

MULTIFACETED CHALLENGES

A STUDY ON THE BARRIERS TO GIRLS' EDUCATION

ZAMBEZIA PROVINCE

Mozambique

2005

Final Version

COPENHAGEN

The current study was carried out on initiative from ADPESE (Danish Support to Education Sector Strategic Plan) and Provincial Educational Directorate (DPE) of Zambezia. The study was financed by Danida with financial contributions from CIDA and UNICEF. Terms of Reference was elaborated at Provincial Directorate and APDESE in Zambezia in consultations with Ministry of Education and CIDA, Danida and UNICEF. The study was carried out by Maria Justiniano and Nicolai Steen Nielsen (Copenhagen Development Consulting A/S), Helena Xerinda (INDE – National Institute for Educational Development) and Paula Oksanen (independent consultant), with valuable and highly appreciated support from staff at DPE Zambezia & Tete, as well as district staff in relevant districts.

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Abbreviations

ADPESE	Danish Support to Education Sector Strategic Plan
AEA	Adult Education Association
CNCS	National AIDS Council
DAF	the Dakar Action Framework,
DDC	District Administration for Culture
DDJD	District Administration for Youth and Sports
DPE	Provincial Education Department
EFA	Education for All
EPC	Complete Primary Schools - (1 st – 7 th grade)
FDC	Foundation for Development of Communities
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
IAF	House Hold Indicators
INDE	National Institute for Educational Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MINED	Ministry of Education
PARPA	Action Plan for the Absolute Poverty Reduction
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan
QUIBB	Basic Indicators for well being - Statistics
STD/DTS	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
ZIP	Pedagogic influenced Zone

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Directorate for Education in the Zambezi Province has for some years followed the data on girls' education with concern because, despite signs of increasing enrolments, general improvements of girls' education are progressing too slow, far from meeting national and international objectives. ADPESE (Danish Support to Education Sector Strategic Plan) and the Provincial Education Directorate requested a study to look into the background and the reasons for the continuous drop-out of girls in Primary Education in 3 districts in Zambezia Province, namely Maganja da Costa, Morrumbala and Nicoadala. The study looks at the barriers to girls' education and the interlinkages between different barriers, both from a rural and semi-urban context. It attempts to establish an understanding of the relations – or interlinkages, between poverty and other causes affecting girls' access and retention to primary education.

The study's main conclusion is that barriers to girls' education is an intertwine and complex web of causes influencing each other, and that the interaction of different factors derived from poverty and cultural- and social perceptions of schooling, reinforces each other, thus creating cycles of deprivation and mounting challenges for the girls and their families to overcome. Addressing these barriers requires interventions at various levels, both within the area of education, but also supportive actions outside the education area.

In order establish a clear definition of the barriers to girls' education and reach a comprehensive understanding their "origins" as well as possible responses; a foremost criterion of the study was to distinguish between demand and supply side barriers. The study established the major overall factors on the **supply-side** directly influencing the girls' education to be:

- Difficult access to schools, in particular distance to EP2 level schools
- Low quality (relevance) of education
- Violence and abuse in schools

On the **demand-side** a number of overall factors influencing the girls' education were identified during the field work:

- Poverty
- Cultural patterns and parents' perception of schooling
- "Curtir" - aspirations for modern lifestyle (primarily in semi-urban settings)
- HIV/AIDS
- Early pregnancy and marriages

The overriding barriers contributing to school drop-out and/or repetition in all three districts were found to be the combination of, on the one side; poverty related conditions/structures affecting access and retention, and on the other side; cultural- or socially determined perceptions of education. In-between these two "extremes" there is an area where girls' (or parents') dispositions in relation to schooling are determined by the either structures or perceptions or even both.

The study furthermore identified differences between **rural and semi-urban settings**. An example from **rural settings**; many parents do not find it necessary for the girls to go to school; there seems to be a "conflict" between the school (system) and perceived skills that the girls acquires in school *and* the societal and cultural gender related expectations (such as

different roles of boys and girls, initiation rites, bride-price, etc.). Schooling is considered to be exogenous, hence perceived to attribute with little or no relevance in relation to established cultural and societal values.

In the **semi-urban settings** the study emphasises a strong influence of a modern- or western inspired lifestyle. The interplay between the poverty and modernity is found to be one of the main reasons for the girls to pursue alternatives other than schooling, which seems to have consequences in terms of school drop outs. Evidence from interviews indicates that attaining a modern way of life is, on the one side; leading to some degree of social and cultural disruption, which is challenging traditional gender related perceptions and norms, and on the other side; the present and other studies indicates that the search for modern life-style is closely linked to the phenomena of intergenerational sex and HIV/AIDS.

The school is apparently having difficulties in managing the mediation between different cultural, social and material values. This suggests that the school has low credibility and a problem of demonstrating its usefulness and the relevance to the communities, and in particular to the parents – and also the girls.

In terms of relevance there are indications that education is weighted against the investment that education implies; if expectations to schooling are not materialised (rate of return), parents react by taking their children out of school (particularly girls) in order to save resources and use them for other purposes.

This situation represents an immense challenge for the education system and for the individual schools in identifying differentiated approaches to respond to the situation. It is imperial that the demand side is heavily involved in order to identify sustainable solutions that will have an impact on the girls' education. One of the most obvious tools in this process is the School Council, the link between the supply side and the demand side. There is a strong need to reflect on how to meet the different education demands and expectations from rural and urban cultures.

The fact, that the majority of the parents who send their children to school are illiterate (in particular in rural areas), means that their own experience with the school is limited and their expectations for what their children learn are limited to basic skills. In the lives of the majority of the rural parents, the school is, however, not a viable solution and a way of the sustaining of the family. Diversifying strategies means that girls are often taken out of school because of parents' dispositions related to *lobolo*, domestic work or early pregnancy.

The supply-side factors referred to most often in the study were related to distance between school and home, access to upper primary level (EP2), educational costs (direct and opportunity costs), and sexual harassment and abuse of girls by male teachers. The limited weight of supply side factors referred to among interviewees maybe due to the study's emphasis and applied methodology; however, it underlines the importance of addressing conditions related to access and retention both from a supply- *and* a demand side perspective if significant educational improvements for girls are to be attained.

2. THE EDUCATION CONTEXT

2.1 MOZAMBIQUE EDUCATION

2.1.1 International Commitments and Goals

For the last two decades education has won an ever more central position in the international community's efforts to alleviate world poverty, construct peaceful and democratic societies and provide the basis for social and economic development.

Since Jomtien (1990) and the Education for All declaration, the focus of governments and development community has been on providing basic education for all. Towards the end of the 1990s, quality was added to the education discourse; thus changing the focus on access opportunities to a combined access and quality-education emphasis. The Dakar Framework for Action, endorsed by the international community in 2000, gave new life to the Education for All declaration and set out 2015 as the benchmark for the achievement universal primary education¹. The UN Millennium Summit, held the same year, similarly adopted declarations on education, emphasising two of the EFA goals, namely completion of primary education and elimination of gender disparity (for a complete list of EFA and MDG goals, see annexes).

The following year (2001), on request from the Development Committee, the World Bank prepared an action plan to accelerate progress towards the achievement of the MDGs. The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) is a central element in the bank's action plan. Mozambique, along with twenty two other countries, met the eligible criteria: a Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP) and Education Sector Wide Approach (SWAp).

2.1.2 PARPA²

The Government of Mozambique's efforts to reduce the country's poverty are outlined in the Action Plan for the Absolute Poverty Reduction (PARPA). The Plan's central objective is to improve capacities and opportunities of all Mozambicans hereby reducing country's absolute poverty by 50 per cent from 1997-level by 2010.

The Government of Mozambique envisages education as one of the central pillars in the efforts to reduce the country's poverty.

¹ For more details and thorough description of objectives see: Dakar Framework for Action, Dakar, 2000

² Content taken from: Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (2001-2005) (PARPA), Government of Mozambique, 2001.

Education is a basic human right. Its fundamental role for poverty reduction is universally recognised. Access to education contributes directly to human development by improving capacities and opportunities for the poor, promoting greater social, regional and gender equity. Without a doubt, knowledge is an indispensable means for improving the living conditions of Man. Education is also essential for rapid growth, as it expands the quantity and quality of human capital available for productive activities, and the ability of the nation to absorb new technologies. The main objectives in the area of education include achieving universal primary education, while rapidly expanding secondary education, informal education, and technical-vocational training. The programme also includes a commitment to combat HIV/AIDS through schools. Given the serious scarcity of technical and management capacity, which is an impediment to economic growth, the programme takes into account the necessity of expanding and improving the system of higher education³.

The PARPA constitutes the Government's overall action framework to reduce poverty. The Ministry of Education's strategy therefore adheres to the PARPA.

2.1.3 Education Sector Strategic Plan II⁴

A draft version of MINED's second Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) was released recently. The ESSP II is a continuation of the first plan, however with some modifications. The ESSP II relates directly to Mozambique's PARPA, providing educational responses to the national poverty reduction efforts. The Dakar Action Framework (DAF), the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the Fast Track Initiatives (FTI) are incorporated in the strategic plan.

The ESSP II aims at making significant progress towards universal primary education and gender equity in primary education. As in ESSP I, access, quality and strengthened management capacity constitutes the primary concerns in the strategy. However, in relation to the first strategy, ESSP II will strengthen its focus on decentralising the education system, recognising that it is necessary to involve all levels, from schools to provincial department, in order produce significant advances as to universal primary education. Communities and NGOs are expected to play an important role in the implementation of the ESSP II. MINED envisages that a precondition for the implementation of the strategy is continued economic growth and a dependence on external financial and technical assistance for a "foreseeable future".

Directly Concerned areas addressed by the ESSP II:

- Strengthening of Gender Units and local Councils
- Promote Equal Gender Access to Education

General areas of the ESSP II:

- The ESSP II broadens its areas of intervention (secondary and technical education) in order to respond to the rising demands following the increased number of pupils that are expected to complete primary education.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Education Sector Strategic Plan II (ESSP II) 2005 – 2009 (Draft), Ministry of Education, October 2004

- Teacher training must be strengthened in order for the system to respond to the rising demands at all levels, particularly EP 1 and 2.
- Part of the Education for All-framework, the ESSP II contemplates initiatives directed at out-of-school population. Early childhood programmes and literacy activities for adults are part of the strategic plan.
- HIV/AIDS is a major concern for the Mozambican Government and the ESSP II contains a specific cross cutting component targeting activities that are related to HIV/AIDS.

2.1.4 Gender Strategy

The Ministry's gender strategy targets Mozambique's major problems related to girls' education and female illiteracy; an average of 71 per cent of the women in the country are illiterate with higher numbers in rural areas. Lack of access to education and early drop-out rates contributes significantly to the high illiteracy figures. Minimal or even lack of education among women has far reaching socio-economic consequences, particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS, health and education.

The Ministry's Gender Strategy (1998-2003 – a new strategy is currently under elaboration) aims at strengthening school access and school retention as well as reducing high levels of drop-out among girls at primary level. The strategy further addresses issues of relevance and quality in order to promote gender equity and strengthen management capacity in order to achieve gender objectives.

The gender strategy relates to international agreements and action plans, such as the Dakar Action Framework and the MDGs.

The gender strategy will be implemented through activities and strategies at all levels, Activities include: mobilisation, construction of boarding facilities, construction of more complete primary schools - EPC (1st – 7th grade) in order to diminish girls' travel distance to the schools, schools with healthy environment, literacy courses for out of school girls/women and community mobilisation targeting aspects of human rights, gender equity and information about sexual abuse and ways of protecting girls and women against different forms of abuse.

2.2 ZAMBEZIA PROVINCE

2.2.1 Challenges

Since 1992 the Zambezia Province has witnessed a rapid increase in the number of children, even girls, enrolled in primary schools. The demands for education in the post civil war period are immense. In order to respond to the rising demands many teachers have been trained and the numbers of teachers are steadily increasing. Schools and classrooms are constructed all over to provide minimum conditions for the children. From the civil war period, where access to primary education was limited and attendance risky,

efforts in Mozambique and in Zambezia Province to provide primary education for all have attained significant results, particularly in relation to creating access opportunities.

Although improvements are recorded in most areas related to primary education, major challenges still remains, among these are:

- Weak institutional capacity at province, district and school level
- Discrepancy between demand and supply; suggesting that quality is suffering because of large class sizes and insufficient number of teachers
- High drop-out rates, especially among girls
- System's internal efficiency is weak
- Lack of qualified and trained teachers – number of female teachers is very low

The following part briefly presents some key education figures of the Zambezia Province in order to provide the reader with a general perception of educational situation and supply in the province.

2.2.2 Education Figures in Zambezia⁵

Teachers (national level)

The Ministry of Education is currently incapable of providing the sufficient number of trained teachers to meet the increasing enrolment of pupils, recorded over the past years. As can be read from the table below the supply of untrained teachers is increasing. The combination of an increase in enrolment and a general lack of trained teachers suggest a decline in the quality of education.

Table 1: Trained and untrained teachers, 2003 (public):

	EP1				EP2			
	2000		2003		2000		2003	
Teachers	5791	100%	6227	100%	636	100%	978	100%
Untrained	1945	34%	2343	38%	282	44%	399	41%

In order to address the challenges related to the increasing number of enrolled students in the past years, DPE and DDEs has opted for contracting unqualified teachers in many schools. The teachers typically have a pre-university degree (12 years schooling) but no or very little pedagogic training. The increase in numbers of untrained teachers in primary schools illustrates the systems inability to provide sufficient number of qualified teachers.

⁵ Data taken from the document: Zambezia Education Profile. Author and publication date is unknown. Document facilitated by Danida, Zambezia; UNDP, 2001 and www.ine.gov.mz.

Efficiency

The figure below shows the progress achieved by the Zambezia province compared to national level between 1999 and 2002.

Table 2: Efficiency Indicators in EP1, 2002 (%):

	National		Zambezia	
	EP1	EP2	EP1	EP2
% of repeaters	23.2	22	27.7	25.1
Approval-rate*	64.8	63.1	56.0	55.9
Drop out rate	9.0	9	12.8	11.7
End year drop-out & repeaters	35.2	36.9	44.0	44.1

* In relation to the beginning of the year

The table illustrates that efficiency indicators are considerably worse in the Zambezia Province than at national level, both at EP1 as EP2 levels. While there have been general improvements at national level on EP1 in the period from 1999-2002, Zambezia have seen an increase in repeaters from 25.8 (1999) to 27.7 (2002) and drop out rates have remained practically the same; there have been a slight decrease from 12.9 to 12.8 in the same period (1999-2002)⁶. However, a study (World Bank, 2004) indicates an increase in completion rates for EP1 (grade 1-5) from 22% (1997) to 40% (2002), this significant increase nevertheless has to be seen in relation to the post-war situation where Mozambique's education system were severely damaged by the war and in many places schools were being reconstructed (see below). For more data concerning internal efficiency, see table 5.

Situation of Schools and Increase of Pupils

Since 1993, efforts have been made in order to construct new schools and classrooms and rehabilitate existing schools.

Table 3: EP1 Schools and class rooms* in Zambezia and the 3 districts (public and private):

	Zambezia		Maganja		Morrumbala**		Nicoadala	
	Schools	c-rooms	Schools	c-rooms	schools	c-rooms	schools	c-rooms
2003	1723	6330	104	362	111	310	103	513
2000	1496	5217	94	285	71	218	84	381
1996	1163	4049	87	257	30	89	70	302
1993	607	2940	39	18	6	19	60	245

*The classrooms are of different types: cement and traditional building material

** Many schools in Morrumbala were destroyed during the civil war

The number of schools in Zambezia has almost tripled and in Morrumbala there were almost twenty times more schools in 2003 than in the years following the civil war.

It is estimated that the expansion of schools in the province has not kept pace with the rapid increase in the numbers of pupils, however, the exact relation between demand and supply of schools still remains to be documented⁷. Nevertheless, interviews in Zambezia indicate that there are insufficient numbers of complete primary schools, e.g. with EP2 level.

The table below shows the annual increase in number of pupils at EP1 level.

⁶ For more details see Zambezia Education Profile

⁷ An extensive school-mapping is not available, making it difficult to estimate the exact needs of schools in the province as well as their location.

Table 4: Annual Increase of EP1-Pupils, Zambezia (Public schools):

	EP1 Pupils	Real Increase	% Increase
1997	330,253		
1998	341,262	85,425	3%
1999	393,058	88,074	15%
2000	442,369	121,063	13%
2001	491,371	137,639	11%
2002	525,113	151,912	7%
2003	569,629	145,607	8%

The numbers in the table above illustrates the challenges confronting education authorities in Zambezia. The number of primary students has almost doubled between 1997 and 2003.

The general situation of distribution of pupils in EP1 in Zambezia is shown below. Internal inefficiency implies that only 7% of the pupils are found in grade 5, while 2/3 (63%) of the pupils are in the first two grades. Zambezia is also considerably behind national level; however, the pattern is the same with relatively few pupils in the final years of EP1.

Table 5: Distribution of Pupils EP1, 2003, Zambezia:

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th
Number of pupils (EP1)	219.770	145.770	103.378	62.829	39.987
% of pupils/grade (2003)	38.4	25.5	18	11	7
% of pupils/grade (2000)	40	25	18	11	7
National level (2003)	32	24	19	14	11
Nat. – Zambezia (2003)	30	23	20	15	12

2.2.3 Education and Female Participation in Zambezia

The following part presents figures related to female participation for the Zambezia Province.

In Zambezia, as in the rest of the country, there is a lack of female teachers and few are willing (or able) to work in remote districts. As the table below illustrates, the Province is in need for more female teachers – only one in five is female.

Table 6: Female Teachers, 2003 (public):

	EP1	EP2
Teachers total	6227	978
Female teachers	1062	166
Percentage female teachers	17 %	17%

The low number of female teachers also affects girls' enrolment and retention, as female teachers helps parent's and communities value schooling and because harassment and violence among female teachers seems to be limited compared to male teachers.

Gender Units

The Provincial Gender Units are part of MINED's gender strategy and the ESSP II; the units are expected to coordinate and initiate activities aiming at increasing female presence in primary education (Second Millennium Development Goal). The activities implemented in the provinces consist primarily of training of teachers, school directors, school councils and zip coordinators in issues related to gender, HIV/AIDS and reproductive health (STDs, etc). Another component is pedagogic supervision of ZIP's and DDEs. Finally, acquisition of school material and didactic material was included in the work plan for the Zambezia Gender Unit.

Gender units have been established in 8 districts throughout the province, including Maganja da Costa and Nicosadala. At district level, one staff member (*técnico*) is appointed Gender Responsible in addition to her/his other activities. The main task at district level is to coordinate all gender related activities within the education system and to raise the general awareness of the importance of gender equity at schools and in communities. The MINED's plan states that it is a major task during the present period to define clearly the mandates of the gender units.

The district units are supposed to elaborate an annual plan to be included in the District Plan. The activities comprise organizing of seminars and participation in public meetings informing about gender aspects. Where an NGO is active in this field, coordination takes place.

In Maganja da Costa the gender *técnico* had just passed away and a replacement was foreseen in 2005. Action Aid is operating in the district and has a specific gender component in their Adult Education program (REFLECT) dealing with issues related to girls' education.

In Morrumbala no Gender Unit has been established so far, at the DDE one tecnico is contact person to the program implemented by FDC on girls' education⁸.

The Nicosadala Gender Unit was not present during the field work of the team. However, the DDE has a high level of gender awareness and initiatives are taken to increase the number of female teachers in the district and post the women tentatively in pairs in order to minimize the feeling of being isolated and single woman in remote districts. They thus have a possibility to support each other. Thereby DDE also establishes role models for the girl students and according to the interview this strategy is likely to have an impact on the retention of girls in school.

The ESSP II envisages strengthening of the gender units, which, as this study also highlights, is crucial in terms of promoting plans and activities in favour of a more gender balanced integral approach for primary education.

Situation of Girls

In Zambezia, the number of girls in primary level is lower than that of the boys: net enrolment among girls is only 63 per cent (age group 6- 10 years) compared to 74 per cent among the boys and the gender gap widens up throughout primary education, as illustrated in table below.

⁸ The FDC program comprises afternoon activities for girls like: sewing, cooking and embroidery. The centres do not have a notable impact as they are struggling with difficulties in terms of basic material and incentives for the women running the activities.

Table 7: % of girls through the system, (2003 Public and Private)

Grade	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	1-5	6 th	7 th	6-7 th
National	48	46	45	43	41	45	40	40	40
Zambezia	47	44	41	37	32	43	31	30	31

Compared to national level proportions the percentage of the girls in grade 1 is almost the same, but from grade 3 the gap widens up from 4 points to 9 in 5th grade and 10 in 7th grade. This means that less than one third of the pupils completing primary education are girls – still far from Dakar and MDG goals.

Statistics in the 3 selected districts reveals high levels of gender disparity once comparing the city of Quelimane and the province in general.

Table 8: Proportion of girls per grade in EP1, 2003

2003	Maganja d C.	Morrumbala	Nicoadala	Quelimane	Zambezia Prov.
Grade 1	40,7	39,5	45,6	50,2	47,0
Grade 3	29,5	27,5	41,6	47,7	41,5
Grade 5	17,8	16,2	32,1	46,1	32,2

Table 8 illustrates that percentage of girls in the two rural districts, Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala, is considerably lower than in Quelimane and Nicoadala (situated relatively close to Quelimane). However, attendance in fifth grade is considerably worse in the districts of Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala, with less than one in every five being girl students. The current study examines the three districts (including Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala) in order to establish some explanations as the high drop-out rates and interconnectedness between different barriers to girls' education.

2.2.4 Provincial and District Educational Departments

A provincial education activity plan have been elaborated for Zambezia, the plan is in line with the national education plan from MINED. This implies that the overall objectives for the province are to:

- 1) Increase the access and improve the maintenance of the students in the school:

Activities are: school and classroom construction, rehabilitation of schools, initiatives in relation to girl's education, adult alphabetization, distance education and special education.

- 2) Improve the quality of education:

To meet the second objective capacity building on a large scale was planned for 2004, among which the new curriculum is an important part. Furthermore training of school directors in school administration and training of sports instructors. Finally, teaching material for basic education will be provided to schools.

- 3) Improve the institutional capacity of the system.

To meet this objective capacity building of the DPE and DDE staff would be carried out in the form of training and seminars on planning, management and financial management.

A component related to monitoring and evaluation will follow the school matriculation and supervision of the institutions in the province. Finally, the plan addressed HIV/AIDS by capacity building the ZIPs, supporting orphans and communicating information about HIV/AIDS via radio, theatre and NGOs.

The district plans are elaborated in line with the national and the provincial plans, however taking into consideration the specific problems identified in each district.

The authors find that the plans are relevant and pertinent in their focus, but as the study documents, strengthened efforts, a cross sectoral approach and enhanced coordination at province level are deemed necessary in order to address the problems related to girls' access and retention to primary education in the Zambezia Province.

3. BARRIERS TO GIRLS' EDUCATION

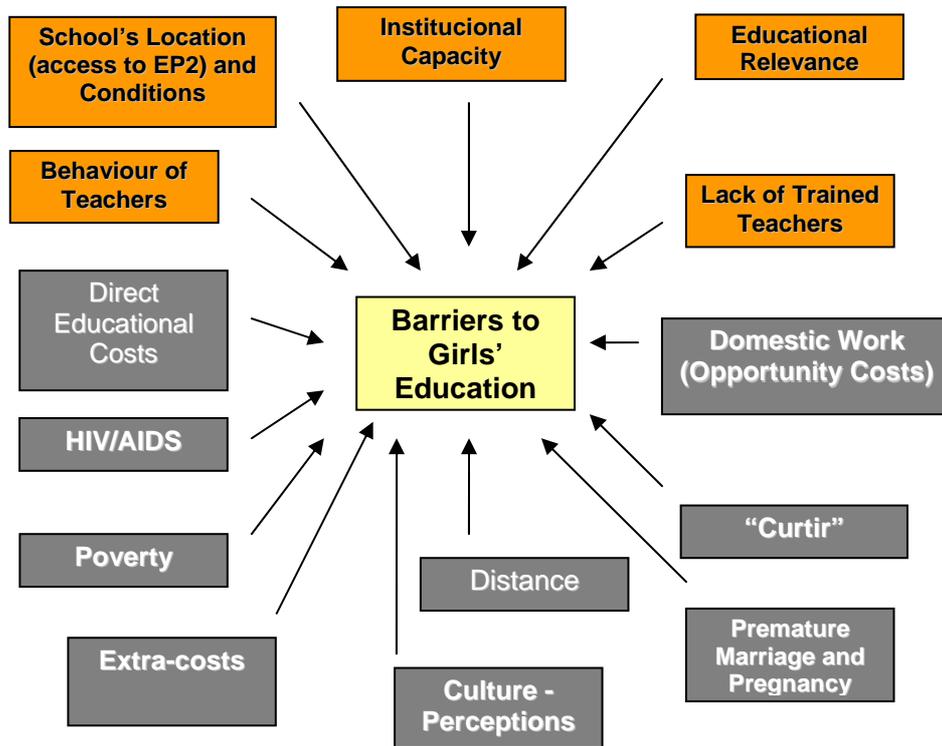
Current study's overall findings indicate that barriers impeding girls' access and retention to primary education are found both on the demand- and the supply side; however, for methodological reasons (research area and target groups), findings of the current study highlights the importance of demand-side barriers, still including, nevertheless, important supply-side barriers. The study therefore *supplements* findings of the World Bank's PSIA report, which concluded that main barriers to girls' education are related to supply side factors.

On the supply-side, the study has identified conditions with negative impact on girls' education; however, an approach with more sector specific policy- and pedagogical emphasis would most possibly spot more barriers on the supply side. Lack of knowledge and insight on supply-side issues has most likely affected interviewees' ability to highlight problems and solutions on the supply side.

On the demand-side, the study identified three categories of barriers to girls' education: *structural conditions*, stakeholders' *perceptions of schooling* (significance). A third condition is labelled *dispositions*, being the agency of different actors (parents, girls or community) towards schooling.

The division between **supply** and **demand side** has been made in order to separate different causes contributing to girls' drop-out, causes that are either related to the supply side, understood as the **system** and the providers of education services or the demand side, understood as being the **users or possible beneficiaries**. This division facilitates the identification of the origin of the causes and possible answers or solutions. From the fieldwork-data it became clear that many causes are interlinked and relates to either the supply or to the demand side; relatively few were found to have links on both sides. The following two models illustrate the different causes encountered during the field-work, i.e. the title of each box represents statements by the interviewees.

Model 1: Supply and Demand-Side Barriers to Girls' Education



Orange boxes represent supply-side barriers, whereas grey boxes represent demand-side barriers. Model 1 is an overview of the causes identified, whereas Model 2 (next page) illustrates some interlinkages that were identified between the different causes.

3.1.1 Quality of Education⁹

Relevance of education provides an important element in studying girls' retention to primary education, not only in terms of expected pedagogical outcome and objectives (as expressed through the applied curriculum) but also in terms of parents' opinions regarding educational relevance and usefulness.

“Even “free” schooling carries substantial costs...so parents’ willingness to send children to school depends considerably on their assessment of the quality of education being offered, especially in the case of girls” (World Bank, 1996)

As this study will demonstrate, school relevance seems to be an important factor influencing parents' and pupils' dispositions related to girls' school access and retention.

Credibility

Fieldwork-data indicates that school's credibility among parents is limited. When asked, the teachers, as well as the DDE staff, explained that earlier sensitizing of parents, all took the point of departure in the perspectives of becoming teachers, nurses or obtaining other salaried jobs. The establishing of role models is of course positive and necessary; however, this approach gives parents and communities in general an idea about school which might be of limited relevance for the vast majority of its users, as few will actually attain salaried jobs. Attention is therefore taken away from the fundamental basic skills that children acquire through basic education. Acknowledging the significance that education have for poor communities in terms of achieving salaried jobs, the authors sees a potential danger in the positivistic and linear values attached to primary education.

In part 5.2, the study provides a more thorough description of parents' dispositions regarding education of the children, and girls in particular.

New Curriculum

The ministry of education aims at improving quality of basic education by turning the curriculum more relevant to Mozambique's social, cultural and economic realities. One of the measures is the new curriculum that is being introduced gradually in all schools nationwide aiming at contextualising education to local needs. 80 per cent of the curriculum has a core content which is defined centrally and applied nationally, the remaining 20% is reserved for local input, expected to be defined at ZIP, district or province level.

Many teachers and DDE staff interviewed expressed frustration as to how to deal with the local curriculum, because of lack of sufficient guidance on what can be included and what methodologies can be applied. Efforts have been made to train teachers in the new content, but the majority of teachers interviewed had so far not received any training related to the appliance of the new curriculum. Even so, the fieldwork showed that teachers generally appreciate the new curriculum and find it relevant.

⁹ Quality of education is closely linked to relevance – the authors relate quality to the development objectives for the school system, as defined by the Mozambican Government. However, we have chosen to use the concept of relevance as it refers more directly to the topics raised by the interviewees. For more information regarding quality-relevance and Mozambique education, see Justiniano and Martins (2001).

Parents were generally unaware of the new curriculum, although some knew of it from meetings with school councils. There seems to be a need to for further information among the parents, thus enabling them to participate in the local inputs of the new curriculum, which may also contribute to a more positive perception of schooling.

The ministry's efforts in making the education more relevant, i.e. by introducing the new curriculum, have some negative consequences in relation to school drop-out. As to the parents, the new curriculum entails increased expenses to note books and colour crayons – students informed that in grade 5 at least 6 notebooks were required¹⁰. Generally, parents and teachers expressed that increase in expenses is a contributing factor for the poorest parents to decide to take out the children of school.

Language of Instruction

The language of instruction is Portuguese and all schoolbooks are in Portuguese. The vast majority of children who start in grade 1 do not speak Portuguese, meaning that during the first years in school the children struggle to understand the language, hence learn even the most basic skills. Classroom observations from the Tete Province show that the majority of teachers use local language for explaining words or concepts (4-5 times during a lesson) in lower classes. According to teachers, the pupils are not able to express themselves in Portuguese until grade 5¹¹. This was confirmed by teachers and DDE:

3 years of schooling only, are lost. At least 5 years will provide the pupils with basic skills and sufficient Portuguese to be able to express themselves, in particular this will improve with the new curriculum (DDE, Morrumbala)

According to the new curriculum the local language may be used as auxiliary language by the teacher. This will facilitate pupils' comprehension, however not all teachers speak the local language. The interviewed parents did not express any wishes of changing the language of instruction to a local language; they did, on the contrary, find Portuguese an important skill. Statements according to language of instruction must be handled with care as parents assumingly are unaware of the cognitive advantages of using the mother tongue as instructional language. Language of instruction is mentioned here, not as a particular barrier, instead it was categorised under educational relevance because of its importance in terms of adapting education to local circumstances.

The following **interlinkages** regarding relevance of education have been identified.

Teacher education: it is assumed that newly trained teachers acquire knowledge of the new curriculum from their pre-service training, but there seems to be a need to disseminate information as to the appliance of new curriculum, i.e. through in-service training, for teachers in service. Furthermore, considering the high number of un-trained teachers, certain measures have to be taken in order to provide this large group with the necessary tools as to apply the new curriculum. **Parents** also need to receive information concerning the new curriculum, preferably through school councils. Additionally, **parents' perception of education** influences their perception of schooling, hence their willingness of 'investing' in education. Another issue is the increased **costs** attached to the new curriculum requiring that pupils have more materials than earlier.

Efficiency

¹⁰ The local price of a notebook is 2.500 met. A set of colour crayons is 12.000 met. A pencil is 2.500 met, which are considerable amounts for poor families.

¹¹ Justiniano & Martins, 2001

The Public Expenditure Review (World Bank, 2003) compares the repetition rate in Mozambique, which is 25% compared to neighbouring countries such as Zambia (3%) and Malawi (18%). It states that the education system is exceedingly inefficient and wastes a large amount of resources which could be used to expand the number of graduates. Due to high drop-out and repetition rates, it takes an average of 18 years of resource inputs to produce one primary school graduate in stead of the prescribed 7. Again the report compares with Zambia, where the input of resource is only 10 years.

Repetition rates in Mozambique have remained stable during the past 10 years, from 26% in 1992 to 24% in 2001. There is only a slight difference between girls and boys' repetition rates, in the sense that the boys' rate is 1% lower than the girls.

To reduce the problem of repetition rates, automatic promotion is introduced in cycles, so that grade 1, 2, 3 is one cycle, after which a test is made. Grade 4, 5 is next cycle and 6, 7 the last cycle. The automatic promotion is introduced gradually as from 2004.

The fieldwork-data did not explicitly mention repetition as causing drop-out. However, with scarce resources available, it is likely to assume that parents, who see their children repeat several times, may choose to take out the children.

Further below, the study argues that parents are less willing to invest in girls' education, in comparison to boys' education. Therefore, although the field-data did not reveal any explicit linkage between repetition and drop-out rates, the authors suggests that a complete understanding of barriers to girls' education requires that attention be drawn towards efficiency and repetition rates.

3.1.2 Institutional Capacity

The Ministry of Education recognises the limited institutional capacity within the education sector, which was underlined during a meeting held in Maputo with members of the study and also highlighted in the ESSP II. The responsibilities of the administration and planning are being decentralized to province and district level according to the ongoing decentralisation process in Mozambique.

MINED's ESSP II focus on the weak institutional capacity of the education system has been strengthened. Strengthening of capacities at all levels is pivotal in order to improve education. Implementation of ESSP and achievement of medium and long term objectives, such as Dakar Framework and Millennium Development Goals, requires further decentralisation of responsibilities to province and district levels.

In the Zambezia Province Strategic Plan, the limited institutional capacity is addressed by implementation of various courses targeting several staff levels. Lack of qualified technicians and resources for adequate evaluation and supervision, such as lack of transport, combined with large distances, are among the serious obstacles hampering the implementation of the provincial plan.

Interviews with district staff confirmed that there are problems in relation to low capacity also at DDE and school levels.

The significance of a well functioning administrative apparatus cannot be under estimated, and examples of delays of teachers' salaries and late distribution of school books contribute to a low motivation among teachers and pupils, hence affecting the quality of teaching in schools.

Low institutional capacity affects the sector's capacity to design, execute and follow-up on plans and strategies, such as the new curriculum and concrete policies, i.e. on harassment and teacher-pupil relations (see below). The study's focus was not on institutional capacity, but there is little doubt that an increased capacity at all levels is required in order to make sustainable and inclusive solutions as to girl's education.

Policy on Sexual Harassment and Early Pregnancy

In 2003 the Ministry of Education issued a *Despacho* (39/GM/2003) stressing the importance of the values of education and the moral of the school and consequently bans teachers having sexual relations with female students. The *Despacho* aims at protecting girls, however, it is worth noticing that it is only targeting pupils at the schools where the teacher is giving classes.

However, paragraph 2 of the same *Despacho* states that: *those girl- pupils who are pregnant are prohibited to frequent the day-course on basic and medium levels, as well as the boys who made the girls pregnant*". Generally there is little satisfaction with this *Despacho* among pupils, teachers and parents interviewed; a direct consequence is that girls in rural areas are inhibited to study as the evening courses generally only exist in the Vilas (semi-urban areas). The problem of early pregnancy exists at a national level; according to the QUIBB (2001), 2.7 % of the girls drop out due to pregnancy in Zambezia, and 10.7 % due to marriage in the age group of 6-17 years. Thus, it can be argued that – being a concern of the Government to increase the number of girls in schools or to prevent them from dropping out – measures should be taken towards a more inclusive policy towards girls. In Nicoadala, one school had a special class for pregnant girls and young mothers with babies, providing them with the opportunity to continue schooling.

3.1.3 Schools: Location and Conditions¹²

The issue of distance between school and home was brought up in many interviews in any of the three districts. However, distance problems were mainly related to EP2 level (6th and 7th grade) due to lack of EPC-schools (1st – 7th grade). The problem is that many pupils attending EP2 level have to walk long distances, 2 hours or more were often mentioned. The interviewees said that people (or themselves) consider long distances as being a risk to young girls:

Distance is a problem because they [the girls] get (apanham gravidez) pregnant on the way to school" (Teachers, Licuari Nicoadala)

A parent in Nicoadala said:

Some pupils that are studying in 6th or 7th grade come from far away - they have 2 hours on foot and have leave home at 4:30 in order to reach school

¹² For details regarding numbers of schools, teachers and pupils, please refer to chapter 4 (Zambezia education)

Vast distances to school, at all levels, mean that poor pupils have no breakfast before leaving home in the morning, they arrive hungry to school and with no lunch either they are exhausted when they return home in the afternoon (and do not benefit much from the teaching in school). Combined with occasional/seasonal lack of food, pupils are likely to be absent from school and consequently drop out. According to the World Bank's PSIA-report, school proximity is a key factor (World Bank, 2004). The farther the schools are from households the more, and more dramatically, the probability of the children attending primary school drops. According to PSIA, 35 per cent of households in rural areas are located at more than 30 min distance from a primary school. The analysis suggests that improving access to and availability of schools can increase enrolments in both EP1 and EP2 considerably and to some extent decrease drop-outs.

Parents and pupils complained about the poor physical conditions in the schools, such as lack of chairs, which means that the children have to sit on the ground and thereby getting dirty clothes. Poor physical conditions may be an indirect cause to girls' drop-out, particularly if the learning environment is unhealthy. It is important to acknowledge the relation between school conditions and learning environment and school drop-out, however, it is equally important to emphasise that construction is not the only answer, although Rugh (2000) argues that "expansion itself seems to stimulate the participation of girls more than boys". This however, must be seen in against the probability that relatively few girls were enrolled earlier and that a rapid expansion of access opportunities leads to increased enrolment among girls. In recent years UNICEF has emphasised the importance of providing children with good learning environments by focusing on the child friendly schools-approach¹³ - these approaches are vital in order to reach more marginalised groups among the girls and are measures that will support the retention of girls in the schools.

The study prescribes that there is an **interlinkage between poverty and distance** in regards to seasonal or permanent scarcity of food, preventing children from walking long distances to school. Parents also showed reluctance (culture) to let children walk long distances because of the risks involved in letting the girls walk long distances (pregnancy).

3.1.4 Teachers

The teachers play an important role in relation to drop-out of pupils and in particular girls. On the positive side it is important to mention that the presence of female teachers motivates the girls to study because they see that a woman can attain something by attending school:

"More female teachers could be a model for the girls and motivate them" ... "A female teacher motivates the girls to matriculate" (Teachers, Morrumbala and Fabrica, Maganja da Costa)

The parents are also more confident with women teachers:

"a female teacher would be good – she could teach our girls...the community would build a house for the teacher" (Parent, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa).

¹³ The concept of Child Friendly Schools has drawn much inspiration from Colombia's successful experience with "Escuela Amiga". For further information see: www.unicef.org.

One the negative side; harassment, abuse and punishment are some of the negative aspects that were mentioned during the interviews, contributing to making the school a place where students have fear and where they are exposed to treatment highly counterproductive to their schooling and learning environment. Pupils from Morrumbala:

Teachers demand money from pupils in order for them to pass exams and the girls must have sexual relations (namouro) with the teacher in order to pass

Other pupils, from Nicoadala:

Many times teachers drink and beat the pupils...they want sex (namouro) and those that denies will not pass exams...teachers also ask for money in periods of exams, and they do not distribute free materials equally among students

Evidence from interviews with the pupils indicates that female teachers tend to punish less than male teachers. Punishment was mentioned by many pupils and is considered as a general problem among the pupils, although some consider that the teachers are right to punish the pupils. Another group of pupils from Nicoadala emphasised that:

The teachers punish the pupils – they make them kneel down on stones...they order pupils to raise their arms until the end of class or they burn tests if the pupil forget to put their name on it

The teachers' attitudes were hardly mentioned by other interviewees than the pupils, which indicate that authorities and parents silently ignore (accept) teachers' physical punishment and sexual and psychological harassment or they are unaware of the situation (!?)

Harassment, punishment and abuse are directly linked to the pupils' well-being, their fundamental rights and their motivation for studying. If students are exposed to such situations throughout their studies, it is not hard to imagine that they, at some moment, choose to drop-out, either as a direct consequence or in combination with other factors.

Teacher's education is an important aspect to consider in relation to their attitude in classes. According to some pupils, it is mainly uneducated teachers that punish. Furthermore, and another important argument for promoting female teachers, it is mainly among male teachers that harassment and violence occurs.

Interlinkages: Throughout the analysis of interview data, it was not possible to establish any explicit linkages with other factors, however, it is assumed that teachers attitude, as described above, is related to their education (or lack of same); and that poverty and culture is linked because of the girls' vulnerability and abuse in schools; pregnancy and HIV/AIDS are related due to the consequence of the sexual abuse of girls.

3.1.5 Costs and School fees

The Government has decided to abolish school fees as from 2005. This is an important signal from the Government about the priorities and the importance of education in Mozambique. However, school representatives in the districts were concerned about school revenues for materials. The initiative will mean that schools – in particular in rural areas – will lack cash for the school's running costs, why it is imperative that the

abolishment is followed up by a direct finance from the Government to all schools to enable them to cover even most basic running costs.

One of the conclusions of the PSIA report is that the demand for paying school fees (registration fees) is not a determining factor for children not to go to school or drop out of school (World Bank, 2004). The abolishment of the fees is important as it of course will mean alleviation in the family budget, but there are still other kinds of indirect costs related to the school, like contributions to teachers and costs to school material.

Nevertheless, almost all interviewees mention costs related to education as one of the major reasons for girls' drop-out. According to some parents (Maganja da Costa), whose children (all or some) have dropped out:

If the parents do not work they don't have financial resources (meios) to cover the costs of education for many children – that's a common reason for pupils' drop out...the parents should have support to buy materials, uniform and food

Another group of women (Morrumbala) – all mothers, said:

The majority of children don't go to school because of lack of recourses for food, booklets and pens

Many of the interviewees also mention orphans in relation to school costs. Orphans are very vulnerable because families that are taking care of orphans either do not have the resources to take on the costs of education for the orphans or because they do not prioritise education for the orphans, as they are not considered their "own" children.

Interlinkages: School costs have a clear linkage to poverty and parents' inability to pay for children's school. In part 5.2 we will demonstrate how this particularly relates to girls' education rather than boys. The study considers, based on the interviews, that school fees may have a positive effect on girls access and retention, however, as commented further below, if standing alone as a solemnly measure, the chance that abolishment of school fees actually will have an impact on girls' education is doubtful.

3.1.6 Impact of HIV/Aids on the Education Sector

HIV/AIDS plays an important role in the discussion about barriers to girls' education. The epidemic has an impact on the education sector itself – and it has an impact on the communities, the parents, the teachers and the children. In the following sections we will consider both impacts and discuss the consequences for girls' education

The education sector employs approximately 50.000 teachers and administrative persons and the sector is an important entry point to the most vulnerable (children and youth). A study on the impact of HIV/AIDS on the education sector was conducted in 2001, the projections in the study are, however, not corresponding to the actual situation today, but the study contributed immensely to the awareness of the epidemic within the sector and the subsequent work to address the problems. Still today there are no exact figures available on the number of teachers or administrative personnel that are either infected or have passed away – or reliable projections on the number of teachers that are likely to be substituted within the coming years.

MINED is integrating HIV/AIDS in the curriculum at all levels within all subjects and in activities extra-curricular at the schools. Life-skills have also been introduced and this includes negotiation skills and strategies for life saving. The integration is ongoing gradually and giving priority to the EP as the children at this level is considered the window of hope. Many teachers have been trained in the new curriculum and Kits with teaching material have been distributed to teachers. MINED has elaborated a strategy for prevention and treatment of the workers of the Ministry. A special HIV/AIDS unit at ministry level has been established to plan and coordinate activities within the education sector.

3.1.7 Conclusions

The current study has only briefly touched upon some supply-side barriers and there is little doubt that a perfect education system with more recourses available, more qualified staff in administration and in the schools, better and more schools, etc., will contribute positively to an increase in girls' access and retention. The interlinkages has briefly been touched upon in the case of supply-side barriers, although on a limited basis, it suffices to underline the importance of perceiving the challenges related to girls' access and retention from an integral approach and not as isolated barriers that are solved independently. This argumentation will be strengthened further in the following chapter.

3.2 DEMAND-SIDE BARRIERS

This chapter will focus on the demand-side perspective on barriers to girls' education and it is structured as follows: 1) introduction of theoretic outset for the analysis, 2) analysis of barriers conceptualised according to the field work data and 3) concluding remarks.

Studies from Mozambique and other African countries about girls' education have identified a range of barriers (or constraints) to girls' education, therefore, most of the barriers described in this chapter will be known already. Therefore, the intention of this study is to investigate the interlinkages between the various barriers, applying a qualitative enquiry approach.

With reference to model 1&2, it was unexpected, as mentioned in the introduction of part three, that the reasons given by the parents and the students were primarily related to conditions of their own situation and *not* to problems related to the school.

Structure, Perceptions and Dispositions

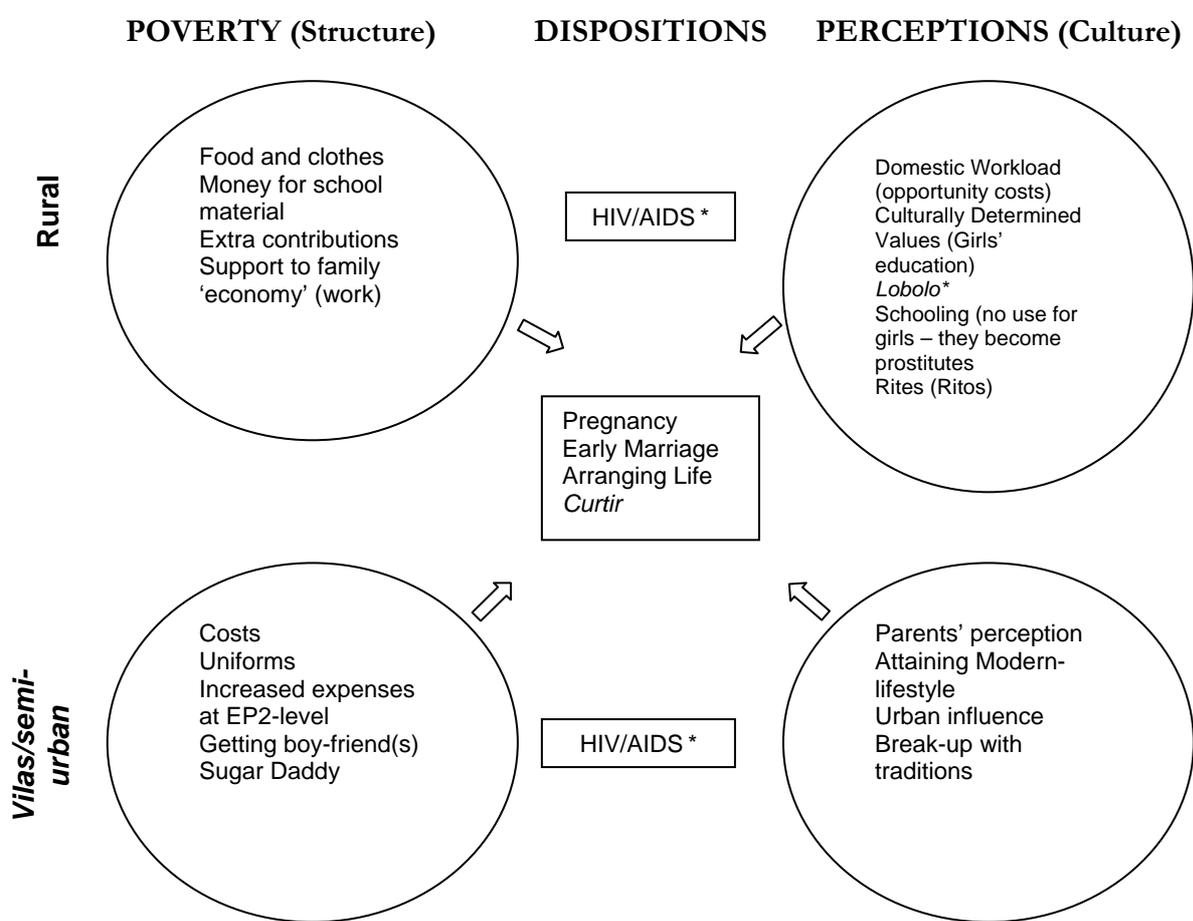
On the demand side, the overriding factors contributing to school drop-out and/or repetition in all three districts were found to be the combination of, on the one side, the societal and economic structures, here perceived as **poverty** related determinants, conditions access and retention, and on the other side, cultural- or social determined perceptions of education, categorised as expressing **perceptions** towards education. In-between these two "extremes" there is an area where actions are determined by the structures and the perceptions, this area is labelled **dispositions**¹⁴. The demand-side analysis will concentrate on the structure-, perceptions- and dispositions approach.

¹⁴ The word disposition is taken from Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which defines a system of dispositions resulting from an organization of action. This means that the individual takes certain actions which are determined by objective conditions (Bourdieu: 1977, 1990).

On top of the above mentioned combination we advocate that there are divergent barriers between **rural and semi-urban settings**. Generally we emphasise that in the **rural areas**, culture and perceptions on girls' education interact with poverty and prevailing gender-structures; with early drop-outs as direct consequence. In the **semi-urban setting** we noticed a strong influence of a modern- or western inspired lifestyle, and the interplay between the combination of poverty and modernity is found to be one of the main reasons for the girls to pursue other activities than schooling and subsequently leaving the school.

The figure below complements model 2 by illustrating the different barriers categorised according to structure and perceptions concepts, hence identifying their derived dispositions. All three categories influence girls' drop-out rates.

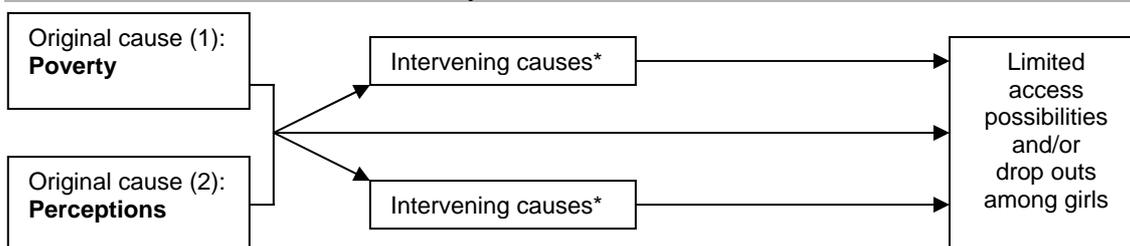
Model 4: Barrier Framework Girls' Education: Rural and Semi-urban Areas



* HIV/AIDS is not interpreted as a disposition, merely a consequence of structures and perceptions – therefore it has been placed in the middle column – without any relation to dispositions. It has been mentioned twice because it is necessary to distinguish between HIV/AIDS in a rural and semi-urban area. From the field data *lobolo* was more frequent in rural areas, but is also present in *vilas*.

From an analytical perspective, the barriers identified could be explained from a successive multicausality model:

Model 5: Successive Multicausality Model



*intervening causes represents those mentioned in boxes in model 1&2.

The causality model illustrates origin of causes and intervening causes that leads to either limited access or drop-out among the girls. In each case, the original cause can thereby be traced back and remedial action identified at the cause's origin.

3.2.1 Poverty

According to field- work findings, the most frequent reason behind girls' dropout is poverty. However, in order to understand parents' or girls' dispositions related to poverty, it is important to understand poverty's interlinkages.

Zambezia is Mozambique's most populous provinces and at the same time among the poorest. As means to support parts of Mozambique's poor population, families living in poverty can apply for a subsidy through Department of Social Action. However, in order for this "poverty certificate" to be issued, documentation, such as a birth certificate, a document that few persons possess, is required. The field work revealed that the knowledge of the poverty certificate is limited among interviewees¹⁵. Those with knowledge of the certificate insisted that it was expensive and complicated to get hold of. Findings therefore indicate that the poverty certificate have little relevance in relation to girls' access to education and retention in schools¹⁶.

Families, in *vilas* and rural communities are generally cut off from **monetary economy** and are depending on subsistence production. Many interviewees complain that they cannot sell products at the market because there are no buyers, and if someone comes to buy, prices fall because they all produce the same. These conditions also affect parents' dispositions regarding education. A parent from Maganja da Costa said:

A common reason here for dropping out is because parents don't work; thereby they don't have financial resources to cover school costs.

A parent from Maganja da Costa said life is very expensive in the *vila* making it difficult for the parents to support children's education. :

¹⁵ A study by Save the Children undertaken in Morrumbala about Home Based Care for HIV/AIDS patients, confirms this finding. See: Save the Children, "When some is sick in the house, poverty has already entered", September 2003.

¹⁶ These findings do, however, not provide sufficient evidence as to the impact of the certificate – a more thorough analysis would be required.

...there is no money to send the kids to school – if there is money, first the family buy food and clothes, if there is anything left, they buy things for their kids so they can go to school...they prefer uniform, it is better, then there is no distinction between rich and poor, but they have no money for buying a uniform (Parent, Maganja da Costa).

Poverty leaves parents with little option but to take out the children from school:

Poverty puts a stop to studying – the girls don't stay at school because of the socio-economic conditions. If there are no money, some stay but other leave [the school]...the disfavoured drop-out, they don't have recourses – booklet and pens costs money (Teachers, Nicoadala)

A vast majority of interviewees relates poverty to the families' inability to buy school materials. Teachers from Morrumbala:

The poor pupils feel humiliated because they don't have clothes and money to buy materials (Teacher, Morrumbala)

A mother of five from Maganja da Costa:

When one has many children, like the five I have, there is not money enough to buy school materials for them all (Mother, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa)

Parents of large families often know that they will not be able to keep all the children in school and therefore, when the children are old enough to work in the machambas, they are taken out of school – meaning that opportunity costs weighs over expected educational outcome. Members of the school council in Mocubela, Maganja da Costa:

The parents that have many children cannot afford to keep them in school because of the elevated costs for school materials and uniform [vestuario], the parents prefer to let the children stay home in order to avoid listening to complaints about necessities that they cannot afford

Obviously, for poor families, limited resources or food shortages means that food becomes a household priority, with little room for expenses related to schooling. Many interviews highlighted poverty as one of the main reasons for school drop-out, both for boys and for girls. However, as will be seen further below, other factors contribute to higher drop-out among girls than boys, these are either derived from poverty or perceptions of schooling.

Interlinkages:

Distance to school is a problem if the children have to walk long distances on empty stomachs, which is a result of poverty, because of seasonal or continuous scarcity of food. The distance problem was mentioned both in rural and semi-urban areas, but as mentioned in part 3.1, it is primarily related to EP2-level – hence particularly a problem for families in rural areas, distant from EPCs.

Girls' **domestic work** load is a problem; parents do not value girls' education as high as boys' education, meaning that girls, in cases of scarcity of food or resources for school, are

taken out. Further below, in part 3.2.3 Perceptions of Schooling, we will elaborate more on the causes related to girls' domestic work.

Another problem related to poverty is the girls' dispositions in relation to schooling. In the *vilas*, all interviews, particularly those with pupils, emphasised the fact that many girls leave school in order to search alternative ways of survival or, less dramatically, because they want to arrange their own life (*arranjar a vida*). However, girls' dropping out on their own decision is also related to educational quality, hence relevance (see part 3.1). A further analysis of girls' dispositions is described in part 3.2.3.

Premature marriage and/or pregnancy is also related to girls' dispositions, as mentioned above, but can also be part of parents' perception of schooling and their view upon what is most "suitable" for girls. Part 3.2.3 presents a more detailed description of causes related to premature marriage and pregnancy.

Although interviewees do not directly relate **HIV/AIDS** to girls' dropout, it is important to consider. The interviews revealed that many families in the communities have an extra burden as they take care of one or more **orphans** from relatives or within the same community. Furthermore, numerous families are headed by a single person (man or woman), and even child-headed households appear. According to several interviews there are increasingly many orphans in the communities, even those surrounding the schools. The majority of these orphans are not enrolled in school, because the families that take care of them cannot afford the extra costs or because child-led families cannot meet the economic costs of schooling. However, according to the interviewees, care of AIDS patients does not affect drop-out rates (see also 3.2.4).

3.2.2 Perceptions of Schooling

Parents' and communities' perception of education constitutes the second large category of (original) causes identified. Parents' and community members' cultural and social background to a high degree determine perceptions of education¹⁷.

Perceptions of education are in general positive among interviewees, among others, because:

- Literacy skills are useful for reading and writing in the community
- Portuguese language is useful for acting and getting around in town
- Basic math skills, useful for counting sacs of crops and for trading on the market

Education is also useful because:

- The school represents or is a link to the modern life
- The skills acquired in schools are useful for acquiring salaried job, hence access to a more secure life (economical) and material goods.
- The school is expected to teach Behaviour (respect for elders, being among people, etc.)

The vast majority of interviewees consider education as something very important for the development of the children and the community:

¹⁷ The concept *Habitus* can be defined as a network of dispositions determined by an instrument of action, which, in the meeting with the objective conditions of life, determines the individual's practices (Bourdieu: 1993). *Habitus* has influenced this approach to the analysis.

“they learn things in school that can be used in daily life – they know the number of sacks of rice produced and they can calculate the price of the product” (Parents, EPC Maganja da Costa);

Other interviewees highlight softer values such as behaviour and respect, when referring to the relevance of education. Parents in Maganja and Nicoadala, among others, said:

The person that went to school is more active, respectful and is able to express [himself/herself] in public (Parents in village, Maganja da Costa). *The knowledge [acquired in school] is useful to be able to orienting oneself in life* (Parents, Mugugoda, Nicoadala)

When asked about the good things of schooling, almost all the interviews highlight the possibility of getting a job. A parent said:

“Education is important for their preparation for the future – especially for a job” (Parents, Josina Machel Primary School, Nicoadala).

However, during several interviews the parents mentioned that the actual benefit of the schooling (particularly for the rural population) is limited.

Although only a short list of examples have been provided above regarding interviewees’ view on possible outcomes from education, they illustrate that parents, as well as pupils and community members, are aware of the opportunities related to schooling. The *signalling of opportunities of social advancement and progress towards modernity*, as Fuller (1993) puts it, have transcended into the communities and become an important part of parents’, pupils’ and other community member’s perception of schooling.

The ambiguity of schooling came forward in the interviews. Despite clear expectations that education could materialise in job opportunities or *advancement*, in the cultural, social and economical contexts of the interviewees, sending the children to school signifies that parents take a decision to ‘invest’ scarce resources on what is considered to be an uncertain outcome.

Uncertainty as to the outcome of education therefore influences parents’ decisions as to who and how many of the children will go to school and for how long (Rugh 2000).

Therefore, when parents send their children to school they have expectations that their children will have the chance of acquiring a good job that will lead to a better life. The typical role-models are: teachers, office clerks, nurse etc. These jobs are, however, very scarce in Mozambique, and some of the interviewed parents were well aware of this.

Lack of quality-education (particularly in terms of relevance) and minimal opportunities for continuation of schooling, influence parents’ dispositions as to girls’ education.

According to a study carried out in Nampula¹⁸ parents send their children to school hoping that they may learn some basic skills; furthermore the parents see schooling as part

¹⁸ Vendelboe, 1999

of a diversification strategy as one possibility to secure themselves by educating one child, most likely a boy. Diversification is important in a life characterised by food insecurity. Interview data indicates that there are certain similarities between the findings in Nampula. As will be demonstrated further below, parents' dispositions as regards to the girls' education very much reflect a diversification strategy.

There are strong indications that education is looked upon as a window of opportunities for getting a salaried job. However, as will be demonstrated below, some interviewees, although recognising the potentials that the school provides, see little opportunity in schooling:

“There is no job for those going out [ending] of school” (School Council Member, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa).
“Here there are no jobs, I don't know if more education serves because here there are no jobs” (Parents children out-of-school, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa)

The value of schooling seems to be measured against the options that pupils have once school finishes. It was clear from almost all interviews that poverty problems in the area and lack of job opportunities, particularly in Maganja da Costa, fortifies the scepticism related to educational outcome (private rate of return), primarily because significance of schooling is very attached to eventual outcomes in terms of job opportunities.

A consequence of this 'calculation' of school's value is, as many interviews also indicate, that parents are less willing to spend resources on girls' education compared to boys' education. A mother put it like this:

Some parents say to their daughters “now you are grown up – arrange your life, the school doesn't give anything – you can't eat the school [a escola não se come]” (Josina Machel School, Nicoadala)

The perception of education is closely linked to parents' educational level; illiterate parents perceive schooling different from literate parents. This is supported by extensive international experience. According to UNESCO (2000), among others, literacy of mothers is very important and must be associated with the education of girls¹⁹.

“when the mother refuses to go to school or literacy it is more difficult that the girl will go...the mother don't understand what school is” (Parents, Maganja da Costa)

In the districts visited, where a majority of parents and especially mothers, are illiterate, lack of confidence in schooling and unwillingness to 'invest' resources on education presumably is even more outspoken.

In short, if expectations to schooling are not materialised, added to prevailing social, economic and/or cultural conditions, parents react by taking their children out of school (particularly girls) in order to save resources and use them for other purposes. However, in order to understand parents' – and pupils' dispositions, it is useful to consider some other causes influencing such dispositions. Some of these causes were identified to be culturally

¹⁹ For further information consult, among others: www.unesco.org and www.unicef.org.

determined and in general they all, in one way or the other, devalue the importance of girls' education.

A number of opinions and myths related to the school are flourishing in rural areas, such as: “*school is for prostitutes*” and “*school is only for children*”; both are examples of the population's perception of the school. The myths related to education are supposedly constructed as responses to a reality so that it fits into the dominant or traditional view upon schooling, hence, they will even serve as responses or arguments justifying school drop-out.

Some interviewees said that the myth on prostitution is related to some IEC material distributed by *Geração Biz* at the schools, offering information about use of condoms and how to practice secure sex. Parents consider this material to be an encouragement to have sex, and it is thus colliding with the prevailing cultural norms. A common perception of the parents found in rural areas is that the girls, who after the first menstruation go to school turn into prostitutes. The perception has its roots partly in the stories about young girls in urban areas who got pregnant.

The “school is for children” myth relates to the transcendence that takes place for the young children when they go through the initiation rites. Further below we will comment on the initiation rites.

Some quotations illustrate other perceptions of education within the communities:

“People here say that the girls that go to school are running away from the machambas. About us, in adult education, they say that we go because we are not able to take care of our home”

“People here laugh of the 18 year old girls because they think they should have a family already” (Women at literacy centre, Maganja da Costa).

Girls' Work Load

The girls traditionally do the domestic work in the family which includes: fetching water, cooking, working in the *machambas*, selling food at the market and looking after their siblings. Some group of mothers mentioned domestic work as an education and introduction to the real life. Both girls and teachers highlighted the negative impact the workload had on the time and the energy left to carry out the home work and for attending lessons.

The girls drop out more than boys, the girl that works in the machamba cannot study, if she misses much time, she loses moral and will not study anymore (Teachers, Licuári, Nicoadala).

A young girl, now out of school said:

I left the school because of work at home, because at home there are no persons to do the work. When I wanted to return to school my mother prohibited it (12 year out-of-school girl, Nicoadala)

Considerations on opportunity costs related to maintain children, and in particular girls, in school are paramount to consider as contributing to parents' decisions on girls' education.

Girls, generally, are required to do more work at home than boys (who play) and therefore the loss of a girl's time (due to schooling) is felt harder in the family than that of a boy's. The time for schooling includes time in school, homework and transport time – it may easily occupy approx. 7 hours a day in rural areas in primary school.

Initiation Rites

In Morrumbala teachers and authorities claimed the rites to be an important reason for girls – and boys to drop out of school. The ceremonies must be authorised by the administrator at local level, but this is merely a matter of passing the information. Not all parents obey this rule, they simply conduct the rites. DDE is negotiating with the district representation of Culture that is overall responsible for the authorisation of the rites, in order to agree with the parents on finding an appropriate time for the ceremonies that does not interfere with the school calendar. The ceremonies of the boys can be planned, whereas the girls' rites are to be conducted shortly after her first menstruation.

The initiation rites keep the children from school during 3-4 weeks with a consequently serious set-back for the pupils. After the rites a big number of girls drop out, they are now ready to be married. In rural areas the parents choose the husbands and arrange the marriages. The rites are important, according to parents, as they introduce the girls about sexuality and other things that make them good wives and mothers. Another example is respect for adults. Teachers stated that after the rites the youngsters seem very fearful of adults, they can hardly speak openly, and look at the teacher. Furthermore, teachers explained that during the rites the children get new names and when they return to school they demand that the new names are used, as a way of recognising their new status as adults. It is considered an insult to use the children names.

3.2.3 Dispositions

The following part on dispositions describes parents' or pupils' choices in daily life, which in one way or the other, have an impact on girls' schooling. Part 3.2 has so far presented indications on how poverty- and perceptions related causes affect girls' education. Thus, by introducing the term dispositions we attempt to demonstrate that pupils' or parents' choices in relation to schooling seem to be derived from causes that were presented in poverty and perceptions.

Lobolo

As we have seen above, interview data points at poverty and perceptions as causes contributing to gender biases towards girls' schooling. The expression *render*, which means that what has been 'invested' in the girls is paid back, was used many times during the interviews. Interviewees referred to *render* on several occasions, but particularly in relation to girls' marriage. In Mozambique, *lobolo* describes the ceremony once the girl is married into another family:

Lobolo is a traditional ceremony, equivalent to civil marriage, which involves the delivery of money and material or symbolic goods to the family of the bride in order to formalise the marriage. The procedures followed during this ceremony vary from region to region, and with them vary the sums and goods transferred to the woman's family, but the basis of all of them is the payment of compensation to the bride's family. This ceremony thus represents the transfer of the woman from one family to another and the creation of kinship links between them. From that moment on, the family of the groom is committed to sustaining the woman who has been purchased. In exchange, this woman acquires the responsibility of looking after the children and her husband, as well as doing the domestic chores. A woman who produces no children may be rejected, but children conceived by a woman for whom lobolo has been paid, but outside of wedlock, are regarded as her husband's. The children of a married woman for whom no lobolo has been paid are regarded as belonging to the woman's family. The woman's fundamental duty is to reproduce. Sterility thus constitutes a motive for seeking divorce. In such a situation, the woman's family must return what was paid in lobolo. The importance of the woman's reproductive capacity is due in part to the man's need to prove his masculinity to the people surrounding him. Lack of children is often a motive for humiliation and stigmatisation. Sometimes, both the number of children and the number of wives for whom he has paid lobolo is a standard for measuring a man's prosperity. A man with many wives is seen as a rich person, since only somebody rich could acquire them. All these women in themselves and also through their reproductive capacity represent an abundance of labour, indispensable for the agricultural work which sustains the household, apart from the role of women's subjugation and the constraints on women's ability to take decisions even in their private space. Lobolo is thus one of the factors that sustain the subordination of women. Source: WLSA Mozambique, 1998: 49-50 in UNDP 2001

The fieldwork did not go into details of what *lobolo* entails in the districts visited, therefore, *lobolo* might vary from the above description, although all statements from the interviews corresponds to the description provided.

Interview data point indicate that parents intentionally take the girls out of school once they are ready to get married – and *lobolo* seems to play an important role, not only for kinship between families', but also when it comes to the money involved. Interviews in Morrumbala and Maganja showed that parents consider the Lobolo as a payment which covers their expenses and their workload since the girl was born:

On the question of the value of a *lobolo*, the mothers had a long and hot discussion about the price. One woman proposed 250.000 meticais, but others said that “*with all the work and investment made – it has to be a good price*” The final answer is 1 mio meticais. (Parents, Morrumbala)

In order to achieve a high price the parents take care that the girl remains a virgin, so from the time when the girl has her first period, they keep her from contacts with older boys. Taking her out of school is a precaution to avoid pregnancy, until her marriage has been arranged and organised by the parents. Pregnancy before an agreement has been made with the family of the husband is considered a disgrace for the girl and for the family and will automatically reduce the *lobolo* price.

“*The only way that girls ‘pay off’ to the parents is by getting married and bringing in the bride money*” (Men at market, Maganja da Costa)

The quotation indicates that girls' schooling may have little value compared to the prospects of receiving *lobolo* price.

The cultural aspect of the *lobolo* is significant as the description above presents; however, the price of the girl is stressed by the fact that the major part of the rural population is living in absolute poverty and the *lobolo* therefore becomes a way of sustaining the family. Girls' drop-out must therefore be understood also in relation to the *lobolo* price; as we have seen earlier, schools are related to the risks of becoming pregnant, either because of the distance, other pupils or even teachers.

"A girl with child does not 'rende' lobolo and only increases costs at home, therefore it is good to marry her before she gets pregnant" (Women at market, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa)

If a girl gets pregnant, the *lobolo* price decreases and it may therefore be another reason for the parents (or fathers...) to take the girls out of school.

"A girl who already has a child does not bring bride money; she shall simply remain poor at the parents' house" (Farther, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa)

Asked about causes to drop-out, a group of girls said:

"To be bride priced and after they don't come back to school because they are considered adults and ready to marry" (Girls, Pinda, Morrumbala)

An extract from an interview with parents at market in Maganja da Costa demonstrates how culture and *lobolo* prejudices girls' education:

The knowledge of the parents outside [the village] is different – in rural areas the father prefers that the girl stays at home. The father thinks that he loses the value he invested in the girl, with 14 years the girl gets married and belongs to another family. The boy is different he stays with his father all his life. The persons [in the village] see new things, now they see female teachers, women that work – that do things that only men did, that changes the conception of the fathers (Parents with children out-of-school, Maganja da Costa)

Lobolo is an important cause contributing to girls' drop-out and must be considered if girls' school retention is to be improved. However, *lobolo* cannot be isolated but needs to be addressed broadly; we have here attempted to demonstrate that poverty and culture play an important impact on causes such as *lobolo*.

Early Marriage/Pregnancy

Marriage is another problem – the husband or father does not allow the girl to go to school (Teachers, Licuari, Nicoadala)

Although this statement seems simple, it implies important aspects that affect school drop-out among girls. Early marriage (formal as well as informal) is a wide spread phenomenon in Mozambique. According to the Population Council, 2004, approximately 21% of the

girls are married by the age of 15 years, and 57% by the age of 18²⁰. Women's groups working with Human Rights in Mozambique have initiated discussions about the issue and the Family Law states 18 years as the minimum age for official marriage.

Together with poverty related causes, almost all interviews referred to early marriage as being one of the most common reasons for girls' early drop-out. Interview data therefore corresponds well to the study referred to above.

Empirical research has shown that premature marriage is most frequent in semi-urban areas and among recently urbanised families.²¹ Furthermore, girls become pregnant as a survival strategy, seeking to achieve what their families cannot provide. Similar dispositions were also observed by the team in rural areas in Morrumbala:

Very young girls look out for better off- and older men in the communities and stay with them as third or fourth wife in the household. These girls often grow sick and loose weight afterwards, because they are not capable of responding to all the demands related to be a house wife". (Parents in Morrumbala)

Whether these dispositions are taken by the girls or their parents is not clear. There is, however, evidence that both girls and parents, in order to assure their own or family's well being or survival, take certain choices that in the end seems to affect girls' schooling negatively. Beneath, an example of dispositions in relation to girls' education:

"The girls get married on order to get money" (Pupils, Morrumbala)

"The parents prefer to take the girl [out] to work in the machamba than study because they know that she will marry soon" (Parents, Morrumbala)

The first example illustrates that the girls are also, to a certain extend, playing an important role in relation to their own schooling – this will be dealt with further below. The second quotation illustrates that taking girls out of school may have to be interpreted on the basis of parents' diversifications strategies, as was the case in the study from Nampula, referred to earlier on. Diversification strategies are responses to situations where parents – or pupils (girls) take certain measures in order to secure the family or their own well being – or even survival.

"The only way for the parents to get their girl 'render' is to marry her and receive 'lobolo'...a girl with child does not give lobolo [to girl's father], she only increases the expenses at home – therefore is it good to marry her [away] before she get pregnant" (Women at Market, Fabrica, Maganja da Costa)

The women's statement illustrates an important reason why parents choose to take their daughters out of school at an early age.

Thus, in order to understand these dispositions – or diversification strategies, it is necessary to understand the context within which interviewees are living. In this study, according to the interview data, the context is highly affected by the poverty situation in the districts and perceptions regarding schooling, which have been analysed in previous chapters. In the

²⁰ Population Council, Peper, Kevin (2004)

²¹ UNDP, UNDR 2001, Mozambique

continuation, we will attempt to demonstrate examples of what can be interpreted as dispositions regarding girls' schooling.

Curtir and Modernity in the Vilas

In the semi-urban areas the overall reasons for school drop out were found to be poverty interacting with increasing influence from modernity²², as we presented in the model early in chapter 5.

We understand “modernity” in this context as a break away the break-away, or ambitions to do so, from the traditional rural life's values, cultural patterns and expectations to access urban-like life-style, where focus on material values, such as smart clothes and cell phones transcends the ambitions of the young pupils. Things that can only be achieved by those close to or in the modern world and by those who have money, or who have access to money from traditional norms and a search for achieving new values and in particular a new lifestyle, where material values are important. In the vilas these tendencies could be noticed from the interest in TV, videos clubs where all sorts of films are shown – and watched. There is no age limit for entering the clubs and consequently children watch horror movies, humour films and pornographic movies, without any interference from adults. The growth in adult videos, premature marriages and prostitution have been known and highlighted over a number of years, as impediments for the girls' education and parents and teachers have agreed of the importance to find a solution to these problems in co-operation with the formal authorities²³.

Curtir is the Portuguese expression we use to describe the lifestyle among youth influenced by modernity. The expression “Curtir” means “having fun among friends” (slang: “kicking”)

The young boys and girls see different ways to access money. The boys enter into trading, selling on the market either in the nearest village or migrating to the provincial capital or even Maputo. For girls however, the “easy” way to access money is by various types of prostitution: this was particularly the case in areas along transport corridors, such as Nicoadala and to a certain extent, Morrumbala. Another option for the girls is to engage in relations with “Sugar Daddies” – elder, often married men who pay for the services of young girls (Bagnol and Chamo, 2003)²⁴. The phenomenon sugar daddy or intergenerational sex - is widely spread in Mozambique, as well as in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Both examples, prostitution and intergenerational sex, are closely related to poverty, however, in the interview data there are indications that they are also related to modernity and the identification of values based on consumption and fashion.

²² The concept of modernity is applied in the study in a very limited version. We have chosen to use the concept modernity because it also implies a set of new (western-inspired) values, which may contradict or challenge existing norms in the districts.

²³ Gender in Education, CIDA, July 2002

²⁴ The study carried out in the Zambezia Province on the phenomenon inter-generational sex or “Sugar Daddies”, show that the motives leading to these kinds of relationships are bound to a number of interrelated factors, such as: cultural and economic aspects determining the sexual behaviour. The study showed that society accepts and even respects a man having several sexual partners; furthermore, society also accepts the fact that young girls and women have “Sugar Daddies” supporting them economically or, particularly among young girls, provides them with new clothes or other goods.

“The girls think in nice clothes and adult life instead of concentrate on school – they are easily distracted by the boys and salesmen at the market” (Member of School Council, Fabrica, Maganja Da Costa)

In the study on Sugar Daddies, referred to above, girls in Pebane (Zambezia Province) claimed that lack of work is a reason for “selling their bodies”; the boys can enter in to business, which is not possible for the girls due to traditional and rigid concepts of division of work between men and women. According to the girls earning more on a shorter time on having sex with a man, is better than working long hours in the machamba (Bagnol and Chamo, 2003). A teacher supports these findings by saying:

“They drop out for various reasons - the girls analyse their situation, the parents cannot support the costs anymore, before the parents helped them, but in 6th grade it is more difficult. In 6th grade the girl wants other things; she searches for alternatives to sustain herself. The girl has to find a boy-friend that can help, she gets involved with him and they have sex. She gets pregnant and is embarrassed at school and drops out. After having the baby she is not coming back, it is her responsibility [the baby]. Many times the father disappears or they don't even know who he is – they don't talk about marriage – only about money” (Teachers, Maganja da Costa)

Curtir has many consequences for girls' schooling. On one side, as seen above, the girls fall into prostitution or intergenerational sex in order to get money, on the other side, many of the girls gets pregnant as a result of the life-style – and as a result they drop out of school.

“The girls of 14 or 15 like fashion – they want to dress differently, they prefer the fashion, they don't use uniforms” (Teachers, Maganja Da Costa)

Another example from Nicoadala:

“The girls want mexas and nice clothes and “arrange” it next to the road or at the market – they get pregnant with the men from outside, teachers or colleagues and drop out because they get embarrassed” (Mothers, Nicoadala).

According to the parents, young people neglect traditional values and norms and the parents say they are unable to control the children once they grow up:

“The girls are complicated. From 12 years and onwards they do not listen to their parents. They start to have boy-friends and do whatever they like” (Parents, Nicoadala)

A group of parents from Maganja da Costa supports this statement by saying:

“There is no way to stop this situation [curtir], they want to be part of fashion, curtir is something new – it is fashion. Fashion comes with the video, the watch video – they see everything – telenovelas – they even watch porno – at the video the let them see it all, there is no control. At school the earn nothing, they prefer to go to the video, get a boyfriend who pays for the fun...before it was difficult to stay with someone ‘on the street’, now they are everywhere, before the parents knew with whom they were, now they don't know what is going on, where they are going...they are concerned with ‘curtir’ than the risk of AIDS” (Parents, Maganja da Costa)

The examples above illustrate that pupils seem to be in a situation where the question of the norms and traditional life in the villages and starts looking for alternative ways of getting on with their lives. Again, poverty²⁵ seems to be one of the reasons why they are searching for alternatives; lack of money to continue schooling means that they have to look for alternatives in order to finance schooling or do other things, once they are involved in affairs, either through prostitution or in a relation with a sugar daddy, they have access to new things and distance themselves from school and parents.

These trends are confirmed by some girls saying:

“It is good to get hold of a friend who has money to buy” (Girls, Nicoadala)

Others are more elaborate, saying that:

“The girls don’t use condoms because they want to get pregnant...others get pregnant because they do not take care...they want fun [curtição] – they are fashion, they use different clothes, there are girls that know how to have fun [curtir] – they are appreciated by men – they date with salesmen from the market, that’s the way they get money to buy clothes. Some have several friends others only have one” (Pupils, Maganja da Costa)

According to parents, girls and teachers, poverty is one of the reasons for girls to engage on sexual relations for payment. However, as small ‘bites’ of the modern world is penetrating the traditional society, first of all in the vilas, the parents see that the moral of the family is in a process of dissolving: The young girls have a totally different agenda for their life than the parents have, and they do not see their future life within agriculture. Many girls do not see their options improved by education, and consequently they drop out of school to make money – either because of lack of interest or in some cases due to early pregnancy.

From the interviews several examples indicate that some girls have little interest in education, instead they are looking for ways to acquire a modern-inspired status (*está na moda*), where clothes, look and a liberalised view on adolescents’ lifestyle prevails. Some parents interviewed indicated that “lack of interest in school” is one of the reasons why girls drop-out (at Salala EPC and Pinda Primary School, both Morrumbala). Other parents said: “*At school they don’t ‘earn’, they prefer to get a boy-friend who buys things [clothes]”* (Parents, Maganja da Costa). Replying to the question why girls drop out of school, a group of girls from Mugugoda (Nicoadala) said: *in order to marry, because they [the girls] think they will not get a job after school*. Others simply say that the girls *stay at home because they have no interest in the school* (Girls, Pinda, Morrumbala).

In relation to the school and the curriculum a pertinent question arises: What do the girls need to learn, and how can they learn it? When school is of little use – irrelevant - and continued schooling seems inaccessible for various reasons, girls’ diversify their strategies in order to solve their own situation, especially if they do not identify themselves with rural life in the districts. What drives the young girls to take such dispositions seems to be determined by a variety of causes: from poverty and the need to arrange life to perceptions of girls’ schooling.

²⁵ Poverty is used as a relative concept, in this case it refers to material goods

3.2.4 Impact of HIV/AIDS in the communities

HIV/AIDS is described separately because we consider the effect of HIV/AIDS as a consequence of structures and perceptions, and *not* as a disposition.

In general, people in Zambezia have heard about H/A, but they do not make the link between H/A to the many diseases and deaths in the communities. According to the Zambezia Núcleo report, people in Morrumbala had already heard about AIDS, they knew that it is a disease which kills and that cannot be cured, but they do not believe in it as they have never seen anybody with this disease²⁶. The report indicates that 27% women and 60% men knew at least 2 methods of prevention. The most frequent methods mentioned were abstinence, reduced number of sexual partners and faithfulness to your spouse

Our field- work show that some parents are still not convinced that the disease actually exists – and myths about the source of the disease are frequent, such as “the virus is in the lubrication product of the condoms”²⁷. Opinions about the reduction of the pleasure when using condoms are also found among boys and girls, such as

<i>Using the condom is like flying to Maputo without landing</i> Morrumbala	<i>You cannot take a bath with a rain coat</i> Maganja da Costa
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The field work reveals that H/A affects the communities to a large extend. All groups of interviewees state that:

<i>“We see a disease that attacks first one parent – then the other. And then the number of orphans grow bigger” “There are many orphans in our villages and some of them live with relatives or other families take care of them, but not all can afford to send them to school. Some orphans live by themselves and get along the best they can, we offer them some food when we have some to spare. They do not go to school”. (Mothers in Pinda, Morrumbala)</i>

When talking about the increasing number of orphans in the communities, parents describe the disease as “the same kind of disease attacking first the father, and then the mother”. People have heard about H/A, and organisations and churches are carrying out information about the epidemic. However, people do not make the link between H/A to the many diseases and deaths in the communities. They know that many people die (and more than earlier), but they do not know from what, as people are not diagnosed. It was a general observation that people did not address the issue of AIDS unless we brought it up. A study from Tanzania highlights the same tendencies, when the epidemic was at the same stage of development as it is now in Mozambique (B. Westphals, 1998).

Interviews indicated that abortion is taking place and is considered a problem. Due to the significance attached to *lobolo* and the importance of the girls not being single mothers, the

²⁶ Contribuições para o PEN, 2005.

²⁷ Confirmed by Contribuições para o PEN, 2005.

girls and the parents (in particular the mother) look for alternative solutions, of them being “back-street” abortions. This implies not-safe and clean conditions with subsequent infections.

The frequently mentioned disease *Pe-po* is related to abortion and HIV/AIDS. The *pe-po* disease is said to be a traditional disease occurring with young girls after an abortion the father is not informed about. If she then prepares a meal and adds salt, the father will become sick and eventually die.²⁸ There are divergent opinions about whether *pe-po* and HIV/AIDS is the same thing, and whether there is a cure for *pe-po*. The symptoms are said to be the same, but apparently *pe-po* is easier to talk about than HIV/AIDS because the responsibility for contracting *pe-po* falls on the girl having an abortion, whereas a man (or woman) must take personal responsibility for contracting HIV. In general the STDs are considered to be “women’s diseases”, meaning that these are transmitted to the man from his partner.

In the very poor families there are no financial means to send the orphans to school. It was also confirmed during the field work, that when a family had several “own” children in school, the orphans were not always in school due to lack of financial resources in the foster families, or they were simply alone without any support

Even though MINED recognizes the serious situation of the orphans in the strategic plan it does not mention how to address the issue. It is expected that the increasing number of orphans will increase the number of children outside the education system. Interviews from the field work show that in families own children were in school, whereas orphans were left at home, as the financial situation did not allow sending all children to school. Grandparents also stated that they could not afford to send all the grandchildren to school. No statistical data exist yet on the impact of orphanage on school attendance in Mozambique. It is thus too early to make any projections about the implications on the gender balance in relation to orphans in school.

On the other hand, research carried out in other countries on the link between orphans and school drop out, shows that there is no correlation; the HIV/AIDS Baseline study from Tete²⁹ confirms this finding from other countries. The increase of the number of orphans and the growing poverty at community level on the one side and the political will to address the issue in the coming years will show whether orphans remain in school or the amount of out-of-school youth will increase. Specific strategies to deal with the problem of orphans (gender specific) and education are still to be seen.

Links: No evidence based links have yet been established between the drop-out of girls in families with AIDS infected parents, where girls become care-takers
Links between poverty and orphans, where no financial means are available for keeping orphan girls in school.

²⁸ various explanations and descriptions on this disease are found in the literature

²⁹ Danida Baseline Study, 2003

3.3 UNDERSTANDING BARRIERS TO GIRLS' EDUCATION

The barriers to girls' education is a complex web of causes influencing each other, and the interaction of different poverty related factors reinforce each other, creating cycles of deprivation, requiring multiple interventions. As we have discussed there are a number of causes influencing the girls' drop out of school, causes also differs between **rural** and in **semi-urban** settings.

We have established the major overall factors on the **supply-side** directly influencing the girls' education to be:

- Difficult access to schools, in particular distance to EP2 level schools
- Low quality of education,
- Low relevance of education

On the **demand-side** a number of overall factors influencing the girls' education were identified during the field work:

- Poverty and educational Costs (official and non-official)
- Parents' perception of schooling, girls' work load
- "Curtir" - aspirations for modern lifestyle (primarily in semi-urban settings)
- Premature Marriage and Pregnancy
- HIV/AIDS

These findings coincide with other findings, INE for example identified in the 2001 QUIBB the main reasons for non-enrolment of children in the age group 6-17 years (from Zambezia province) that have dropped-out of school as being the following:

- The school is expensive (35.8%)
- The school has no use (33.8%)
- Distance between school and home (23.4%)
- The interviewee works (17.7%)
- Failed (6.4%)
- Married (10.7%)
- Pregnancy (2.7%)

According to the present study's findings, the parents make their choices primarily considering conditions on the demand side. The overriding factors contributing to school drop-out and/or repetition in all three districts were found to be the combination of, on the one side, the societal structures in which the poverty conditions access and retention, and on the other side, cultural- or socially determined perceptions of education. In-between these two "extremes" there is an area where actions (dispositions) are determined by the structures and the perceptions.

On top of the above mentioned combination we advocated that there are divergent barriers between **rural and semi-urban settings**. Generally we emphasise that in the **rural areas**, culture and perceptions on girls' education interact with poverty and prevailing gender-structures; with early drop-outs as direct consequence. The parents do not find it necessary for the girls to go to school; there is a conflict between the established school system and the skills the girls acquire *and* the traditional society with traditional education (initiation rites). Schooling is considered to attribute less cultural values and this dilemma influences the parents' choice in regards to girls' education.

In the **semi-urban settings** we noticed a strong influence of a modern- or western inspired lifestyle, and the interplay between the combination of poverty and modernity is found to be one of the main reasons for the girls to pursue other activities than schooling and subsequently leaving the school. The modernity is leading to disorder, challenging traditional moral and norms. Many parents, who may wish their girls to stay in school, express that the behaviour of the teenagers is out of hand with the existing norms.

Statements by parents and teachers during the field work indicate that parents value to the traditional education (initiation rites) and apparently the children, who do return to school afterwards, are marked by the ceremonies.

On the other hand, people stress that in general, they find education important. It is useful to be able to write and read, as well as to do calculations when selling and buying products. Parents also find that the schooling provides the children with skills in regards to navigate in the modern world. The school signals modernity and access to social and economic status different from traditional rural cultures. However, the parents' dispositions – or even girls' dispositions – signals that there is a lack of confidence to the school. Skills acquired during basic education weigh little compared to other dispositions taken by the parents, particularly in relation to poverty (and survival), but also regarding cultural determined situation. The explanation may be that the school as such signals, and probably does, reproduce knowledge and skills that have little value in a local rural context.

The school is apparently having difficulties in managing the mediation between different cultural, social and material values. This suggests that the school has low credibility and a problem of demonstrating its usefulness and the relevance to the communities, to the parents – and the girls.

This situation represents an immense challenge for the education system and for the individual schools in identifying differentiated approaches to respond to the situation. It is imperial that the demand side is heavily involved in order to identify sustainable solutions that will have an impact on the girls' education. One of the most obvious tools in this process is the School Council, the link between the supply side and the demand side. There is a strong need to reflect on how to meet the different education demands and expectations from rural and urban cultures.

The fact, that the majority of the parents who send their children to school are illiterate (in particular in rural areas), means that their own experience with the school is limited and their expectations for what their children learn are limited to basic skills. In the lives of the majority of the rural parents, the school is, however, not a viable solution and a way to sustain the family. Diversifying strategies means that girls are often taken out of school because of parents' dispositions related to lobolo, domestic work or early pregnancy.

The study noticed that the female participants frequenting the literacy centres are around or above 30 years of age. This tendency, combined with the high drop out rate of girls from primary school indicates that one may talk about a “continuously marginalised generation of women” who are younger girls obliged to drop-out of school in order to support husband and children before completing basic education. The study found that those attending literacy classes in order to catch up on earlier lost opportunities are girls who dropped out of school. During the present study it was not possible for the team to investigate the reasons for the age tendencies on the literacy centres, but obviously there is

a scope for further investigation, and also for initiating actions targeting specifically the “lost generation”.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

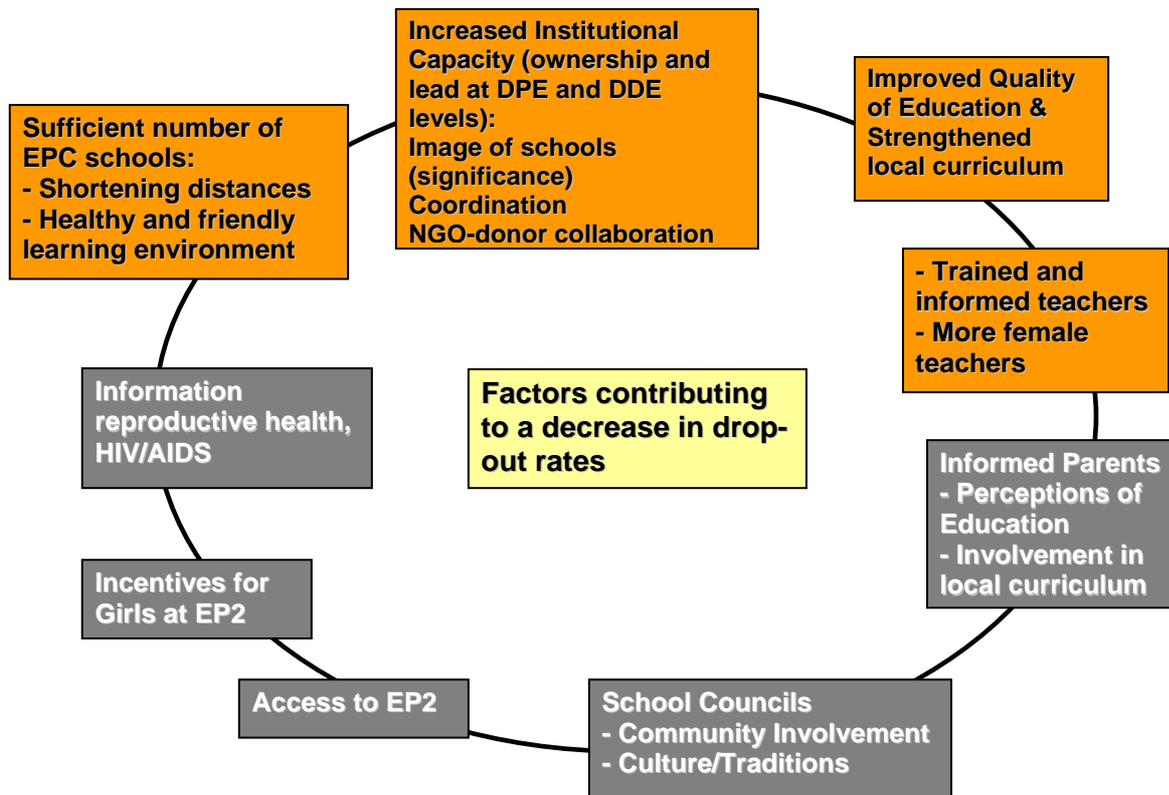
The fieldwork and the subsequent analysis showed that a range of factors influences the girls’ school drop-out. As we concluded above, evidence from the interviews indicated that the main barriers are on the demand side, rather than on the supply side. The PSIA report provided crucial information mainly on the supply side was released immediately before the initiation of this report. We have focused on the demand side, but this does, however, not imply that no steps should be taken in order to improve the education services; rather we argue later, that interventions must consider and include both sides.

In order to achieve a better school and avoid massive drop out of girls it is necessary to take a holistic approach and address as many barriers as possible by multiple interventions. Poverty, a main barrier to girls’ drop-out, should not be targeted without considering social and cultural determined values or derived actions taken by parents, students or others that, in a combined manner, may result in girls dropping out.

Because of the many barriers influencing girls’ drop-out, multi-sectoral efforts are required in order to address the causes. Some examples of cross sectoral cooperation could be between DDE and Acção Social in regards to support to poor families and orphans; cooperation between DDE and DDJD (Direcção Distrital de Juventude e Desporto) on initiatives to train pupil counsellors, out of school activities, sensitizing on issues related to reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, etc.; between DDE and Direcção Distrital de Cultura (DDC) about initiation rites and other culturally derived barriers. NGOs and international community operating in the area should support such multi-sectoral approach.

Another important area is community involvement. As the analysis highlighted, the involvement of the community is pivotal in order to inform parents, elders and opinion-makers in the communities about the importance of completing primary education. Well-functioning school councils are crucial in involving communities and making them part of and co-responsible for education in the communities. By introducing school councils, MINED has taken a large step in the direction of decentralising education and involving local stakeholders and beneficiaries, but findings emphasises that it is crucial to strengthen the support to school councils.

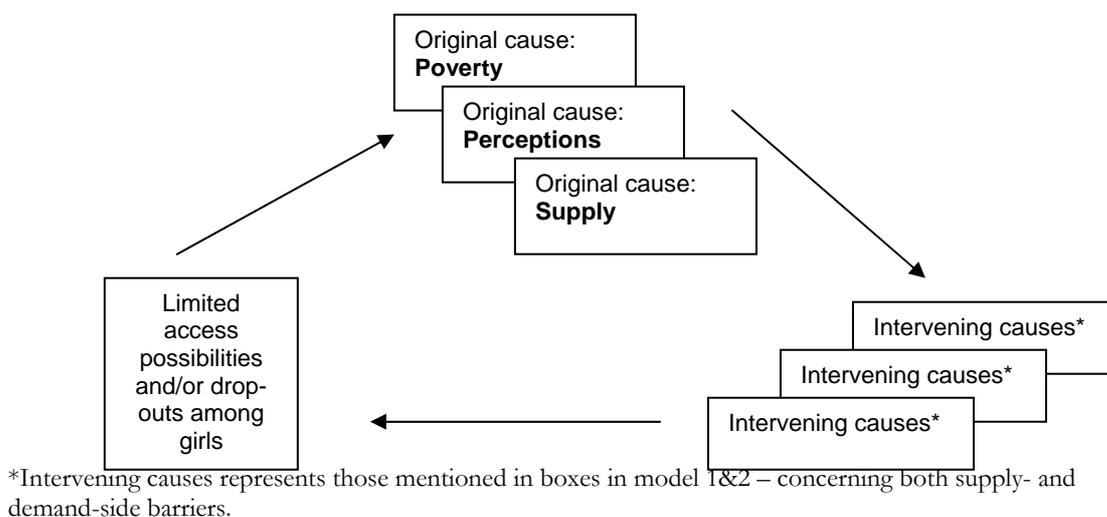
Based on the analysis, the model below represents an overview of factors that *may* contribute to decrease in drop-out rates among girls (and boys).



The model above illustrates that actions, both on supply and demand side, targeting at improving conditions in favour of girls' access or retention must be carried out in conjunction with other actions – isolated initiatives will not suffice due to the interconnectedness and multiple factors that prevent or complicate girls' schooling. However, well aware that few projects or interventions have the capacity to address all issue, which may not even be recommendable; it is therefore strongly recommended that at least coordinating mechanisms are established at three levels (national, province and district) in order to address the barriers from a common conceptual approach.

From an action oriented approach, the study has redefined model 3 and incorporated supply side barriers as being an original cause:

Model 7: Multicausality Intervention Model



Based on the findings of the current study, it is important that interventions, in their designing phase, take into consideration the possible intervening causes to be targeted during project implementation. This study has demonstrated that there is no single barrier to girls' education: it is therefore important that an intervention design addresses both original and intervening causes. The purpose of Model 7 is to orientate the design of interventions; therefore the model must *not* be interpreted as a logical intervention approach ($a + b = c$), because any circumstance or context requires a particular intervention.

According to a recent study (Kane, 2004) what really works in regards to girls' education is not absolutely clear, and definitely not easy to generalize from region to region - even country to country. Nonetheless, a few facts/successes can be highlighted:

- a) Interventions outside the formal school-system that prepares girls to enter the formal system
- b) Bilingual education and interactive learning
- c) Provision of buildings and on community efforts (awareness-building campaigns, school councils etc)
- d) Alternative learning programs, single-sex schools, supply of textbooks
- e) Achievement based scholarships

In a Mozambican context what is most likely to make a change in regards to retention of girls in schools would be:

- Elaboration of a communication strategy and a campaign on retention of girls in school
- Involvement of communities and in particular strengthening of school councils' capacity in disseminating messages
- Strengthening of technical capacity of Gender Units at provincial and district level

In the following we present a catalogue of recommendations targeting supply and demand side.

National Level:

- It is considered a precondition that MINED **continues to prioritize girls' education**. National support and signals downwards in the system about the importance of maintaining girls in school and reduce high drop-out rates are crucial.
- It is recommended to elaborate an **information strategy on girls' education**. The strategy should stipulate long term initiatives on linkages between poverty and education, education and employment, education and poverty reduction skills for girls and boys. Further, short term initiatives like an information campaign targeting the parents and others responsible for the education as well as the opinion-makers. The objective of such a campaign would be to influence and change the perception of the school community about the possible benefits of going to school, raising perception beneath the acknowledgement of skills like Portuguese, reading/writing and maths or expectations that school is nothing but a linear process towards a salaried job or a higher educational diploma. The information should therefore focus on the *general use* of what can be learned in school and how the school can prepare the children to the modern society. It should avoid enforcing the image of the school as the gateway to an education as a teacher or similar, which is not achievable for most children, and most families cannot afford.
- It is recommended that the **campaign clarifies the new aspects of the curriculum**, an important objective is thus to inform about the 20% local input in the teaching. The messages should be clear and simple providing examples of what a local subject could imply and how they are adapted to the reality. The information on local curriculum could be combined with information related to other general skills that the children acquire in school which are useful for their daily life. It is important that the campaign distinguishes between rural and semi-urban areas in order to pass tailored messages to different target groups. It is further recommended that the **messages and information are disseminated via radio** – that information programs are developed in cooperation with RM and that Community Radio in the districts are involved, using local languages and targeting both young people and their parents
- It is recommended that **teacher education be strengthened considerably** in order to meet the growing demands at primary level, particularly at 6th and 7th grade. Special attention should be given to educate/ up-grade trained female teachers as means to contest male teachers' abuse of young girls in schools
- It is recommended to develop a **national capacity building programme to the Gender Units at provincial and district levels**. The focus should be on how to develop action plans at provincial and district level, corresponding to the needs of the districts and communities and aligned with MINED's gender strategy. The training should take into consideration that MINED's strategy is very broad and therefore the provinces and the districts should prioritize their efforts and select focus areas for action annually, rather than attempting to respond to all needs
- It is highly recommended to **strengthen the awareness among school communities on the Government's *Despacho no. 39/GM/2003***, related to the conduct of

teachers, or other staff at schools, regarding sexual intercourse or harassment involving pupils. It is urgent that clear information is disseminated to pupils and communities so that complaints on sexual harassments are taken seriously by the authorities. It is furthermore recommended to emphasize and to signal at national level that sexual abuse by teachers or by other school staff, in any case is *not* permitted, and can be punished. Likewise, MINED is recommended to strengthen its cooperation with the Teacher's Union concerning this issue

- It is highly recommended that the ***despacho* which prohibits pregnant girls and young mothers to study during the day be revised**, ensuring that it will not be counterproductive in terms of Girls' educational access and retention. The *despacho* therefore inhibit girls in rural areas to continue their studies, as evening classes only are established in Vilas with electricity. The *despacho* is thus hampering girls' retention in primary school.
- It is recommended to **develop a national policy and a strategy on how to target** what the study identifies as being a **marginalized generation**. The schools at district or community level should be encouraged to arrange special classes in the afternoon where pregnant girls and young mothers can attend lessons and bring babies and young children along, as in the case of Nicoadala.
- It is **recommended to study the concept of “raparigas” and its cultural connotations**; the exact meaning and interpretation of it. In rural areas it is understood as “girls” and it may therefore be in conflict with the perception of whom the school is for. After the initiation rites the girls do not consider themselves as “*raparigas*”, but rather as young women. The school is considered “for children” and thus has no attraction on the young women. It is suggested to analyse the wording and consider which concepts are appropriate in a campaign targeting youth and parents on sending – and keeping the girls in school.
- It is recommended to commission an **impact evaluation of selected and ongoing initiatives on girls' education** in order to detect important lessons learned that could support future activities in Mozambique. Significant geographical differences within Mozambique are important to consider before replicating initiatives. The impact study should link up to present study on causes, dispositions and interlinkages and evaluate how these factors interact in selected initiatives. Finally the study should assess how the initiatives take the factors into consideration and/or suggest how to improve the design of initiatives.

Province and District Levels:

- It is recommended that **Provincial Level is playing an increasingly more central role in the coordination of the NGOs and Forums de Educação**. It is considered a precondition that the province is assuming the responsibility to coordinate and encourage initiatives at provincial and district level.
- It is recommended that the **school councils play a more central role promoting the retention of girls in school**. This implies that massive efforts are made to train the school councils in their roles, responsibilities and competences. It is further recommended to prioritize the development of training manuals for School Councils.

These manuals should be easy accessible, using clear and context relevant examples on cases that Councils could be involved in. For example, how to tackle pregnant girls in school – and how to interact with parents who are reluctant to send their girls to school? Such manuals have been developed in other African countries³⁰ and it is recommended to seek inspiration from well functioning manuals that can be adapted to the Mozambican reality

- It is recommended that the **role of the Zips is strengthened in regards to training of teachers in the new Curriculum**. This implies support to facilities at school level in terms of proper meeting conditions and coordination of activities at DDE level
- It is recommended at provincial level to support the **establishment of Mini Boarding Facilities** with close-by care-takers (‘mothers’) who receive a minor subsidy to look after the girls and provide basic care. This solution is an option for girls who have no easy access to EP2, and whose parents have no possibilities for paying for the girls. The mini boarding facilities will provide the girls with protection while they are away from home. In Zambezia, Oxfam should be contacted in order to learn from related experiences.
- It is recommended to support establishment of **training in practical skills**, more flexibly, shorter and locally based courses will facilitate the possibilities of self-sustainability for out-of-school youth and for students when they leave school. Out of school youth stressed that there are no possibilities at local levels for apprenticeships. They need to return to school, do their exams and apply for entry to one of the few Technical Schools available. A cooperation with local NGOs on engaging with local artisans in order to include apprentices and offering support to subsidies and possibly materials is recommended
- It is recommended that **school feeding programmes be limited to areas of extreme poverty or seasonal food shortages**. It is not recommended that school feeding is provided permanently as it may be counterproductive in terms of local expectations and production. Furthermore, lessons learned should be systematised in order to assess the impact school feeding has on school retention. If and where school feeding is continued, it is recommended that feeding be linked up to school attendance as is the case of WFP’s support in Nicosadala. At a more political level, dialogue should target the general issue of providing incentives for children to study? Some considers it a basic right to receive a meal, but is the school the best place to do it? And is the food equally distributed? Examples from the study showed that parents took their children out of one school and into another because the latter had food supplies from WFP. Critics of school feeding highlights that school in itself should be an incentive, and in poverty-stroke areas, school feeding should be complemented by sustainable activities, such as school gardens. Some experiments have been carried out, but there seems to be a need to systematise lessons learned, as school gardens a very dependent on community involvement, climate, products, etc.
- It is recommended that **school materials be distributed to poor children** (who are in possession of a poverty certificate) and orphans, particularly in relation to the introduction of the new curriculum where more materials are required in the upper levels of primary education.

³⁰ ADRA has supported development of training manuals for school councils in Uganda and Rwanda

- It is recommended to **initiate cross sectoral activities** with other district departments in order to address marginalised children, such as orphans or children from families living in extreme poverty. In the case of orphans, much more can be done in relation to informing families that take care of orphans and households led by children.
- It is recommended to establish a **co-operation between DDE and DDJD** regarding involvement of ex-pupils as counsellors. The initiative should come from DDE. The idea grew from a meeting the team had with DDJD and some young “out-of-school” activists. Some of these were active in HIV/AIDS information in their communities, and they and their wives are now studying at night or following AEA courses and possibilities of involving out-of-school in the sensitizing of students to remain in school and the benefits of more schooling, were discussed. The approach could be tested on a pilot basis, in particular in the semi-urban areas, where the girls do not listen to the parents and tend to leave school to arrange money for smart clothes etc.
- It is recommended to establish **cooperation between DDE, the school councils and DDC on initiation rites**. In Morrumbala this was a very outspoken problem, and it was discussed to let the department of Culture play an active role in the communities on raising the awareness on the importance of education. DDC is the local authority that has to authorize the initiation rites and thus the role of DDC could be linked with the task of avoiding much absence of the pupils in relation to the ceremonies. Furthermore, the cooperation between the two departments in raising awareness could contribute to changing the image of the school as being “only for children”.
- It is recommended to test possibilities of involving school councils and community elders (responsibly for initiation rites) in a cooperation on retention of girls in school after the rites. Part of the message during the rites could be to stay in school. This obviously requires an active school council - and a motivated community, but the suggestion came from teachers on a vila school, and it may be part of an initiative at local level.
- It is recommended to **increase the number of female teachers in pairs** in remote districts. The strategy is followed in Nicoadala district to increase the number of female teachers and not isolate the women far away. The postings in remote districts are thus more attractive to female teachers.
- It is recommended to carry out **pilot experiments with integrated interventions**, for example: Capacity building of school councils, afternoon extra-curricular activities for girls, posting of female teachers in pairs, school lunches and cooperation between the various district departments, such as DDC and DDJD. The difference in the approach should be carefully planned according to semi-urban and rural setting. Schools in rural areas should be encouraged to arrange special classes in the afternoon where pregnant girls and young mothers can attend lessons and bring babies and young children along. Pilots should be linked up to national institutions and national capacity should be considered in the design in order to secure ownership of projects or initiatives.
- It is recommended to **test on a pilot basis the need for and the impact of incentives for girls to continue at EP2 level**. The incentives could be boarding facilities and support to other expenses related to education, such as uniform and school books. The girls should be identified in cooperation with the parents, the local

communities and the school. Experiences from the region exist and can be applied to the local context.

5. ANNEXES

A. Methodological Thoughts

The Process of Elaborating the Study

The team members met with the provincial director at DPE to discuss the objectives of the study as well as specific concerns and issues to look into and consider during the field work. An additional aim of the study was capacity building of provincial and district staff in the methodological approach, and in the analysis of the interview results. A seminar with the local consultants, staffs from DPE Zambezia and Tete, and from DDE Nicosadala was held in Quelimane. The consultants had prepared interview guides to all target groups before going to Quelimane. At the seminar the team obtained a common understanding of the Terms of Reference and the work to be carried out. The methods were introduced and discussed by all team members and role plays were performed to train the methods. Finally, a pilot test of the methods was undertaken in Nicosadala district; as only minor changes were made to the instruments, the consultants chose to use interview material from Nicosadala. See Annex 3 for interview guidelines.

Sources of Information

The study is based on different sources of information:

- 1) A review existing literature, validation of findings with other current studies and collection of educational statistics from national, province and district levels.
(Please refer to literature list in annexes)
- 2) Field studies comprising different types of interviews: semi structured interviews and focus group interviews with key informants
- 3) A simple participatory rapid assessment (PRA) exercise was applied concerning mapping of communities together with parents and communities as means to identify problems and solutions regarding barriers to girls' education

The following groups were interviewed during field work:

- Parents and school boards, community leaders
- Students, in school and out of school
- Teachers,
- DPE and DDE staff,
- DDJD staff
- NGOs

See annexes for a list of persons met and interviews carried out.

The aim of the field study was to identify barriers to girls' education focusing on:

- Reasons for attending and studying (what skills are achieved and what are these used for afterwards?)
- Reasons for school drop out? Distinguish between reasons for boys and girls drop out
- Grouping of identified reasons (supply-side/demand side)

- Identifying links between the different barriers
- What needs to be improved to achieve the objectives of studying? a) in school; b) in families; c) in society

During the field work, after completing work in Nicoadala and subsequent adjustments, the team split up in two groups and went to the two selected districts namely Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala. Each group was accompanied by one or two staff-members from DDE in each district. The groups visited at least three schools in the district: one primary school in the Vila and two schools randomly chosen in an administrative post. Furthermore visits were made to literacy centres and NGOs working with education in the districts.

After the fieldwork the two teams returned to Quelimane, and all team members, including staff from the three districts, worked on systematising and analysing the information collected in the districts. The team applied mind-mapping as an analytical tool and a number of key barriers arose from the fieldwork in both districts, based on these factors the teams undertook analysis of the implications and the related reasons that were brought forward by the various target groups. From the systematization process causes from either supply-side or demand-side were identified. Finally the team worked on establishing links between the reasons.

The preliminary systematisation of causes was presented during a debriefing meeting with DPE-staff, NGOs and other stakeholders in Quelimane. Comments and feed-back from the participants have been considered and incorporated in the study to the possible extent.

B. People Met

MINED:

Maria Fátima, Gender Coordinator, MINED

Zambezia Province

Gitte Holmen, Educational Chief Adviser, ADPESE, Zambezia

Isabel Azevedo, Directora DPE – Zambezia

Simão , Gender Unit, DPE - Zambezia

Morrumbala district:

Osorio

Amelia

Xambini Ferraz, Assistant Department for Sports and Youth

Bernardo Corvela, chefe de recolha de dados

Joaquim Labiano, World Vision

Parents, pupils and teachers at Samora Marchel school, Morrumbala Sede

Pupils and teachers, literacy class, Morrumbala Sede

Parents, pupils and teachers at school, Pinda

Parents, pupils and teachers at school, Cumbabo

Centro de Alfabetizacao, Raposo

Maganja da Costa District:

Representative DDE, Maganja da Costa

Parents, pupils and teachers at Escola Sede, Maganja da Costa

Parents, pupils and teachers at Escola Fabrica, District of Maganja da Costa

Representatives Action Aid, Maganja da Costa

Parents and Youth, Market Place, Maganja da Costa
 Literacy Class, Escola Sede, Maganja da Costa
 Members of School Council, Escola Sede, Maganja da Costa
 Members of School Council, Escola Fabrica, Maganja da Costa District
 Local leaders and chiefs, Vila Maganja da Costa

Nicoadala District:

Caine Elias Araujo, Chefe de SAD
 Rodrigues Vitoare Bande, Director de Recursos Humanos, DDE
 Isaq Antonio, Chefe de Planificacao, DDE
 Virgilio A. Amisade, Estatiscica, DDE
 Helena Xurinda, Headmaster, EPC Mugugota School
 Parents, pupils and teachers at schools, Nicoadala
 Parents, pupils and teachers at school, Licoare

C. International Educational Goals

Dakar Action Framework Goals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Expand and improve comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children ▪ Ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality ▪ Ensure that the learning needs of young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs ▪ Achieve a 50 % improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults ▪ Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality ▪ Improve all aspects of the quality of education and ensure excellence of all so that recognised and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills
Millennium Development Goals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete full course of primary schooling ▪ Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and at all levels of education no later than 2015

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www.worldbank.org

www.eldis.org

www.danida.org

E. Interview Guidelines:

Note: All issues in Interview guidelines needed to be covered, but interviews were not restricted to these issues, meaning that interviewer had opportunity to go beyond the issues in the guideline. During informal sessions, e.g. with pupils out of school or other circumstance, the two main areas – opinions about education and causes for drop-out were to be covered in a more “loose” manner.

Alunos

Nome da Escola:

Distrito:

Data:

Características de grupo de alvo

1. Faixa etária?
2. Sexo?
3. Classe?
4. Tem bilhete de identidade (BI)?

Opiniões sobre a educação

1. Mencionar 3 coisas boas da escola, Porque são boas?
2. Mencionar 3 coisas más da escola. Porque são más?
3. Para que serve o que aprendes na escola (outras disciplinas ou actividades)?
4. Os professores tratam as raparigas igual que os rapazes?
5. Os professores utilizam alguns métodos para punir os alunos?
6. O que pensam fazer depois de terminar a escola?
7. Alguma vez usou o BI na escola/fui pedido apresentar i BI na escola (probas)?

Causas de desistência

1. Há casos de desistência na sua turma?
2. Porque desistem?
3. Os que abandonam a escola, o que fazem fora da escola?
4. Algumas voltam para escola? Sabes porquê?

Soluções

1. Como se pode diminuir a desistência? (Referir as causas no ponto 3b e procurar soluções)

COMENTÁRIOS EXTRAS:

Conselho

Nome da Escola:

Distrito:

Data:

Características de grupo de alvo

1. Tem programa de actividades?
2. Quantos membros são? Homens? Mulheres?
3. Posição de presidente (sexo)?
4. Quando começaram o trabalho do Conselho?

Opiniões sobre a educação

1. Qual é o papel do conselho na solução de problemas da escola?
2. Quais são os maiores problemas da escola?
3. Qual é o envolvimento da comunidade nas tarefas da escola?
4. Qual é o papel dos conselhos de escola em relação ao sistema e compleição no EP1 e EP2 aos alunos?
5. Qual é a atenção que o conselho da escola recebe da direcção
6. Outros?

Causas de desistência

1. Existe desistência na zona?
2. Quais são as razões deste desistência? Menciona as 3 mais frequentes razões de desistência
3. Quem abandona mais a escola? Os rapazes ou as raparigas?
4. Outros?

Soluções

1. Quais são as soluções para deter o desistência da escola pelas raparigas e pelos rapazes (EP1, EP2)?
2. Quem deve ser responsável por isso? Porquê?
3. Outros?

Pais/encargados/outros

Nome da Escola:

Distrito:

Data:

Características do grupo alvo

1. Faixa etária
2. Número de Homens e Número de Mulheres
3. Todos os filhos estão na escola?
4. Rapazes e raparigas?

Opiniões sobre educação

1. Acham que a educação é importante para os vossos filhos?
2. Para que serve a educação dos vossos filhos?
3. O que acham que os vossos filhos devem aprender na escola para servir a comunidade?
4. Para quem acha que a educação é importante? Porquê?
5. Qual é a relação entre a escola/professores e pais?
6. Existem cursos de alfabetização na comunidade para mulheres? Frequentam?
7. Qual é o papel do conselho da escola?

Causas de desistência

1. a) Porque razão? Quem tomou a decisão para o aluno ou a aluna deixar a escola?
2. b) Porque os filhos da vossa família estão na escola e os de outras famílias não conseguem manter-se na escola?
3. c) Qual é a situação de HIV/SIDA na vossa comunidade?
4. d) Quem toma conta dos doentes?
5. e) Tem impacto na desistência das raparigas ou rapazes?

Soluções

1. a) O que acham que é preciso para que as raparigas/os rapazes fiquem na escola?
2. b) Quem deve ser responsável? Porquê?
3. c) Nos casos de gravidez das meninas, acham que elas devem continuar na sala de aula mesmo grávida?
4. d) Deve passar para o curso nocturno até ao parto?
5. e) Deve voltar para escola depois do parto e para o curso diurno?
6. f) Como acham que o problema da gravidez pode ser resolvido?

COMENTARIOS EXTRAS

Professoras/es

Nome da Escola:

Distrito:

Data:

Nota: homens mulheres

Características do grupo alvo

1. Nível que lecciona (EP1/EP2)
2. Nome da comunidade e distrito onde trabalha
3. Qual é a nome da escola onde trabalha
4. Qual é a sua formação
5. Qual é a classe que ensina

Opiniões sobre educação

1. Para que serve a escola na comunidade?
2. O que faz o conselho em relação ao desistência?
3. Papel da escola em relação à desistência?
4. Apoio Núcleo Género (DDE ou DPE)?
5. Opinião sob a menina grávida?
6. Outros

Causas de desistência

1. Existe desistência?
2. Quem abandona mais a escola? Rapazes ou raparigas?
3. Menciona 3 razões mais frequentes
4. Outros

Soluções

1. Quais são as soluções para deter o alto grau de desistência?
2. Quem deve ser responsável (pela educação e permanência)
3. Outros Comentários?