



## **IEQ/Malawi:**

**A Partnership between Malawi Institute of Education and Save the Children Federation USA/Malawi Field Office**

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# **FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT**

**On the**

**MALAWI/IEQ II PROJECT  
ACTIVITIES:  
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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Malawi is a landlocked country in East and Central Africa with a population of about 10 million people and a growth rate of 1.9% per annum. Over 84% of the population live in the rural area.

Like other countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa, Malawi recognizes the importance of “Basic Education” since it is seen as major catalyst for development, cultural identity and national cohesion. Primary education has been the main means of providing basic education, particularly the **skills of literacy, numeracy and life skills** that are necessary for productive life and integration into one’s own community.

Education in Malawi has seen rapid development in the past decade. At the primary school level, Malawi has experienced a number of education reforms, such as revision of the Primary School Curriculum, the school language policy and the declaration of primary education free for all Malawian children following the first multiparty presidential elections in 1994. The introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in the 1994-95 Academic year saw primary school enrolment rise from 1.9 to 3.2 million pupils overnight. This tremendous increase in enrolment resulted in shortages of classrooms, teachers, and learning materials. In addition, the overcrowding posed serious problems for teaching and pupil assessment. To ease the problem of teacher shortages, large numbers of untrained teachers were recruited. It is on this understanding that the Malawi government in collaboration with donor agencies such as USAID decided to embark on formidable challenges of improving the quality of education in the country while meeting the tremendous demand.

The 1990 International Conference on “*Education for All* ” and the democratic atmosphere generated by the introduction of a multi-party state in Malawi in 1994, created the right conditions for the introduction of (FPE). Despite minimal improvements in primary school facilities, pupil enrolment increased from 1.9 to 3.2 million pupils. In addition, on “equity”, the removal of economic barriers and the concerted social mobilization campaign contributed to increased participation of girls and the rural-and-urban poor dichotomy in FPE.

The dramatic increase in pupil enrolment had an “adverse” impact on **the quality of education**. A *piecemeal approach to quality improvement* such as one short training session, limited teacher support, limited supply of textbooks and other teaching/learning materials, and irregular financial support to schools makes it difficult to bring about desired improvement.

### 1.2 Quality Education

**Quality**, in as much as learning is concerned, involves the achievement of relevant *knowledge, skills and attitudes for life*. The goal of educators is to produce quality **curriculum** and **materials** that should assist children to acquire basic learning and competencies that can improve their quality of life in the years to come.

In Malawi, and indeed in the Sub-Saharan Africa, less than one out of four (4) children completes primary school, and among the minority who do finish, a large proportion has not mastered the basic learning skills of reading, writing, and mathematics needed to access opportunities for further learning. This is why USAID’s Africa Bureau, Office of Sustainable Development (AFR/SD), with technical support provided through the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project, develops and promotes *education reform strategies, approaches, and methods* that aim to strengthen specific USAID-supported national education reform efforts. For example, the African Bureau is now supporting “**basic education**” in about ten (10) countries including Malawi as well as through regional associations and networks.

One of the five key areas the African Bureau's project works with IEQ is to support, disseminate, implement, and further develop Basic Education initiatives by carrying out *analytical* and *research* activities.

In spite of the recognition of the central importance of basic education for sustainable development, progress in Africa and indeed Malawi has been slow. It is increasingly recognized that efforts to expand **ACCESS** to primary school is not sufficient. Without at least four (4) years of quality primary education children do not acquire "*literacy*", *skills and understanding* that open further opportunity for learning. The evidence from sub-Saharan Africa (AFR/SD/HRD/ED-Basic Education, 1999) is that:

- A large proportion of children, particularly girls, and those in countries emerging from conflict and disorder, do not even have access to school;
- The repetition and dropout rates from the first few standards of primary school in many countries including our own Malawi continues to be high. As many as half (50%) of the children who enter standard 1 do not complete the primary cycle;
- In those countries like Malawi where national assessments of learning have been carried out, the evidence suggests that a high proportion of children are not acquiring *functional literacy, numeracy, and basic skills* by the end of their primary schooling.

## 2.0 THE IMPROVING EDUCATION QUALITY II MALAWI PROJECT

### 2.1 Memorandum of Understanding

In February, 1999 a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between the Malawi Institute of Education and the American Institutes for Research (AIR) based in Washington, D.C. The purpose of the MOU was to form an association between the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE) and the American Institutes for Research (AIR) so as to implement an educational research programme under the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project. This programme supported Malawi's Girls Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education (GABLE).

The Government of Malawi (GOM) embarked upon a long-term effort to rehabilitate primary education. The GABLE objective was to increase access to primary education for girls and to improve school quality and efficiency. During the first years of GABLE, the GOM increased allocations of the total GOM budget to the education sector and primary education sub-sector; implemented measures that contribute to increased access and persistence of girls in primary education; launched the Social Mobilization Campaign; and revised the primary school curriculum so that it was more gender-sensitive. The GABLE Programme Grant Agreement was amended in September 1994 to provide additional funds in grant assistance to support the GOM in addressing challenges to provide quality primary education to Malawi's children. Issues linked to "**quality**" persisted, particularly as the **FPE** was being implemented nationwide.

The IEQ II Project of which its five-year cycle ended on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 2001 through funding by USAID and implemented through a consortium led by AIR; forms partnerships in countries that are implementing educational reforms that seek to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Research teams conduct guided inquiry at the classroom and school level, seeking to better understand the dynamics and effects of the efforts to improve education systems. The findings are presented in form and content appropriate to potential users such as: *teachers, headteachers, community leaders, regional and national decision-makers*. Policymakers and practitioners receive support from IEQ to identify ways to use findings to improve the quality of education at all levels of an educational system. The IEQ approach:

- Generates knowledge about the reality of reform in schools and classrooms;
- Uses knowledge to inform policy dialogue and improve local practice;
- Strengthens in-country capacity through professional partnerships to design and implement research projects and studies.

The IEQ II Project has worked with education policymakers and local research teams in countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Ghana, Uganda and four ENI countries (Bulgaria, Ukraine, Romania and Kazhaestan). The research activity in each country reflects the above approach, but within the framework and priorities of each country's reform effort.

## **2.2 Partnership between MIE and Save the Children/US**

The Malawi/IEQ II Project and MIE have worked in partnership with Save the Children (SC/US) through QUEST (Quality Education through Supporting Teaching). They developed research capacity within the Malawian educational community to both inform efforts to improve education and reporting the impact of the primary education reform programme. MIE has served as the central Malawian institution for IEQ activities. The programme was implemented in two phases.

While the educational research community in Malawi resides in several institutions (e.g. the Centre for Educational Research and Training (CERT), MIE had been the central Malawian institution for the research activities. Others were invited from time to time to participate so as to expand opportunities to strengthen educational research capacity in Malawi. The association between AIR, MIE and Save the Children therefore facilitated the following:

- Planning and designing of a long-term research strategy to inform policy and practice in primary school education;
- Strengthening the methodological capacity of the Malawian research community;
- Facilitating professional linkages between the Malawian researchers and the international educational research and development community;
- Creating opportunities for dialogue and partnerships among Malawian policy makers and practitioners;
- Developing a mechanism for disseminating and practically applying research findings within the Malawian educational system.

### **2.2.1 Specific research objectives of the Malawi IEQ Project were as follows:**

- Illuminate the progress and accomplishments of the QUEST programme;
- Respond to the information needs expressed by key stakeholders in primary education;
- Provide formative information that can feed into the implementation of QUEST interventions and inform policy reforms in primary education;
- Provide information on the impact of educational reforms and other efforts to improve educational quality as desirable;
- Contribute to baseline data on the primary education systems in Malawi.

## **2.3 Launching the Research Agenda**

Concrete discussions to launch a partnership among MIE, SC/US and AIR took place immediately prior to the startup of QUEST and the opening of the 1999 primary school calendar. The need to collect baseline data within the first month of the new school year required a schedule for launching Phase I that built upon the existing plans of SC/US and an expanded research agenda as agreed by SC/US and AIR. Phase I began with the MOU outlined above and was concluded by July 1999. This was the conclusion of the first data collection cycle. The MOU was then amended to implement continuing phases of the IEQ project. Phase I consisted of two types of activities: research and long-range planning:

- i. undertake preparations for locating and opening an IEQ/Malawi office to launch Phase II no later than June 1999.
- ii. Participate in all Phase I key tasks.
- iii. Form a Steering Committee (e.g. MIE, SC/US, CERT, AIR) to produce a long-term research plan.\*
- iv. Represent the project in a variety of information-sharing mechanisms.

## **2.4 Goals**

The overall goal of the Malawi/IEQ II Project was to direct its efforts in assisting the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology promote quality primary education through several inter-related activities over its three-year project life. The activities included, among other things, the following:

- School data collection and structuring on-going dialogue about educational quality;
- Conducting targeted classroom research;
- Assessing pupil knowledge by developing and administering curriculum-based assessments in “literacy and numeracy”.
- Holding seminars/retreats for disseminating research findings that can guide policy and action.

## **2.5 Establishment of Malawi/IEQ II Offices**

The Malawi/IEQ II Project established offices at MIE, Domasi. The centre has been acting as a focal point for collaborating linkages and networking among key stakeholders in Malawi education.

## **3.0 HIGHLIGHTS, ACHIEVEMENTS, ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF IEQ PROJECT: February, 1999 – September, 2001**

### **3.1 Longitudinal Study (Sample and Methodology)**

Baseline data were collected in February 1999 from a sample of 65 primary schools drawn from Mangochi and Balaka districts within the southern region of the country. These schools were selected using a random sampling method after stratifying on school and class size. The subjects involved in this study included headteachers, class teachers, pupils, school committees and members of the community. Classes involved in the survey were standards 2, 3 and 4. A total of 32 pupils (half boys and half girls) were involved from each of the selected schools. These pupils were selected as follows: 16 pupils from standard 2 and 8 each from standards 3 and 4. Further, one class teacher from each of the three classes was involved in the survey.

Data were collected through interviews, observations, and the administration of tests. The tests were curriculum-based and were administered to pupils and class teachers only. Information collected included pupils’, teachers’, and headteachers’ background and general class data, e.g. availability of books and other facilities in the schools.

### **3.2 Dissemination of Survey Findings: National, District and Community/ Cluster Level**

The research findings were disseminated to policy makers, stakeholders and implementers at national, district community/cluster levels respectively. Policy makers from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology headquarters, divisions and the District Education Officers for Mangochi, Balaka and Blantyre attended the national level seminar. Issues affecting policy makers were discussed. At the district level, all SC district partners from Mangochi attended the seminar. The participants discussed the findings and drew an action plan for disseminating the same findings to the PTA members, school committees, local leaders and teachers at cluster level. Cluster seminars in Mangochi District included 2,496 participants. Participants to the cluster seminars discussed the findings and made suggestions to how things could be improved.

**Some issues learnt were:**

#### **Missing Pupils**

- About 25 percent of the pupils who attended the baseline were not there during the follow-up.

#### **Teacher Movement**

- About 48 percent of the teachers seen during the baseline were not there in the follow-up.

### **Teacher Qualification**

- About 60 percent of teachers were unqualified.

### **Pupil home language versus teacher home language**

- The target districts are dominantly Yao speaking where 65 percent of the pupils seen speak Yao as opposed to 67 percent of the teachers seen who said they cannot speak Yao.

### **Enrolment versus attendance**

- Absenteeism for pupils was seen to be high as evidenced from the average attendance. Mean enrolment was 82 against a mean attendance of 62 pupils per day.

### **Pupils doing home chores**

- Girls do a lot of work more than the boys both before going to school and after school. The difference is more significant after school with 97% for girls against 73% for boys, i.e. only 3% of the girls do not do some household chores after school as opposed to 27% for boys.

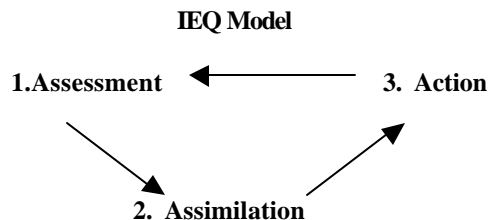
### **3.3 Workshops, Conferences and Seminars**

IEQ/Malawi Project has shared its findings with both educators and policy makers during National Seminars and workshops, district and zonal (local) levels. Save the Children Federation (SCF), a partner in the project, has used the findings in its QUEST Project for interventions.

Promoting dialogue has been successful in Malawi where the cycle of research, feedback, and action has been an integral part of IEQ/Malawi. The multi-directional communication between the IEQ Research Core Team members and educators (e.g., class teachers, headteachers, Primary Education Advisors and College Tutors) has enabled the dialogue to evolve into a process of mutual sharing of information, reflection and learning.

As mentioned earlier on, during the past three years, IEQ/Malawi project has conducted Longitudinal Study comprising 2000 pupils of standards 2, 3 and 4 drawn from sixty-nine (69) primary schools in two districts of Southern Malawi. The research team members have collected data on pupils' achievement in English, Maths and Chichewa as well as on the learning environment of pupils in the sampled schools. In particular, researchers assessed what pupils can and cannot do in the three (3) subjects. Researchers also tried to find out the extent of pupils' exposure to written materials; how materials are used to enhance learning; and other factors which influence learning.

By illuminating specific areas of strength and weakness, opportunities for improvement of the learning environment are identified. Through dialogue, class teachers, headteachers, and members of the school communities have discussed and developed together interventions which are being implemented (action) in the schools. The cycle continues as IEQ researchers collect more data during follow-up surveys. The new data therefore serves as a catalyst for further discussions, learning, and adjusted or new interventions as Fig. 1 illustrates this cyclical process.



Finally, IEQ generates improvement through dialogue and reflection on research findings. Research interviews and assessment help IEQ to understand the unique dynamics in each school and to use this information in refining the interventions and providing support. It is also envisaged that policy makers will base their decisions and plans on sound research carried out by researchers with local and national roots.

### **3.3.1 National Seminars**

Since the inception of IEQ Project in Malawi, two national seminars have been organized to disseminate the findings and share information with stakeholders and other institutions. Apart from dissemination and sharing of information, the seminars have provided wonderful forum for policy makers, policy interpreters and policy implementers to jointly approach the problem of educational quality systematically. The seminars' objectives were twofold; namely:

- Demonstrate the role of research in improving educational quality'
- Serve as a forum for discussing how the findings can guide educational policy and action in Malawi.

The theme of the 1<sup>st</sup> National Seminar that was held in Mangochi from 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> February, 2000 was “**Quality Education through Research, Information and Action**”. This theme hinged upon the importance of research as a tool with which to identify factors affecting educational quality.

On the other hand, the theme of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Seminar that was held from 27<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> August, 2001 was “**Action from Research Information for Quality Education Transformation**”. This theme was also in line with one objective of IEQ which is to gather and share information that is useful for improving national education policy and local practice. The theme was intended to provoke delegates' reflection on the education system and to debate on the way forward to educational quality for the Malawian child at the classroom level.

IEQ/Malawi has also disseminated its research findings through: i) Articles published in the Quality-Link Newsletter; ii) Insight Stories; iii) IEQ Briefs; and through High - Level Consultative Policy Meetings at the Ministry of Education Headquarters.

### **3.3.2 Comparative International Education Society (CIES) and IEQ Exchange**

During the past three years, members of the IEQ Project have traveled to the United States of America to attend CIES Annual Conferences. In March, 2000 the conference was held in San Antonio, Texas and this year it was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C.

The following papers have since been presented by the Malawi IEQ Researchers from Longitudinal research:

1. Using Research to Engage Stakeholders and Influence Policy in Malawi.
2. Language Policy, Research and Practice: Insights from IEQ Malawi.
3. Mother Tongue Instruction and Achievement.
4. Effects of Democracy on Teachers and Teacher Education in Malawi.
5. The Effects of Language on Pupil Performance in Mathematics in Malawi Primary Schools.

6. Teacher Mobility in Malawi.
7. Using Research to Inform Project Implementation in Malawi: Lessons Learnt from the QUEST Project
8. Community Participation.

The trips to USA have provided the IEQ/Malawi Team wonderful opportunities to interact with other professionals who are implementing other IEQ project activities. The visits have also provided the team members the opportunity to share experiences with other professionals globally and to learn from what other countries are doing in order to improve the quality of education for their children.

In August, 2001, the IEQ Coordinator also presented a paper in Botswana. Mr Docks Jere attended the 9<sup>th</sup> Boleswa International Educational Research Symposium which was held at the University of Botswana and attended by over 300 scholars from Southern African Region. He presented a paper entitled: **Research Utilization and Sustainable Development: IEQ II/Malawi Experience.**

Mr Jere's paper highlighted the IEQ/Malawi experience in fostering the dialogue on educational quality. It also showed how this dialogue is influencing the improvement of educational quality at school and classroom levels. The paper also highlighted how IEQ research teams and findings facilitate national dialogues and offer leverage for change. Finally, the paper discussed how IEQ pinpoints the reality of conditions, outcomes and the process of teaching and learning that takes place at the classroom level.

## 4.0 CAPACITY BUILDING

### 4.1 Training in Qualitative Research

One of the IEQ II objectives is to develop a research capacity within the Malawian educational community. It was against this background that during the months of June/July, 2000, an advance training course in Qualitative Research Methods was conducted at MIE. The training itself brought together 13 research trainees from MIE, SCF (US) and from other cooperating institutions such as Domasi College of Education, and the Malawi National Examinations Board (MANEB).

The resource person was Dr Kilemi Mwiria, a consultant with vast experience in educational research, who was hired by American Institutes for Research.

Participants were exposed to the techniques of **Qualitative Research Methods of approach in educational research**. It is a kind of inquiry that helps the researcher understand and explain the meaning of social "**phenomena**" in its natural settings, disrupting the natural setting as little as possible to the course of data collection. The objectives of the training were five-fold; namely, to:

- Design qualitative research;
- Develop appropriate data collection instruments;
- Conduct qualitative research;
- Organize, manage, and analyze qualitative data;
- Conduct a qualitative research that can influence policy, practice and future research.

It is the hope of the project that the research capacity that is being built in the various institutions would go a long way in bringing to light factors that affect quality education in Malawi. Participants were urged to effectively use the skills

that they had acquired from the training in future research work and also help to build research capacity in their individual institutions.

#### **4.2 Data Collection Skills**

IEQ/Malawi's research team consists of educators from MIE and Save the Children (US). In addition, the Project has also engaged and trained a cadre of other educators drawn from the District Education Offices (DEOs), Teacher Training Colleges, and primary schools in data collection techniques.

Prior to every data collection exercise, all data collectors undergo a two or three-day training session in data collection techniques. The skills acquired include:

- Interviewing process;
- Observation techniques;
- Testing/assessment skills.

At present about ninety (90) have already been trained and acquired the necessary research skills of data collection.

#### **4.3 In-house Computer Training**

The IEQ research team has received in-house basic computer training skills provided by Steve Maliakini, a fellow member of the IEQ team since the inception of the project.

In April, 2000, IEQ/MIE researchers received basic training in SPSS computer software. The training was conducted by Mr Clive Mchikoma from the Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Headquarters.

In addition, the IEQ team has also received back-up training in data processing skills provided by Us-based Technical Advisors. The team has acquired computer skills in

- Data entry;
- Data cleaning;
- Transformation of data; and
- Data management.

### **5.0 INSIGHTS FROM IEQ RESEARCH FINDINGS**

#### **5.1 Mother Tongue Instruction Policy**

In 1996, the government issued a *language education policy* under which it directed the medium of instruction in standards 1-4 be in the mother tongue except for English. Currently, the medium of instruction in these classes is Chichewa/Chinyanja. However, the teacher posting policy states that all teachers would be posted to schools according to the need of a district or region and not necessarily because that teacher spoke the language of the pupils in the school he/she would be posted to.

##### **5.1.1 Constraints to the Policy**

- All pupils' books (except those of English) are written in Chichewa, the country's national language and their accompanying teachers' guides and lesson plans (except those of Chichewa) are written in English.
- The majority of teachers are untrained.
- All teachers have not been trained in using mother tongue as a medium of instruction.
- Teachers hardly receive any support in the form of either in-service courses or supervision from their heads and zonal supervisors.

##### **5.1.2 Policy Implementations**

- No instructional materials in mother tongue
- Not enough trained teachers to implement the policy

- Lack of resources to support the implementation of the policy.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, IEQ research is providing a vehicle for generating valuable research findings for national and local decision making while simultaneously fostering the skills of Malawi/IEQ researchers at MIE and SAVE. Also, the research efforts have involved educators from all levels of the educational system, raising local awareness of the valuable role that research can play in improving interventions and guiding policy. For example, the follow-up study on Teacher Mobility conducted in May, 2000 revealed that every cadre of the education system in Malawi and the communities surrounding schools will have to work together in their efforts to support greater “teacher stability” and thereby improve the quality of education in the country.

Lastly, IEQ is also providing information to USAID, which is used to guide them in achieving Strategic Objective 4 (SO4) particularly Basic Education. As mentioned above, IEQ/Malawi has been implementing a longitudinal study of the QUEST programme to examine the quality of teaching and learning in literacy and numeracy in standards 26. To this effect, a multi-methodological approach is being implemented by local researchers and educators. In addition, unexpected findings such as *system instability through unexpectedly high teacher mobility, series of mismatches in language among teachers, pupils and materials*, have also deepened policy dialogues because of the concreteness of the issues.

D R Jere  
Project Coordinator

# APPENDIX I

## **Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project In Malawi: A partnership between the Malawi Institute of Education and Save the Children/US**

### **Overall Guiding Principles of the Association**

1. Utilize the combined skills and experience represented by the Improving Educational Quality Project in Malawi: a partnership between the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE) and Save the Children Fund (SCF), Malawi Field Office in conducting an action research project on the QUEST project.
2. Demonstrate the spirit of collaboration and reciprocity of the partnership. The members of the partnership keep one another fully informed of all activities; share the information collected during the action research; and jointly participate in the professional development activities offered by IEQ/Malawi. A community which works and learns together.
3. Provide access of all data collected in the research effort to the entire team. The common pool of comprehensive databases is housed in each institution.
4. Inform overall senior project managers (IEQ Director; Education Officer/SCF/Malawi; Project Coordinator/MIE) of any use of the data beyond the immediate project purpose (e.g., professional publications; use in other projects). One-page summaries of these uses will be maintained in each of the three partner offices.
5. Acknowledge the partnership on all documents, instruments, materials, publications etc. that are produced in connection with this action research – The Improving Educational Quality Project in Malawi: A partnership between the Malawi Institute of Education and Save the Children Fund/US. Supported by the United States for International Development (USAID).
6. Overall responsibility for the technical and administrative implementation of the partnership is held by the IEQ Director at AIR in Washington, D.C.; the Project Coordinator at MIE; the Education Officer/SCF Malawi.
7. Division of responsibility and accountability for all activities related to the action research (e.g., obtaining the information, maintaining quality of data, preparing data for analysis) will be divided as follows: SCF will hold responsibility for the baseline Standard 2 (as in the QUEST proposal) and MIE will hold responsibility for baseline standards 3 and 4 (added as a consequence of association with the IEQ Project). Data common to Standards 2-4 (e.g., on all teachers, headteachers, communities, and school observation) will be divided in a mutually agreeable way. The common pool of data is available to the partnership.
8. Each partner will host the team for joint meetings scheduled at mutually agreeable times.

## APPENDIX II

### IEQ Project Staff

The following personnel staffed the IEQ II/Malawi Project and were responsible for the project development and implementation:

Docks R Jere	-	Project Coordinator, Curriculum Developer (Mathematics), researcher, classroom teacher and Examiner.
Steve S Maliakini	-	Project Administrator, researcher and data Management Officer
Elias S Kaphesi	-	Curriculum Developer (Mathematics), researcher, former classroom teacher and examiner.
Henri G Chilora	-	Curriculum Developer (Languages), researcher and former teacher trainer, classroom teacher and Examiner.
Yoas T Kamangira	-	Curriculum Developer (Agriculture), researcher and former classroom teacher and examiner.
Joyce C Kasambara	-	Curriculum Developer (Population and Family Life Education), researcher, former teacher and Examiner.

Secretarial services to the project is provided by Ms Annie Kainga, an experienced secretary and administrative assistant, also a qualified primary school teacher who has for many years managed the office of the Director of the Institute (MIE)

Mr Kenard Zakaria Mukawa is the Project's driver. He is a well-experienced person and prior to joining the project he worked as the Director's chauffeur for many years.