulnerable to rape and assault and some joined or were press-ganged into various armies as soldiers and as sex providers, cooks and cleaners for the fighting forces. In Southern Africa, HIV and AIDS have disrupted family structures, strained the traditional family support systems, resulting in orphaned children caring for themselves without adult guidance as states fail to cope with the AIDS pandemic and its effects. These experiences have provided the impetus for the involvement of African adolescent girls in the global sex industry. Adolescent boys are also migrating out of Africa to seek jobs and livelihoods that pay them better.

While in Europe, the USA and Australia, professional organizations take a strong stance on schoolwork programs, the poor growth and jobless growth in many African economies reduces opportunities for professional organizations to play this role. Professional organizations focus on girls and women and boys and men who are already literate, leaving the poorly literate and illiterates to the state. Where the state fails to develop and provide basic literacy and numeracy, the girls and boys who are outside the school system are excluded from any non-traditional professional training and skills building that is premised on literacy and numeracy.

Policy Implications

Get the economic fundamentals right to generate incomes to finance UPE and TVET.

Improve access to good quality schooling for both boys and girls because TVET is premised on a sound foundation in basic primary and lower secondary education.

Increase the benefits accruing to girls and women who are educated through legislating and enforcing equal pay for equal work, equal promotion with men, decent conditions of service and access to decision making positions at work at all levels.

Develop and provide access to good quality, meaningful, non-formal education for girls, poor boys and women in areas where barriers to girls' and poor boys education are high.

Return pregnant girls to school to capitalize on investment in them and avail them access to TVET that is meaningful for their lives and circumstances.

Strengthen science and technology training for girls and women to enable them to maintain their present jobs and to compete in the digital marketplace.

Provide diverse forms of good quality and useful TVET and schooling to cater for adolescents of different backgrounds, interests and capabilities. Such TVET has to be integrated into the formal structure of education and training and have equivalence and comparability with formal education and training.

Raise awareness of the risks of trafficking for sex and other work within and outside Africa and develop meaningful alternatives to migration for wage work. It is necessary to consider formal ways of structuring this migration at bilateral levels.

Develop diverse partnerships to finance, supervise and institutionalize TVET in Africa.

Build up reliable databases on adolescents and other labour, disaggregated by age, class, sector and gender are necessary for policy development and training.

Terms of reference

For the purposes of this paper, post primary education (PPE) involves open-ended, life-long, formal and non-formal, training and education that may be general, technical, vocational and practical. Its goal is to prepare learners for life, society, work and further learning. It accommodates multiple providers and resources ranging from vocational schools, distance learning, public and private and informal sector providers. The issues relating to gender and the problematic of girls' access, participation and benefits of PPE need to be understood. In particular, the paper will accomplish the following objectives:

1) Provide insight into the patterns of transition from PPE schools to work and the extent to which gender differentials play a role in such transitions.

2) Highlight the gender disparities in Africa's current labour markets and the degree to which various forms of PPE make a difference to girls' advancement.

(3) Offer pointers regarding policies and practices to be promoted in order to ensure equal and enhanced opportunities for both boys and girls.

In particular, the paper will attempt to answer the following questions:

To what extent does participation in PPE make a difference regarding access of female leavers to work (as compared to socio-cultural factors?)

What is known about the socio-economic value of different forms of PPE particularly for girls?

What tend to be the approaches /experiences of girls in accessing labour markets after leaving school?

What is the general position of adolescent girls in labour markets around Africa in relation to boys?

What tend to be principal inequalities in labour markets and to what extent are they mitigated by schooling?

What in their PPE experiences appears to work for girls when it comes to accessing labour markets?

What is known about innovative practices in forms of PPE that work well to enhance girls' access to the world of work?

To what extent is the participation of girls in gainful employment affected by other social conditions such as health, HIV and AIDS, culture (marriage), family/clan traditions, community poverty, safety and security factors?

How important as regards school-to-work transitions of girl are intermediary social and professional organizations?

How amenable to policy interventions are the various critical factors that will be highlighted and

what measures seem essential?

Introduction

The paper will focus on the state of PPE in Sub-Saharan Africa. For the purposes of this paper, it is necessary to describe the different situations of girls and women, boys and girls in primary and secondary education in Africa. This will facilitate understanding and discussion of the different options available for policy purposes for different groups of learners in the PPE sectors of different countries and regions in Africa. The focus of this paper is on the lower and middle reaches of secondary schooling where the majority of those African girls with some secondary schooling terminate their education, as they become adolescents.

Definitionally, this paper considers children as those young people between 0-18. In many cases, the children over 15 but below 18 are considered as youths although they may still be legally defined as children who are below the age of majority in many countries. Adolescents are those children between 10 and 18

In Africa, according to the World Development Report (2007) 290 million of the 650 million people are children. Half of these are adolescents aged 10-15. 52% of the African people are female and 48% male. Of the females in Africa, 50% are girls aged between 0-15 years. 14 million adolescent girls aged between 15 and 19 give birth and the highest rates of adolescent fertility are found in Sub-Saharan Africa. 50% of women in Africa are married by the age of 18. The picture painted by the statistics on the fertility rates in Africa already indicates that formal schooling for most girls and women tends to be short and is usually undertaken between the ages of 6 and 15 after which the majority of girls fall pregnant or marry or drop out of school for many reasons. For example, in Malawi, the adolescent fertility rate is 33% with 25% of 15-19 year old girls as mothers and 9% pregnant in 2004. The average age at first intercourse 15 years and the average age at first marriage was 18. By 20, 73% of women were married. (Malawi Demographic Health Survey: 2004) These statistics indicate the need for training for the 50-60% of children who are already out of school in Africa by the ages 12-14. These children should be the major focus of TVET and in particular, the girls, most of whom are likely to be married or mothers by the age of 20 need specific programs with usable, effective and sustainable TVET content.

These statistics are quite typical for most low-income African countries although there are some variations upwards in a few middle-income countries with medium human development. The table below shows the adult literacy statistics of selected African countries, presenting a picture of the gendered nature of adult literacy in selected African countries and indicating the effects of the education, training and other policies of the past 20 years in Africa. The data presented indicate and suggest issues that need to be tackled by in the education and employment sectors, as the children who have grown up in the previous two decades have become adults.

Table 1 showing the gendered literacy statistics for selected African countries.

(As per UNESCO estimates. Some data may not be up to date and are subject to revision.)

Country	**Human Development Index Rank**	**ALR female rate (% ages 15 and older 2004)**	**ALR (as % of male rate 2004.)**
South Africa	121	80.9	96
Namibia	125	83.5	96
Botswana	131	81.8	1.02
Ghana	136	49.8	75
Sudan	141	51.8	73
Swaziland	146	78.3	97
Zimbabwe	151	…	..
Kenya	152	70.2	90
Senegal	156	29.2	57
Rwanda	158	.....	..
Nigeria	159	..	..
Guinea	160	18.1	43
Benin	163	23.2	49
Cote d'Ivoire	164	38.6	63
Mozambique	168	....	....
Chad	171	12.8	31
Burkina Farso	174	15.2	52
Mali	175	11.9	44
Niger	177	15.1	35

Source: Human Development Report: 2006

While most African governments have supported legislative provisions guaranteeing males and females equal rights to education, vocational training and employment, the experiences of girls and women in education, vocational training and employment are quite different from those of boys and men, resulting in gross inequality and inequity, social disempowerment, poor literacy, health, and poverty for more women and girls than men and boys. Many of the issues raised in this paper pertain to people who are already adults as of 2 007. However, the points made remain pertinent although in some countries positive changes and improvements might be taking place because of cessation of wars and conflicts as is the case in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In other countries, negative changes may have occurred as conflicts and crises escalate as has happened in Zimbabwe and Sudan.

Table 2 showing the representation by gender of pupils in primary school in selected African countries in 2004.

(As per UNESCO estimates. Some data may not be up to date and are subject to revision.)

Country	Human Development Index Rank	Net primary enrolment female ratio (%)	Net primary enrolment. Ratio of female to male (%)
South Africa	121	89	1.01
Namibia	125	77	1.08
Botswana	131	83	1.03
Ghana	136	58	1.01
Sudan	141	39	0.83
Swaziland	146	77	1.01
Zimbabwe	151	82	1.01
Kenya	152	77	1.00
Senegal	156	65	0.95
Rwanda	158	75	1.05
Nigeria	159	57	0.89
Guinea	160	58	0.84
Benin	163	72	0.78
Cote d'Ivoire	164	50	0.80
Mozambique	168	67	0.90
Chad	171	46	0.68
Burkina Farso	174	35	0.77
Mali	175	43	0.85
Niger	177	32	0.71

Source: Human Development Report: 2006

The statistics on primary school education in Africa show that girls are less likely than boys to be enrolled in primary school especially in countries such as Sierra Leone, Guinea, Mali, Benin, Burkina Farso and Malawi. As a result, such girls are virtually excluded from PPE because they do not have even the basic requisites for participation in many education and training programs. 66% of the illiterates in Africa are women. While the table above indicates net enrolment, attrition occurs through dropouts for reasons of poverty, pregnancy, early marriage and negative school experiences. Those girls who do get enrolled and drop out of primary school are usually nudged into or focus on marriage as the next best option for survival, dignity and self-esteem. Girls are less likely than boys to complete primary school. These adolescents still need non-formal education to make them trainable for employment and self-employment. From this point onwards, it is clear that these children, predominantly girls, need credible, sustainable and well-remunerated work, which sustains them as soon as they leave school and marry or become self-employed. This kind of TVET needs to respond to the needs of these adolescents so that they can live useful and fulfilled lives.

Given the level and poor quality of education in general and its brevity in some parts of West Africa, any form of PPE presents problems of access because it is premised on access to some literacy and numeracy usually at the secondary school level. Given the low levels of primary schooling for girls in Africa, enrolment and completion of secondary school for girls is lower than for boys. The table below shows the gendered enrolment into secondary school in selected African countries.

Table 3 showing the gendered enrolment into secondary education in selected SSA countries.

Country	**Human Development Index Rank**	**Net secondary enrolment. Female ratio % (2004)**	**Ratio of female to male 2004**
South Africa	121	65	1.12
Namibia	125	43	1.35
Botswana	131	64	1.11
Ghana	136	33	0.86
Sudan	141	...	..
Swaziland	146	32	1.24
Zimbabwe	151	33	0.93
Kenya	152	40	1.01
Senegal	156	65	0.72
Rwanda	158	.....	.....
Nigeria	159	25	0.83
Guinea	160	14	0.51
Benin	163	11	0.49
Cote d'Ivoire	164	21	0.76
Mozambique	168	4	0.78
Chad	171	5	0.33
Burkina Farso	174	8	0.68
Mali	175	...	...
Niger	177	5	0.67

Source: Human Development Report: 2 006

Given that a significant proportion of girls cannot access, afford and avail themselves primary schooling, it follows that most cannot even proceed into PPE, where there is literacy-based training and education. The applicant pool of women who can proceed to secondary schooling is very low in Sub-Saharan Africa. The table above shows the variation of attendance in secondary school by gender within Africa. In general, secondary school remains inaccessible to the majority of women in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially in countries such as Niger, Mali, Burkina Farso, Guinea, Chad, Benin and Mozambique, raising issues about the costs, structure, timing and delivery of TVET.

The availability of TVET and PPE in Africa

In Malawi, by 2004, only 8% of women and 15% of men had some secondary schooling and the average number of years of such schooling was 1,8 years for women and 3,1 years for men. 11% of secondary school age children attend school at the right age. In Burundi, only 20% of each primary school cohort entered secondary school where the technical and vocational streams took only 1-5% of these students. In Botswana, the vocational education and training budget constitutes only 5% of the total education budget. In most of Africa, very few of the TVET students outside secretarial and commercial areas are female. In Zimbabwe, before 1980, TVE was accessible for students who were not academically inclined but this stigmatized these students as academically weak. With the introduction of the seven year primary and four year secondary schooling followed by advanced level academic subjects and university, TVE became increasingly confined to the post-secondary school system, usually after ordinary level, resulting in its increased inaccessibility to poor girls and boys, a proportion of whom left school after 'O' levels with or without a full certificate. In Malawi, TVE used to be offered under the Ministry of Education until 1997 when it was handed over to the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development where it became associated solely with entry into the labour market. The subjects offered were gendered with males in bricklaying, carpentry, motor vehicle mechanics, and plumbing while girls were predominantly in Office practice and interior decor.

Thus, given the dominance of boys in the school systems of Sub-Saharan Africa especially in West Africa where in countries such as Guinea, Chad, Mali, Burkina Farso, Benin and Niger, the barriers to girls' education remain high, there is need to explore alternative options for educating girls within and outside the formal school system in order to deal with the disparities between and within countries. In West Africa, the problems of getting girls into primary and secondary school remain intractable whereas in and Southern Africa, almost universal primary schooling is achievable or has been achieved. The problems of enrolling and retaining girls in secondary school remain and the nature of the secondary schooling needs to be improved so that it incorporates aspects of TVET that are useful to girls' employment and self-employment.

There is additional attrition of girls from within the school system through dropping out for various reasons ranging from pregnancy, early marriage, lack of financing for tuition and other fees. Girls who marry or fall pregnant after the age of 16 usually terminate their secondary schooling with little or no TVET. Thus, TVET occupies a very small place at the junior secondary school level in Burundi Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Namibia, Uganda, Benin, Mauritania, Mozambique, Senegal, Togo, Botswana, Chad and Guinea and other SSA countries. (Otu-Boateng et al: 2007, Swartland: 2007, Banunuka: 2007, Banoukouta: 2007) In most of Africa, general education predominates in both primary and lower secondary school education. Given that secondary schooling is not generally accessible, TVE needs to be located, depending on its content, in the upper reaches of primary school. Secondary schooling could also be infused with more technical and vocational content given that many African countries have embraced universal primary education (UPE) and have improved primary school enrolment as shown in table 2.

Gender segmentation of PPE in Africa

An examination of the literature and statistics on PPE in Africa shows that PPE is gender segmented with girls and women concentrated in the literary arts, commercial, general and domestic science sectors whereas boys and men are concentrated in the specialized sciences, mathematics and technical areas. (Mariro: 1999) Thus, the school milieu and the subject organization mimics and replicates the traditional home and gender division of labour, resulting in the reinforcement of these gender divisions in the home, the school and subsequently, the world of work. It is necessary to ensure that PPE retains some science and technology content regardless of specialization so that all the students, particularly women, involved in it, can learn and use scientific and emerging technologies for their work within and outside the home.

PPE is accessible only to a minority of women who have attended schooling at upper primary, secondary, vocational and higher education levels. It is more accessible to boys and men although there is also some stratification amongst men by class, location and age. Within the school system, TVET is limited in primary school and may be introduced in secondary schooling in the form of Woodwork, Needlework, Fashion and Fabrics, Food and Nutrition, Technical Drawing and a few other courses. Usually, the offerings are fragmented and policy frameworks tend to lack coherence. (Bennell: 1999). Outside the school system, private providers driven by profit usually offer TVET. Since TVET requires investment in equipment and tools, it is more expensive than general education and tends to be ignored or minimized.

In many Sub-Saharan African countries, TVET remains segmented by gender and is increasingly offered by private providers who charge market rates for it, making it virtually inaccessible to all but the middle classes. The quality of this TVET is variable and quality assurance tends to be lax in most countries. Thus, this increased the costs and time needed to acquire TVET and made it less accessible to poor boys and girls.

Religious organizations and NGOs may try to provide TVE but their efforts tend to be limited because of relatively high costs. In addition, the poorest cannot access most of these courses because of their poor educational preparation. The FAO and some NGOs are experimenting with Farmer Field Schools in Kenya, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique, for 1 000 students who have been orphaned by AIDS. However, such experiments remain small and have not been replicated widely.

In this respect, Save the Children contend that there is relatively little experience with TVET for girls at the post-primary level in most African countries. Most of the TVE programming resources focus on the youth category between 19 and 30 and are directed mainly at boys and young adult men and on adult women in micro-scale enterprises where they are given very basic training in running collective structures, writing minutes, producing, pricing and marketing goods and services as small businesses owners. (Youth Outreach: September 2007.)

The quality of school and college experiences for girls and women.

The quality of the teaching and learning environment determines interest of learners and the attitudes of parents towards education and the levels of achievement of girls in the school system. In Sub-Saharan Africa, because girls constitute a minority in the system, the quality of their school experiences varies and may be quite negative in many cases.

School provides a respite from hard labour for most rural and poor urban girls in Africa. Girls' experiences in school indicate that girls enjoy interacting with others, discovering new worlds through books and broadening their horizons. However, their environments and contexts also influence schools. In Sub-Saharan African countries such as Guinea where girls are married early, relationships between men and women are charged and schools may also carry the gender culture of their societies depending on the class, cultures, ages and races of the pupils and teachers. Studies that have investigated the formal and informal cultures and practices of schools in Africa (Gordon: 1995, Gordon: 2002, Maimbolwa-Sinyangwe and Chilangwa: 1995, Akiba et al 2002, Bendera, Maro and Mboya: 1998 , Shumba: 2001, Tafa: 2002 and Mitchell et al: 2004) indicate that schools incorporate the asymmetrical power relationships between men and women, adults and children. In many schools girls are expected to clean the classrooms while boys carry furniture and dig in the school grounds. In rural areas, girls may also be asked to clean the teachers' houses, fetch water and cook their meals.

The violence by boys towards girls in schools has been noted and widely documented by Omar and de Waal of African Rights. The most notorious incident is the St Kizito incident in Kenya in 1991 where boys rampaged through the girls' dormitories, killing 19 girls and raping 71 others. Subsequent school violence has been noted in Kenya. In Zimbabwe, the Macheke Primary School case where a general worker raped over 20 children and infected some of them with sexually transmitted infections is another case in point. A study by the WHO on Violence and Health in 2 002 noted that up to one third of adolescent girls in parts of Nicaragua, Peru, Tanzania, South Africa, Mexico, Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom report forced sexual initiation.

Violence by teachers is tolerated and used overtly to punish students in many schools despite national policy directives proscribing corporal punishment in schools. While male teachers are predominant in the use of physical violence, in some places female teachers in Mauritius and Zimbabwe used verbal violence against pupils. (Bunwaree: 1999 and Leach and Muchakanja: 2000) This has a negative impact on children who are frequently unable to express themselves freely and explore, through trial and error, concepts and issues as they learn. Abuse of authority by teachers, prefects, monitors, wardens and student leaders and other authority figures has been reported in many countries. Most countries also have regulations against 'improper' fraternization between students and staff because of the ever-present and actual danger to pupils because of sexual harassment such as touching, groping, coercive sex and rape. (Shumba: 2001 and Mirsky: 2003). In the context of high HIV infection in Southern Africa, schools that have lax control over teachers, authority figures and pupils pose a great risk to both boys and girls. However, adolescent girls are especially at risk because of their higher vulnerability to HIV infection. In Southern Africa, the infection rates for adolescent girls and young women are often six times as high as those of boys in the same age groups, indicating the vulnerability of girls to infection. (www.panos.org.uk) and Zimbabwe Health and Demographic Survey (2005-6)

The school is not the only arena in which violence against girls is evident. The journey to school on public transport is also fraught with risk for girls because of their vulnerability to the attentions of touts who manage the traffic on and off the small buses that carry students to school. In Kenya, the Foundation for African Women Educationists (FAWE) observed that *matatu* drivers and touts harass young schoolgirls. In Zimbabwe where girls and boys from the former black residential areas are bused to the better-equipped former white schools, touts punish schoolgirls who reject their attentions by preventing them from boarding mini-buses. In South Africa, some township hooligans

termed ‘jackrollers’ kidnap, rape and assault schoolgirls to ‘punish’ them and stop them from attending school. Other people such as ‘sugar daddies’, cattle herders, accost young girls on their way to and from school and offer them material goods, and false promises of marriage in exchange for sex.

In rural areas, the long walks from school compromise girls’ security and safety, resulting in late enrolment and early withdrawal of girls from school. Lloyd and Mensch (2006) noted that when girls are too old for their grades, the likelihood of their completing their grades is reduced as teachers, older boys and neighborhood men turn their attentions on them. They reach puberty before they have completed their education and run the risk of being withdrawn early from school if marriage is one of the few options available and there is little other schooling accessible, available and affordable by their parents within their areas of residence.

While it is difficult to link gender violence directly to poor performance and dropout rates of girls, many of the studies cited suggest that the gender violence is implicated in the under-achievement, poor performance and attrition of girls from school in Sub-Saharan Africa. Girls who are afraid to come to school and whose classroom experiences are terrifying or intimidating may not like school or perform well therein. In addition, girls who do fall pregnant may be afraid to return to school for fear of intimidation, mockery and abuse.

Such practices, if coupled with mediocre school facilities and poor incomes in families, may influence parents to withdraw girls from school as they reach puberty in order to avoid sexual harassment, compromised marriage prospects for their daughters and early unwanted or mistimed pregnancies. Such pregnancies may represent lost investment in the eyes of the parents especially if they are not educated and expect high bride wealth through their daughters’ marriage. Such girls most likely fail to access well-paid jobs in the formal sector if they do not complete their schooling and training as nurses, teachers or secretaries and other occupations.

In colleges, sex-for marks, (Gaidzanwa: 2001) and ‘one course-one blanket’ in the some colleges in South Africa also compromise the integrity of the learning experiences for girls and lead boys to believe that girls’ achievement is not fair or deserved. Such practices are also notable in work places and they create problems of employment for girls and women in Africa and elsewhere.

Non-formal education with livelihood content

Given that a significant proportion of girls and women in Sub Saharan Africa do not attend school, and that some of the girls who do attend school do so when they are over-age for their grades, repeat or/ and are less likely to complete their schooling, non-formal education remains the most viable option if girls and women in Africa are to be educated at least up to primary school level.

Non-formal education needs to be based on active learning, which is friendlier to girls and women’s styles of learning. Given that there are fewer prospects for uneducated and illiterate women in formal wage work as well as in the informal sector, priority must be given to good quality basic education for girls and women as a means of giving them a foothold in wage and non-wage employment, to earn higher wages and to be more productive in their self-employment. Non-formal education is necessary for the present adult illiterates, for the girls who have dropped out of school and for those girls who have not been able to complete their primary and secondary schooling

because of poverty, lack of safety, distance from school and other reasons.

Existing models of non-formal education such as the Family Literacy Project of South Africa described by Desmond (2004) can be implemented to raise the literacy and business skills of parents and adolescent girl children. In this model, parents and children learn together on the basis that there is a strong link between the educational achievements of young people and their mothers' levels of education. Where both adolescent daughters and their mothers or guardians show significant interest in achieving success in specific skills, they can both succeed and support each other. Using the Reflect approach based on discussion of their environment, parents and children can develop some consensus on training and education for bettering their situations.

This model can also be adapted to provide technical and vocational education to mothers and daughters, fathers and sons and families involved in traditional and non-traditional crafts, raising the technological levels of such crafts, trades and services to make them more efficient and suited to changing consumer markets and demand. In these projects, it is possible to train operators in the use of better technologies, sound business skills, financial and other subjects to update and scale up the technological content of old crafts and industries. Bearing in mind that all enterprises are not sustainable if entrepreneurs do not have sufficient interest and training in business management, it is important to tailor the training to suit the backgrounds and existing business experiences of the trainees.

TVET may not be enough to stimulate entrepreneurship in the absence of formal jobs. Not all adolescent girls are interested in entrepreneurial work and those who are need assets, financing, marketing and sales capabilities. It is important to develop integrated packages to include credit, training, financial management, pricing and advisory support. However, most non-governmental organizations and states simply cannot manage to provide such comprehensive packages and tend to reduce the numbers of their clients to cope with the demands of such a program. The IFAD has pioneered such a program with UWESO in Uganda whereby US$3 million was loaned to 7 000 households of orphans. A 95% recovery rate was registered while helping 655 orphans to acquire artisanal skills. The most important questions pertain to the types of TVET that adolescent boys and girls need in various parts of Africa.

The gender segmentation of the labour market for adolescent girls and women in Sub Saharan Africa and the unpaid labour of girls and women in the family.

The majority of girls and women are excluded from the scientific, technical and vocational sectors by their lack of basic education. This circumscribes their work prospects and channels the majority of them into the domestic, agricultural and informal sectors where they work before and after marriage and as part of their home provisioning duties be they mothers, wives and heads of household. Boys on the other hand venture into agriculture and the informal sector with more mobility, better opportunities in accessing land and other resources for livelihoods. They are also endowed with the patriarchal dividend that gives them an ideological advantage in their pursuit of work in contrast to girls who are subordinated to men in most communities and cultures across Africa.

Unless they live and work on the streets, girls tend to work under the supervision of their mothers and other relatives, working in family enterprises. In Malawi for example, in

2 004, because of poor school attendance by both boys and girls, child labour at ages 5-14 was very common with 8% of the children working for non-relatives, 50% of the children working for no pay and 33% of the children working on family farms and businesses. Girls in Malawi and in many poor African countries, work long hours in agricultural and domestic labour where they look after their siblings, help with cooking, cleaning, fetching firewood and water and performing agricultural tasks such as weeding. This is particularly wearing for rural girls because their school attendance is lower than that of boys and the opportunity costs of sending girls to school are higher than those for boys.

70% of the poor, the majority of them women, live in rural areas and cannot access urban labour markets that are more vibrant as well as the bulk of vocational education and training. Poor road and transportation networks, lack of reliable telecommunications, fuel and social connections all collude to lock adolescent girls in the low productivity agricultural sector. Adolescent girls work a double shift at home and at school and given the poor quality of primary schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa, this eases their transition into domestic work and marriage rather than into better jobs outside the household and the agricultural sector in Africa. Lloyd and Grant (forthcoming) note that with less leisure time than boys, adolescent girls have fewer opportunities than boys to exercise their agency through discussion with others, meeting people from outside their communities and learning about alternative worlds. Early marriage closes up opportunities to exercise agency, expand their networks and choices, before the onset of motherhood and increased responsibilities for children and spouses.

Thus, there is need to recognize that girls and women are already working in Sub-Saharan Africa. What is important is to revalue, pay and improve the content and outcomes relating to the work performed by girls and women. This can be accomplished by intervention into the kinds of education that girls and women access within and outside the school situations. Models of education with production for girls and women and for poor boys have been experimented with in Botswana with the building brigades and in Zimbabwe through programs such as the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production. However, these programs have foundered because of the lack of job-specificity in the training, the poor relationship between the school training and returns to the student in terms of income and earnings and the world of work. Furthermore, these experiments did not include significant numbers of girls and women and have remained out of reach for them because of their male-centered nature and because in most African economies, while there has been economic growth, it is still not sufficient to create jobs for the adolescents, youths and adults who need well remunerated work.

For girls and women in Francophone Africa an in other parts of West Africa where the barriers to primary school education are high, there is need to experiment with other educational and production models that foster economic growth in order to lower and erode these barriers as well as to bring the schools to the girls rather than expecting the girls to go to the schools against prevailing cultural and social conditions and practices. Radio lessons, smaller classes with itinerant teachers and instructors could work better to teach girls and women at home and avail them some education that is suited to their domestic and household worlds than the current situations where they have no schooling whatsoever.

Transitions by poorly schooled and/or illiterate adolescent girls into the labour market.

The ILO (2006) reported that youth unemployment rose to 85 million globally, representing 44% of the 193 million people who were out of work in 2005. In 2001, only 10% of youth in secondary school in developing countries were involved in TVET compared to 20,6% in developed countries. Youth unemployment indicates the difficulties experienced by adolescents and young people in making the transition from school to work. The following sections detail the experiences of adolescents in the labour markets in Africa.

Illiterate girls usually perform paid and unpaid labour in their parents' or relatives' households until they get married or fall pregnant. Bazikamwe(1999) indicated that in Rwanda, there are very few formal job opportunities for uneducated girls and women. In rural areas where they are concentrated, they often organize co-operatives and other self-help activities, which run into problems and generate little profit because the girls and women are not able to organize, produce, market and re-invest their profit on sound business principles.

An ILO study of domestic service in 1999 established that lack of access to education was a push factor for girls' early entry into domestic service. The findings from Zimbabwe's Demographic and Health Survey (2005-6) confirm this fact. Thus in the absence of a compulsory school leaving age for children in 25 African countries, adolescent girls with little or no schooling can enter domestic service from a young age and run the risk of exposure to gross forms of labour, usually with poor pay and conditions of service and high risks of sexual abuse.

Where there is a mismatch between minimum age of employment and school leaving age, adolescent girls' exploitation in the labour market is high. There is room for intervention here because a well-structured curriculum in non-formal education in domestic work, childcare and basic cookery, life and work skills could enable female adolescents and youths to enter the global market in care work. This would enable the present illegal female migrants from various parts of Africa to enter better paid domestic work with valid work permits and access to continuing education, vocational training and schooling in many countries.

The transitions between school and work can be smoothed if livelihood programs, formal and non-formal job training are arranged to make them attractive and profitable to adolescent girls and young women. For many girls and women in Africa, earning own incomes is critical for confronting and loosening the patriarchal controls that limit their life options. Thus, prioritizing both learning and production that is profitable holds out the promise for improving the situations of girls and women in Africa.

The role of PPE in accessing work and the contribution of socio-cultural factors in limiting work options

Within the public sector available research from different countries indicate that women bunch in the caring professions such as teaching, nursing and secretarial and clerical work. (Bazikamwe: 1999, Shumba: 1999, Njenga: 1999). While this may lock women into the care sector, it also creates conditions for the improvement of opportunities for the children of these women. There is a strong link between secondary education, access to non-agricultural employment, lower fertility and better health and nutrition of children. Awareness for business programs, child-care programs and

campaigns against early and child motherhood can help to change parents' and girls' perceptions about work and life in general. When girls have education and training in better child-care, child mortality may be reduced, creating the conditions for reduction of children born per woman, stimulating demand for income-earning activities and investment in training and education. This in turn, places girls on a better footing for accessing better paid jobs.

In Southern Africa, the Philippines and Ghana and Nigeria, young women who were trained as nurses and teachers have penetrated the care economy in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, constituting a necessary and important source of remittances to families in their countries of origin (Gaidzanwa: 1999 and 2007.) Teaching and nursing are very attractive career options for girls because the trainees are paid stipends in many countries and they are able to use their skills after four years of secondary schooling, saving their families the costs of post-secondary education that drains family income. These women often support their families while in training, reducing the opportunity costs of educating and training them. By performing this feminized labour through the existing TVET in parts of Africa, such women have been able to use their training to access more lucrative global care markets and constitute the brain drain from Africa to the West in the teaching and health professions.

However, given the poor working conditions in schools and health institutions in Africa, the overwhelming workload due to HIV and AIDS especially in Southern Africa, this type of TVET remains attractive because it facilitates emigration from Africa, enabling women professionals to enter and work in the developed economies of the north legally.
Those girls and women who are secluded for religious and cultural reasons therefore remain relatively immobile, unable to access various types of better paid work within and outside their countries and are therefore doomed to poverty and lives of drudgery.

The challenge is not so much to curtail the movement of African professionals as many governments in Africa have decided, but to understand the choices made by these professionals. In countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa, growing numbers of males have entered the nursing profession because of the prospects for emigration through better paid care work in the developed economies.

The socio-economic value of different forms of PPE particularly for girls

Family traditions have a significant influence on vocational choice especially amongst girls and boys who have little or no schooling as well as amongst the highly educated whose parents show great ambitions for their children. The effect of schooling amongst poor people is to introduce students, particularly boys, to new occupations and professions and to broaden their view of the world, their aspirations.

Girls and boys in West Africa traditionally learn the trades and crafts of their parents through apprenticeship. This eases their entry into these trades and crafts but also passes on the same technologies with little change. Unless there is some intervention to change the technologies, usually trades and crafts change very slowly and may be overtaken by or replaced by others which use newer and more dynamic technologies.

For those students who access vocational training and education, the equal pay legislation that is in

place in countries such as Ghana, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia ensures that the wage gaps between men and women in the same occupations in the workplace are narrowed. However, feminized jobs such as clerical, service and domestic work remain the lowest paid. In addition, caring professions such as teaching and nursing are increasingly devalued and becoming less well paid globally. The current brain drain in the health sector in Africa indicates the loss of value and earnings in these jobs in Africa in particular, resulting in the emigration of health professionals to the north. (Gaidzanwa, 1999) Thus, even though social work, nursing and teaching are badly paid in Africa, nurses can earn better incomes that enable them to remit incomes to support families, sponsor emigration by their siblings and buy residential and other properties in the north. (Gaidzanwa: forthcoming)

The digital technology sector tends to be male-dominated because women venture into science and technology education and training less often than men. Mariro (1999) coordinated studies on access of girls and women to scientific, technical and vocational education in Africa and in virtually all African countries, training and vocational education in science and technology was less available to women than men because of existing attitudes towards science as a male domain, the lack of qualified science teachers to rural schools where girls are concentrated and the poor equipment of science laboratories in most schools attended by poor children. Since it is more costly to equip a school with laboratories, gadgets and books necessary for the effective teaching of science and technology subjects, many rural and poor urban school do not offer science subjects, resulting in science and technology remaining the preserve of the students from more affluent backgrounds. In this respect, girls from poor families and other students with access to poor schools end up taking softer sciences and few technology courses. This disadvantages them in accessing employment and income opportunities in the expanding digital, scientific and technology sectors in their countries and abroad.

The most dominant formal employers of young men and women are the state, parastatal enterprises and the civil society sector. In those countries with private enterprises, a small section of the schooled women who have gone beyond primary school work as clerical and secretarial workers and support staff. However, the majority of women and girls in Africa work in the informal sectors in both rural and urban areas. Thus, PPE advantages those girls in relation to poorer boys and other girls with no schooling, enabling them to enter well paid formal employment.

Given the erosion of the traditional female clerical and secretarial occupations, it is necessary to re-train and upgrade the skills of women in these occupations in IT through computers, office applications, informatics and related areas. In addition, globalization has created new opportunities for upgrading and redesigning traditional African clothes, hairstyles and fashion accessories for the global market where the profits are larger. This necessitates new design inputs, an area in which little technical education and training has focused, resulting in design being dominated by non-Africans.

Approaches and experiences of adolescent girls in accessing the labour market after leaving school

There is urban bias in the provision of publicly funded education and training in most African countries. Ntukula (1998) Waage (2006) Thorsen (2006) Einarsdottir (2 006) and Boehm (2 006) have written about the trajectory of adolescent girls' married and working lives in Tanzania,

Cameroon, Burkina Farso, Guinea-Bissau and Lesotho. These recent studies show, in various ways, the relationships between adolescent girls and the labour markets of different African countries.

Illiterate adolescent girls usually venture into micro enterprise such as selling nuts, fish, fruit and vegetables or cloth and so forth. The sector is easy entry and easy exit, high competition and low profit. It is overcrowded and the opportunities to expand out or upwards are few because of poor business acumen and skills and lack of understanding of changing local, regional and global markets. Boys enter the more lucrative parts of the informal sector such as car washing, selling of costlier merchandise such as watches, mobile phones etc. Boys' greater mobility gives them an advantage because they can move around to the more lucrative parts of cities and rural areas whereas girls are more constrained by domestic work, children and fears of physical and sexual harassment. However, both girls and boys are mobile within and outside their countries of origin as they search for better-paid jobs and more meaningful lives.

Hawking and vending activities are usually undertaken in public areas where operators require licenses, which many vendors and hawkers do not have or cannot, afford or do not qualify for. In many countries where the age of majority is 18, an adolescent girl cannot undertake business transactions, open her own bank account or enter into legally binding contracts without the assistance of a parent or guardian. Thus, hawking, vending and related activities are usually undertaken by adolescent girls on behalf of their mothers, sisters, husbands or guardians. Those girls who are orphaned, neglected or have nobody to care for them may run their own enterprises but they do so illegally and are vulnerable to seizure of their goods and merchandise and their confiscation by municipal authorities. This is the case in countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and to some extent, Zambia.

Entry into economic activities is usually facilitated by association with others already in the sector so that sisters, friends, relatives and neighbors induct each other into specific activities, help each other out, mind each other's stalls and children while working. Ntukula (1998) documented the lives of stone breakers and brick-lifters in Tanzania and found that these adolescent girls were in the construction sector because they could find no other work that was steadily and regularly paid. Their low education foreclosed most job options except manual labour.

Once adolescent girls marry, have children and households of their own, they are then allowed to trade, vend and hawk on their own account as part of their wifely and motherly responsibilities. Widowhood, orphan hood and single motherhood also propel adolescent girls into the workplace. For single adolescent mothers, once their parents renounce their responsibilities towards them for exercising unapproved fertility outside the moral boundaries of their communities, they are compelled to take whatever jobs are available and able to offer even minimal incomes. Many African countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Botswana have adopted legislation allowing teen mothers to return to school. However, unless these adolescent mothers have a mother, sister or other relative willing to care for their children while they resume schooling, they are forced to enter the labour market with few skills. Under such circumstances, adolescent mothers have few choices and have to perform whatever work they can find since they are perceived to have forfeited any rights to support from their families.

Gordon (1995) Chilisa (2002) and Chigona et al (2006) described the problems experienced by teen mothers on re-entry into school after pregnancy. Chigona et al (2006) described the problems of

teen pregnancy and cited one school where 144 girls fell pregnant in 2006. In South Africa, 30% of teenage girls have given birth at least once by the age of 18. Teenage motherhood reduces chances of post-compulsory schooling by 12% to 24% in South Africa and transmits generational poverty.

Those adolescent girls who are married can look forward to assistance from their husbands and may be able to give up work when pregnant, ill or unhappy with the proceeds from their occupations. However, when spouses are also very poor, then there are fewer options except to work at available jobs and occupations. It is expected that when there are no paid jobs, girls and women will occupy themselves with unpaid work, which contributes to the well being of their households.

According to Development Outreach (2007) in Jamaica, the Women's Center of Jamaica Foundation introduced a vocational training program in day care whose curriculum included avoidance of early pregnancy and the consequences of early pregnancy for adolescent girls. This program was successful in that it had intergenerational impact. The graduates' daughters avoided teenage pregnancies. Such programs would be useful for countries such as Botswana and South Africa where teenage pregnancies curtail girls' educational achievement and employment prospects.

Health, culture and traditions, poverty and safety and security factors in accessing gainful employment

In Africa, as economies grow too slowly to provide decent jobs, there has been an erosion of cultural and other factors that facilitated the control of parents over daughters especially adolescents. Poverty forces families to send their children to more affluent relatives within and across countries. Thorsen (2006) documented cases of child migrants in Burkina Farso while Einarsdottir (2006) documented cases of fosterage and relocation in children in Burkina Farso. Conflicts such as those in Uganda, Angola, Mozambique and Sierra Leone have also resulted in the death of parents and the increase in the numbers of refugee children and children living on the streets without carers or viable work or careers. For example, in South Africa, one of the societies with high rates of violence, the struggle against *apartheid* resulted in the loss of parental power over children as children constituted the front-line actors against state agents. In Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan, children, particularly boys became child soldiers and participated in atrocities against civilians, eroding and evading parental control as they constituted armies of different kinds. (Abdullah: 2005) In such situations, adolescent girls were vulnerable to rape and assault and some joined or were press-ganged into various armies as soldiers and as sex providers, cooks and cleaners for the fighting forces.

These experiences loosened social controls over girls and boys and created the context for the acceptance of the participation of children in new types of social activities. This is borne out in Utas's account of girls in Liberia cited in Honwana and Boeck (2005). This and other accounts document the agency of children and young people throughout post-colonial Africa. The accounts focus mainly on male youth such as child soldiers in Angola, Mozambique, Liberia and Sierra Leone, street youths in Dakar, Addis Ababa and Kinshasa, youths in Botswana and children in South Africa and young people and women in Cameroon.

What is common in these accounts is the extent to which children take the initiative and occupy public spaces ad craft lives free of or in collaboration with adults but outside the traditional structures that adults favor. It is therefore very clear that the processes of controlling children and

young people are losing their strength and force under the onslaught of globalization, labour mobility, aspirations to consume beyond the limits placed by traditional authorities and cultures. While policy makers prefer to conceptualize children out of adult control as in need of rehabilitation, charity or similar interventions, it is clear that increasingly, children are exercising choices to leave what they consider to be incompetent, abusive and neglectful parents. In other cases, children orphaned by AIDS also assume control for themselves when state and family systems and institutions of care fail them. By 2007, it is estimated that 40 million children will be orphaned. (World Development Report: 2007) Such adolescents have to enter the labour market and assume responsibility for themselves prematurely. In the absence of meaningful TVET, they are forced into the informal sector where work is hard, productivity is low and returns are meager.

Lloyd and Mensch (2006) note that in Francophone Africa, early marriage and childbearing result in early school exit during adolescence and early entry into the labour market, as girls become mothers with responsibility for provisioning their households. Early marriages are also entered into as alternatives to wage work and the risks that it poses for early pregnancy without marriage, poor earnings as a result of poor education and training. For women, parents may be concerned about respectability in their communities and fear of having daughters who live non-traditional lives, earn very low incomes and raise children as single mothers. Schooling may be perceived as dangerous in that respect because it enables daughters to discover and themselves along the lines of non-religious and uncultured 'others'.

In the orthodox Moslem areas of the African continent, boys and men's mobility is easier and more socially approved than girls' and women's mobility. In West Africa, women's mobility may also be limited for religious reasons, resulting in girls' involvement in home-based activities rather than in wage work outside the home. These gendered patterns of mobility result in the higher migration of boys and men within and outside West Africa while girls and women are largely confined to their neighborhoods. Thus, in countries such as Senegal, Mali and Chad, boys and men migrate to Spain, Italy and beyond in mainly in boats and in some instances, by air to take up unskilled wage labour in Europe. In addition, religious and customary prohibitions against alcohol, cigarettes, condoms, contraceptive pills and other devices and substances may result in girls being forbidden to work in professions and occupations associated with advertising, promoting or encouraging the use of alcoholic and contraceptive devices and substances.

The AIDS pandemic also impacts negatively on adolescent girls whose schooling is often affected negatively by care for sick parents, siblings and other relatives. Adolescent girls' schooling may be sacrificed when there is frequent illness. In Southern Africa, a significant proportion of adolescent girls head households, provide for their siblings but have to leave or postpone their schooling to accomplish these care responsibilities. This curtails their education and dooms them to manual or lowly skilled work.

Illness of adolescent girls is also a concern for those girls and boys infected with HIV from birth. They often fall sick in their middle teens and are not able to complete their education on the same terms as their colleagues. If the adolescent girls get infected with HIV and/or other STI's, they most likely fall sick in their twenties, curtailing their working lives and running the risk of losing their jobs through frequent illness if not treated.

Sex work: An emerging market for African adolescent girls.

The last fifteen years of the twentieth century were the years of structural adjustment programs in Africa. During these years, many African countries rolled back state involvement in public services, liberalized their labour, capital and other markets, lowered tariffs and opened up their economies to foreign competition, often with little or no control over the phasing and sequencing of these measures. These measures resulted in deeper and wider poverty amongst the poorest while wealth shifts enriched the already rich in most African countries. Instability, 'IMF riots' and secessionist movements arose in many parts of Africa as minorities and the distressed revolted. Job losses occurred as local industries lost out to foreign competition.

Increasingly, desperate girls with few paid employment prospects are turning to prostitution, illegal emigration, drug couriering and other criminal activities in Africa. While sex work has always been available to women, girls' participation in it has grown as the global sex industry has become more organized. In 1999, the UN estimated that 4 million women and children were victims of international trafficking annually. These numbers have most likely increased since then. Their destitute families sell victims, especially young girls, into sex work. Fraudulent employment brokers who promise them legitimate employment dupe others into sexual slavery. The sex industry was thought to generate US$ 7 billion annually, involving 54 African nations and 300 000 girls and women annually, accounting for 31,4% of the world's sex business.

Since African girls perform domestic work, they are particularly vulnerable to promises of domestic work and sweatshop labour abroad. When recruited in this way, they usually end up performing sex work. The traffic in humans flows from the poorer regions of the world to the more affluent ones and within and between neighboring countries, flows of girls from rural to urban areas constitute a significant aspect of this traffic. Studies in Zambia by Kiremire: 2002, Martens et al 2003, indicate that prostitution and trafficking of girls had increased dramatically. In Kiremire's study, 89% of the 1000 respondents were in full time sex work and 10% were part-time. 36,5% of the respondents had been trafficked. 49% were between 11 and 18 and 47% were older, showing the large proportion of adolescents involved in sex work in Zambia by 2 003. Their educational status was so low that it did not allow them access to sustainable employment. 24,3% had education below Grade 7, 42,3% were below grades 8 and 9. A significant 49,7% had dropped out of school due to lack of funds for schooling 42% of the school dropouts left school during the 1990-2000, the SAP decade in Zambia and other parts of Africa.

Adolescent and older women were trafficked within Africa from countries such as Malawi, Congo, Tanzania, Namibia, Nigeria, Mali, Zimbabwe, Egypt, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and Central African Republic. Those trafficked out are sent to Thailand, Greece, the USA, Ireland, Finland, Belgium, Australia, The Netherlands, Denmark, France, Italy, Sweden the United Kingdom, Israel, Russia and Germany. Trafficking often involves sex work, false adoption, temporary marriages to development workers, truck drivers, business people, travel and touring companies and entrepreneurs, border personnel and pedophiles as facilitators. Trafficking of adolescent girls globally accounts for 30% of total traffic while adolescent boys constitute only 2% of the traffic. Many adolescent girls are lured into sex work through offers of education or service jobs abroad. Adolescent girls in conflict zones and war-torn countries are particularly vulnerable to trafficking. Young men pay transporters to land them by road and by boat into various European and North African destinations. In this type of illegal emigration, adolescent girls do not feature significantly.

Trafficking takes place by road (84% in the study by Kiremire.) and the girls and women may then be flown to other destinations abroad. Entry into the sex work is often through known persons and young girls are preferred especially in Southern Africa where the myth of the 'virgin cure' for Aids is still current and adolescent girls are considered to be sexually inexperienced, less likely to be infected with HIV. Given the general preference by men for young women and girls as sex partners and the general poverty in most of Africa, the entrants into sex work are getting younger over time. As one 18-year-old respondent in Kiremire's study noted regarding her 13 year old sister whom she had inducted into sex work,

> *"The men prefer the baby: she is a gold mine."*

Thus, the vulnerability of adolescent African to global trafficking cannot be underestimated given the poverty of girls' families and the problems they face in securing well paid employment in their countries of origin. Einarsdottir (2006) described the relocation of children through fosterage in Guinea Bissau and in West Africa, among Mende people, the fostering of girls by relatives results in the migration of children between families and sometimes, across borders. Such girls are vulnerable to trafficking since people known to the victims usually facilitate trafficking. With promises of jobs as domestic workers, restaurant workers, models, child minders and entertainment workers, the traffic in adolescent girls can only grow.

However, not all African adolescents in sex work are trafficked. There is significant migration by young women in parts of Nigeria to Italy where young women in sex work remit incomes, build houses for their parents, open boutiques and shops in their home towns and become admired businesswomen. Such obvious benefits from the global sex trade have an impact on adolescent girls in these communities and make sex work the most attractive and best paid work for women especially those with little or no education.
Given the threat of HIV and AIDS in Central and Southern Africa in particular, African girls and women run the risk of infection as they seek and secure work in the sex industry. In Nairobi for example, 85% of the women in sex work tested positive for HIV in the nineteen nineties. The boom in the global sex industry will obviously generate growth in the numbers of adolescent girls entering the global sex industry. Given the illegality of the employment and the violation of immigration, labour and other laws, it is difficult to establish the exact numbers of adolescent African girls in sex work within and outside Africa. However, the transition from school to sex work is most likely occurring sooner than ever before as shown by Kiremire's study. Thus keeping girls in school may be one of the easier ways of preventing their exposure and risk of trafficking since traffickers usually approach children and youths who are available and accessible for work. Meaningful TVET may also re-channel them into other types of paid work and prevent migration for sex work locally and abroad.

In policy terms, there is need to confront the threats and come to terms with the global sex trade and its impacts on African girls and women. Given that sex work pays more and sometimes, up to1 000% more than wage work within and outside Africa, it will attract growing numbers of African girls and women. Policy makers, the bulk of them men, are notoriously ashamed, embarrassed or short sighted about the issue of sex work. They feel that this work indicts them for their failure to develop policies that are conducive to the provision of opportunities for decent work for African girls and women. Policy makers, at best, may focus on awareness raising about trafficking of

children and focus on preventing or reducing such traffic despite the evidence of some children migrating voluntarily especially in West Africa, to earn better incomes.

However, as indicated above, the growth of the global sex industry needs to be acknowledged, understood, and confronted either by developing alternative training and employment which is at least as attractive and as well paid as sex work and/or confronting the questions of entry of African women into the global sex industry on more advantageous terms than is currently the case. Whichever alternative is chosen, has to be better than the current situation where African girls and women enter the sex trade as disadvantaged sellers of sexual services on the global sex market.

The role of professional organizations in school to work transitions of girls

There are hundreds of welfare organizations that are involved in short training courses for girls who need to make transitions into wage work. Where there is labour legislation proscribing child labour, training and education for work is usually given to girls over the age of 15. This leaves younger girls with fewer options, making them vulnerable to exploitation as poorly paid and untrained domestic workers, child minders and agricultural workers.

Usually, professional organizations organize and manage apprenticeships and these mainly for males in boiler making, motor mechanics, fitting and turning, accounting and similar male-dominated occupations and professions. For girls venturing into the feminized occupations such as secretarial and clerical work, they tend to offer very short internships for skill acquisition or courses on a one-off basis, leaving trainees with little progression and opportunities for skills acquisition once they start operating in the informal sector or as factory, domestic and service workers.

While in Europe, the USA and Australia, professional organizations take a strong stance on schoolwork programs, the poor growth and jobless growth in many African economies reduces opportunities for professional organizations to play this role. Professional organizations focus on girls and women and boys and men who are already literate, leaving the poorly literate and illiterates to the state. Where the state fails to develop and provide basic literacy and numeracy, the girls and boys who are outside the school system are excluded from any non-traditional professional training and skills building that is premised on literacy and numeracy.

The roles of schooling and training in mitigating the gender segmentation of the African labour market

Schooling and training definitely mitigate the worst effects of gender segmentation in African labour markets. In the 2005-2006 Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey, it was established that employment increased with education and training with men and women with more than a secondary school education comprising the highest percentage of those currently employed. (76% for women and 83% for men.) While adolescent women were least likely to be employed than the older age groups, this may partly be due to their attendance of school or their dependence on parents especially in rural areas where girls do not leave their parents' households until they are married.

The occupations of women in Zimbabwe are structured by their gender roles with 34% of employed women and men in agriculture, 22% of men in skilled manual labour as opposed to 8,6% of women and 31% of all employed women in sales and services. Significantly, adolescent girls are

concentrated in agriculture, domestic service and sales and services respectively, indicating that those girls, who drop out of school after primary level education or are not in school, usually work on family farms, as domestic workers and as hawkers and vendors in rural and urban areas. This is a typical pattern in many countries where agriculture comprises the backbone of the economy.

Those girls who proceed with training after secondary schooling comprise the 57% of women in professional, technical and managerial grades. For men, 53% of those with more than a secondary school education are in the professional, technical and managerial grades. Agriculture is the residual sector for those men and women with little or no education (66% of uneducated women and 57% of uneducated men) where they work as seasonal employees and are likely to be unpaid family labour. (55% of women those women in agricultural work.)

The statistics above link better status work with vocational education and training enabling women to enter managerial and technical grades especially in the civil service.

Implications for Policy Development

Get the economic fundamentals right to finance UPE and TVET

High economic growth is necessary for the development and encouragement of universal primary and secondary school education. Countries such as Botswana and South Africa, with UPE and high enrolment in secondary schooling have been able to overcome barriers to schooling especially for girls because of their sustained economic growth.

Improve access to good quality schooling for both boys and girls

Ensuring access, enrolment, retention and performance of girls in primary school is key to increasing their access to PPE. Most PPE is premised on possession of at least a primary school education or its equivalent. The applicant pool of qualified women at primary school level must be enlarged if PPE is to have an impact on women's lives in Sub Saharan Africa especially in those countries predominantly in West Africa where there is poor primary school enrolment of girls. For this to happen, the opportunity, direct and indirect costs of educating girls must be lowered. Thus, supplying water sources, cheap fuel and agricultural and household technology that can be used by women will enable families to release girls to attend and complete primary schooling. Safe schools for girls will also motivate parents to allow girls to attend both primary and PPE institutions without fear of rape, physical and sexual harassment, unwanted teenage pregnancies.

In the Middle East, the education of girls and women has been achieved through separate schools for girls, ensuring that girls access basic education although in some cases, it may lack technical and scientific content and be feminized and traditional. The oil revenues of the Middle East have enabled pursuit of this option, costly through it is because it duplicates infrastructure already in existence for boys' education. This option allows traditional and religious taboos against girls and boys' contact while allowing girls to access basic education. However, other countries such as South Africa, Tunisia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Algeria have been able to achieve high rates of schooling for girls through sustained economic growth, which generates incomes necessary for financing UPE. It is also notable that Nigeria, with oil revenues, has failed to achieve UPE because of weak political commitment to policies that could foster economic growth and human

development.

The example of USAID's Guatemala Basic Education Strengthening Project (1989-1997) which was girl-friendly, may be useful for those countries with high barriers to girls' education. In Guatemala, the Nueva Escuela Unitaria program of one-room multi-grade classrooms built 200 schools that used collaborative learning peer teaching and self-instructional guides to address girls' and boys' learning styles. The active learning methods allowing children to learn alone or in small groups of peers of their own age ranges relaxed girls and enabled them to learn actively. Gender-neutral materials, girl-positive teachers and bilingual education were a feature of the schools. The program was preceded by the mobilization of national leaders, gender training for teachers community members and education officials, development of gender-sensitive instructional materials and curriculum guides, self-instructional guides to help girls who had missed out on school, flexible school calendar to accommodate girls' domestic responsibilities. Three incentive packages comprising scholarships, community outreach and motivational classroom materials were tried. The benefits of the Guatemala program were as follows:

- Classrooms without bias encouraged participation of all students, creating more dynamic classrooms.
- Gender sensitive materials and training benefited all students and showed realistic role models.
- Boys had better attendance than boys in control group schools.
- Scholarships paid as monthly stipends to parents benefited boys as much as their sisters.
- Classroom quality comprising teaching quality, methodology and materials used improved achievement, enrolment and retention for both boys and girls. .

This model could be adapted, with state, private and/or donor financing, to enroll girls only especially in poor countries favoring strict separation of boys and girls, allowing girls to learn with other girls and boys with other boys. In USAID's experience, none of the projects with girls' education components ever disadvantaged boys. Instead, when resources are invested in girls' education, resources for boys increase too. In the case of Malawi, a program that waived school fees for girls resulted in a strike by male students in one village and parents refused to pay their sons' fees. The Malawi government then abolished fees for all students. Boys' enrolment increased even more than girls' enrolment did. The same happened in Guinea when the government targeted girls in education reform. This may be due to the fact that boys in rural areas in poor countries or are ethnic minorities also face the same barriers to education as girls and these barriers may include lack of parental support, distant schools and poor quality educational facilities.

Therefore, economic growth and /or the presence of economic resources as in Nigeria may be necessary but not sufficient for the achievement of UPE and subsequently, education and TVET that benefits the poor, girls and women. Economic growth erodes the barriers to women's education in many countries by stimulating demand for skilled labour and broadening the horizons of policy-makers, parents, students, NGOs and the private sector. Political commitment and understanding of the role of education in development is critical because even governments and states with few resources and lots of imagination and political commitment can generate goodwill, forge alliances and build partnerships to finance UPE and TVET as happened in Cuba.

Increase the benefits accruing to girls and women who are educated

Increase the benefits accruing to girls and women who have attended school can be accomplished through equal pay for equal work, decent working conditions and equal treatment in promotion in the workplace. However, there are too few girls and women going through primary school especially in West Africa, eroding the basis for expanding existing and new types of TVET for girls and women.

Develop and provide non-formal education for girls and poor boys and women in areas where barriers to girls' and poor boys' education are high.

Develop non-formal, home or community-based education for girls with their mothers so as to give poor parents options and alternatives to existing primary education that is school-based. Radio lessons and other distance methods can be used in communities and all girls can then be expected to undergo primary school or its non-formal equivalent before entering employment. This option may be acceptable to poorer Africans with high religious and cultural barriers to girls' education. This education must have equivalence with formal schooling allowing girls and women to make the transition to the formal system and enabling them to access similarly diversified TVET. The content of this education must be tailored to suit the environment of the girls and women depending on their interests, skills and abilities as described in the Guatemala program above. In Mali, the USAID supported the "Village schools" of the Basic Education Expansion Program targeted girls by adapting the school calendar and schedule to conform to local agricultural seasons. The curriculum was designed to make it relevant to rural life and customs and local languages were used for instruction. Schools required equal attendance of girls and boys and management committees comprising the community members were established to oversee school construction, management and teacher payment. The result of this initiative was that boys in village school performed better on language tests than boys in government schools and boys in village schools had lower dropout rates than boys in government schools. Community involvement in village schools boosted the civic capacities of parents and school committees, enabling them to appreciate and support all children's education. In these schools, school committees built their capacities through training, eroding barriers to children's education, improving school and curriculum quality, infrastructure such as water, sanitation and learners' motivation. If this model is adapted for girls only or boys only, itinerant teachers and instructors with the support of the communities, can service clusters of students. Thus, boys only or girls can use one school building or room at different times of the day or season, enabling all children to have access to the school and education. There is also need to synchronize the age of employment with the school leaving age to prevent early entry of adolescent girls into trade, domestic work and other employment that might compromise their education, health and safety.

Return pregnant girls to school and avail them access to TVET that is meaningful

In middle income countries such as SA and Botswana and other low income countries such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Kenya and Malawi where teenage pregnancies can erode the numbers of girls at the junior secondary school level, programs for teenage mothers' vocational training are necessary to ease their entry into work and avoid the loss of investment already made in their education. They need support to complete their schooling and training, people to look after their children while they are studying and training. The programs can involve parents and relatives of girls to support them and increase the chances of completion of training without further pregnancies. This will go some way towards curbing generational teen motherhood by married and single girls.

The Joven program of Chile is a possible model, which incorporates livelihood content, formal job training, education and awareness about the implications of young motherhood, gender training and traineeships for women. It is critical to develop a variety of content for different types of adolescents so that those who are interested in paid work are trained differently from those interested in self-employment. In such programs, it is necessary to partner with the private sector and the state sector to ensure that the training is relevant and acceptable to them and generates levels of income and skill building that is acceptable to all parties. Intermediation and liaison is necessary for this training to yield meaningful results. Poor quality training may prove costly and not yield desirable outcomes for employers and employees.

Strengthen science and technology training for girls and women

Strengthening the science and technology education and training of girls and women at post-primary school level is critical so that they can retain traditionally female jobs in the digital marketplace. Girls with more education beyond primary school level have a better chance of accessing jobs and avoiding infection with HIV and having healthier children. They can access private and public secretarial, clerical and commercial training, which allows them access to both the public and private sector as clerical and secretarial work. Through this route and with more training through distance and other forms of learning, they can access junior supervisory and lower level management jobs especially in the public and private sectors.

Provide diverse forms of TVET and schooling to cater for adolescents of different backgrounds, interests and capabilities

Varied types of formal and non-formal TVET geared for rural, urban, poor, affluent and culturally diverse adolescents, is necessary. Devise comprehensive non-formal, after-school VET programs for adolescent girls especially those who head households to enable them to support their siblings and dependents. These programs have to be relevant, simple, active and focused on developing diverse capacities and skills including life skills and vocational education for adolescents who want to commercially successful farmers, traders, artisans and professionals in employment or self-employment. This education must be of good quality, linked directly to other forms of schooling and education, with comparability and equivalence and subject to quality assurance by stakeholders.

Raise awareness of the possibilities of trafficking for sex and other work within and outside Africa

Incorporate awareness of trafficking issues in school and college curricular so that adolescents in Africa understand the risks of entering the global labour markets through clandestine means. TVET needs to be improved, varied, of good quality if adolescents are to eschew illegal emigration from Africa. BUT the proceeds from sex and other manual and semi-skilled work remain high especially in countries with weak currencies, poor economic growth and few jobs.

Develop diverse partnerships to finance, supervise and institutionalize TVET in Africa.

Public/private partnerships must be developed to mount large-scale non-formal job training for female and poor primary school graduates in a variety of jobs in service, technological and vocational areas. Many girls head households and have financial responsibilities, which they can best discharge with proper financial and business training. Such education and training could incorporate girls' and poor adolescents' saving schemes, financial literacy, and livelihood and life and job skills programs, specific entrepreneurial schemes, job search and placement suited for individual and local circumstances. In Morocco, a bank finances improvements to girls' education and in Guatemala, three private sector foundations support large girls' education projects.

Build up reliable data bases on adolescents and other labour, disaggregated by age, class, sector and gender are necessary for policy development and training.

Build up a reliable and accurate data bases on all segments of labour forces in Africa in the areas of unemployment, wages, unpaid work, informal employment, time use etc. so far only seven SSA countries have such data and the rest use guesstimates.

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