Nesim Kalmelid

"Estou a Pedir Nota"

Views on the Situation of Students in Secondary School in Maputo, with Focus on the Female Students
**Title**

“Estou a Pedir Nota” - Views on the Situation of Students in Secondary School in Maputo, with Focus on the Female Students

**Titel**

(“Jag ber om ett betyg”: Synen på situationen för elever i sekundärskolan i Maputo, med fokus på flickorna)

**Författare/Author**

Nesim Kalmelid

**Abstract**

The number of female secondary school students in Mozambique is very low. Different reasons are stated for this, but mainly that the students’ parents believe that education is better suited for boys than girls. Furthermore, the students who do attend education might face a low quality of education, lack of proper hygiene facilities, and run the risk of being sexually abused by teachers at school.

This study took place at two schools in Maputo and the aim of this study was to find out how students in Maputo regard their secondary education and what factors they believe can affect their education. The main focus was on the female students, since they are the ones most likely having trouble with attending education. However, some data were collected from male students in order to make a limited comparison. Furthermore, some teachers and officials have also been interviewed and thus given their views on the issues.

Most of the students’ future plans were to get into university in order to get a good job with a high salary. However, some wanted to get a job directly after secondary education. Regarding their present education, the use of alcohol and drugs in school, money, and the teachers’ handling of marks were brought up as problems. The students gave examples of how their fellow students drink and do drugs within the school area, but also on how they work with campaigns and meetings in order to prevent and stop it. The issue of money was mostly connected to the possibility and difficulty of entering university. These difficulties were also connected to the low number of places available at each course at the university and the students’ inability to pay the high fees. In the race for entering university, it was important to have good marks. However, the handling of marks was not always done in a professional way by the teachers. The students gave examples of how teachers demand money or sexual favours in exchange for good marks, and they were aware of the consequences of offering such sexual favours and provided many solutions to get rid of the problem. One solution was to avoid dressing ‘sexy’, while others were to start campaigns, meetings or groups where these issues are discussed.

The teachers’ view was that Mozambican education faces many difficulties, such as too many students, lack of properly built schools, lack of material and the students’ lack of motivation. The teachers acknowledged that there is a problem of teachers abusing female students sexually, or selling marks to students, and emphasised that teachers have to follow the ethics of their profession. Much information on female education in Mozambique was provided by the ONP, the Ministry of Education and the Board of Education in the City of Maputo, where it was discovered that the number of female students in the city of Maputo is actually equal to the number of male student, despite the disparity in the country.

Some of the teachers as well as the officials claimed that the issue of sexual abuse is most common in the countryside. However, the students’ awareness and experiences of the problem imply that it exists in Maputo as well, and that the students have the possibility to do something about it. Furthermore, it is evident through campaigns and work done by organisations and authorities that it is considered a problem which has to be stopped. Moreover, concerning all the issues the students find problematic, most of them show awareness and strength and will to change things for the better. Hence, when working for improving education and especially regarding the issues brought up by the students, it is important to listen to the students’ ideas and let them participate.


Key words: female students – secondary school – Mozambique – bribes – marks – sexual abuse
Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge everyone who helped me to carry out this study, both in Sweden and Mozambique. My supervisor in Sweden, Ulla-Britt Persson, has been a great support, through discussions and detailed corrections of my paper as well as the application for the MFS-scholarship handed out by SIDA. I would also like to thank my student counsellor, Ann-Charlotte Lindgren, who helped me with many practical details concerning the application for the MFS-scholarship.

Furthermore, I would not have been able to carry out this study had it not been for my contact person at the AGS, Telma Alegre, who provided me with contacts and information during my stay in Maputo. I would also like to thank Alberto Quechella at UNDE who also provided me with contacts and helped me getting access to the schools and ONP. In addition, I would like to thank everybody working at AGS, UNDE and ONP for helping me by useful discussions, especially a warm thanks to Paula Vera Cruz at ONP who gave me much useful information. I would also like to thank Ritva Parviainen for providing me with contacts and discussions. Furthermore, I wish to express sincere gratitude to everyone who made it possible for me to carry out my study at the schools, especially the Director of Education in the City of Maputo, the directors as well as the pedagogical directors at the schools who received me with openness and helped me with finding students and teachers to interview. Last but definitely not least, I would like to thank the teachers and the students who shared their knowledge, views and thoughts with me. I would not have been able to carry out the study without you.
Abbreviations and Explanations

AGS  Africa Groups of Sweden
GER  Gross Enrolment Ratio
HIV  Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDG  Millennium Development Goals
MT   Metical, the currency in Mozambique
NER  Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO  Non Governmental Organisation
SIDA Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UEM  Universidade de Eduardo Mondlane (The Eduardo Mondlane University)
UNDE União Nacional para o Desenvolvimento Estudantil (The National Union for Students’ Development and Democracy)
UN   The United Nations
UNICEF The United Nations Children’s Fund
UNESCO The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WLSA Women and Law in Southern Africa

Bairro: neighbourhood or suburbs
Barracas: small pubs located in the bairros
“Estou a pedir nota”: ”I am begging for a mark”
Pedagogical director: a director at the school, who works with the pedagogical planning
Machamba: a small piece of land used for cultivating
Núcleo: can be translated into core, a group of students who work with students’ rights, democracy and information about STDs at one of the schools visited
Sensibilação: an achievement of making people concerned aware or raising their consciousness of a problem, awareness-raising
Sexual abuse: forced sexual activity
Sexual harassment: repeated and unwelcome sexual comments, looks, or physical contact at work
Sub-Saharan Africa: The parts of Africa which are situated south of Sahara
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE ................................................................................................................. 1
   1.1 PURPOSE ........................................................................................................................................... 1

2. MOZAMBIQUE .............................................................................................................................................. 3
   2.1 THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN MOZAMBIQUE ............................................................................... 5

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH ........................................................................... 8
   3.1 GENDER THEORY AND DEVELOPMENT ......................................................................................... 8
   3.2 GENDER AND EDUCATION FOR ALL ............................................................................................ 9
      3.2.1 Gender Issues and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa .............................................................. 10
      3.2.2 Strategies to Increase the Number of Girls in Schooling ....................................................... 10
      3.2.3 The Situation in Mozambique ................................................................................................. 11

4. METHOD AND MATERIAL .......................................................................................................................... 16
   4.1 METHOD .............................................................................................................................................. 16
      4.1.1 Qualitative Research and Phenomenology ............................................................................. 16
      4.1.2 Access to the Field and Participants ...................................................................................... 17
      4.1.3 Focus Groups and the Individual Interviews ......................................................................... 18
      4.1.4 Collection and Analysis of Data ............................................................................................. 19
      4.1.5 Ethics ....................................................................................................................................... 20
   4.2 PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL .......................................................................................................... 20
   4.3 DISCUSSION OF METHOD .................................................................................................................. 22

5. RESULTS ....................................................................................................................................................... 24
   5.1 THE STUDENTS’ VIEWS ....................................................................................................................... 24
      5.1.1 The Students’ Future Plans ......................................................................................................... 24
      5.1.2 Their Present Education .......................................................................................................... 26
         Alcohol and Drugs ........................................................................................................................... 27
         Money ............................................................................................................................................. 28
         Teachers’ Handling of Marks ......................................................................................................... 29
   5.2 THE TEACHERS’ PERSPECTIVE ........................................................................................................... 32
   5.3 AUTHORITIES ...................................................................................................................................... 35
      5.3.1 The Ministry of Education ....................................................................................................... 35
      5.3.2 The Board of Education of the City of Maputo ..................................................................... 36

6. DISCUSSION ................................................................................................................................................ 38
   6.1 THE STUDENTS’ OBJECTIVES WITH THEIR EDUCATION AND THEIR FUTURE ...................... 38
   6.2 ISSUES OR PROBLEMS IN THEIR PRESENT EDUCATION ............................................................. 39
      6.2.1 Alcohol and Drugs .................................................................................................................... 40
      6.2.2 Money ....................................................................................................................................... 40
      6.2.3 Teachers’ Handling of Marks .................................................................................................... 41
         In Exchange for Money .................................................................................................................. 41
         In Exchange for Sex ....................................................................................................................... 42
   6.3 DIFFERENCES AMONG FEMALE AND MALE STUDENTS ............................................................. 45
   6.4 TEACHERS’ AND AUTHORITIES’ VIEW ............................................................................................ 46

7. CONCLUSIONS .......................................................................................................................................... 49

REFERENCES ............................................................................................................................................... 52

OTHER REFERENCES ............................................................................................................................. 53

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDES
1. Introduction and Purpose

In 2000, the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were established by the United Nations (UN 2010-10-08a). MDG number two, “achieve universal primary education” (UN 2010-10-08b) is the one mostly connected to education. However, MDG number three “promote gender equality and empower women”, with its target to “eliminate disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015” (UN 2010-10-08c) is also closely related to the issue of education for all.

The goals are supposed to be reached by 2015, and much progress in reaching them has been done. For example, in developing regions, there were 91 girls on 100 boys in 1999, and in 2008, 96 girls on 100 boys. There has also been an increase in secondary and tertiary education in developing regions, from 88 to 95 girls on 100 boys in secondary education and from 82 to 97 girls on 100 boys in tertiary education (United Nations 2010:20). However, in sub-Saharan Africa, the number of girls enrolled in secondary education decreased from 1999 to 2008 (United Nations 2010:20-21). In 1999, there were 83 female students on 100 male students, but today there are only 79 female students on 100 male students. Furthermore, the female students face problems while in school, for example low quality of education, bad hygiene facilities as well as running the risk of being sexually harassed or abused by teachers (Grown et al. 2005:45-51).

The number of secondary school students is low in Mozambique as well, 18 per cent of the female population and 24 per cent of the male population are enrolled in secondary education (UNESCO 2010-10-09). Furthermore, through previous research it is evident that female students in Mozambique also run the risk of being sexually abused or harassed in school. In fact, many of the reasons which keep girls from schooling in the region of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (Grown et al. 2005:45-51) are evident in Mozambique as well (Roby et al. 2008:246-248, UNICEF 2010-10-09e). It is in regard to this, I have chosen to focus my study on the female students, who are enrolled in and attend secondary education in Maputo.

1.1 Purpose

The main purpose of this study is to find out how young students in secondary schools in Maputo regard their future and their secondary education. The number of students enrolled in secondary education is very low in Mozambique, and it is those who are enrolled which are deviant from other children of their age. Therefore, I find it interesting to find out what
objective and future plans these students have with their education. I would like to know what they need to do in order to reach the goals they have for their education. I would also like to know what issues they regard as most problematic in their secondary education, and what should be done to solve the problems. Furthermore, in the perspective given in the introduction, I would like to know if these issues are the same for female and male students. 

In order to get a fuller picture, I would also like to know what teachers and authorities regard as the biggest issues facing Mozambican education, especially regarding the female students’ situation.

In order to fulfil my purpose I have selected the following main questions:

- What are the objectives of some students in Maputo’s secondary education?
- What do they regard as issues or problems in their secondary education? What may prevent them from reaching their goals?
- Are these issues or problems different for female and male students? Is it the same factors that have the possibility to influence their ability to reach their goals?
- What do teachers and authorities believe are the main issues in Mozambican education?
Mozambique, or the Republic of Mozambique, is a country on the east coast of sub-Saharan Africa. The president of Mozambique is Armando Guebuza who also is the leader of the Frelimo party, the governing party in Mozambique today (The Swedish Government Offices 2009-10-20).

The Frelimo party started in 1962 as a rebel group fighting for liberation from Portugal. Mozambique gained its independence in 1975, but for the seventeen following years the country experienced a civil war between Frelimo and Renamo (a rival guerilla group). The latter had its support from the apartheid regime in South Africa and the South Rhodesian regime (The Africa Groups of Sweden 2009-10-29). The war ended in 1992, and the Frelimo party won the first elections in 1994 (Daleke 2007:16). Renamo is the largest party in opposition today and the party has had problems with reforming from a rebel group into a political party (Larsson 2007:41). However, in the prospect of the election in 2009, the party promised to invest in the young people of Mozambique and to fight corruption (Sävström 2009a:10). In spite of this, Frelimo with the president Armando Guebuza won the election (Sävström 2009b:20). From talking to people in Maputo, I understand that Frelimo is the biggest party there, and that people are afraid to say that they voted for any other party, if they did.

There are approximately 22 million inhabitants in Mozambique, and the capital, Maputo has slightly more than 1 million inhabitants. The income per capita is 310 US Dollars and 54 per cent of Mozambique’s population live below the national poverty line. Furthermore, Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world, number 175 of 179 (UNICEF 2010-10-09 d). However, the government in Mozambique works hard to raise its economy. The country has reduced the absolute poverty by 20 per cent in the last fifteen years (SIDA 2010-10-09).
It is easy to get a feeling of this poverty when entering Maputo. The main-road from the airport to the inner city goes through the bairros (suburbs) of Maputo where people live in small, not properly built, houses without running water and with narrow streets between the houses. The schools I visited were in two of these bairros and the poverty was also shine-through in the schools. Some classrooms were big, with high ceilings, others too small for the high number of students in each class. In both big and small classrooms, there were not enough windows, not good enough doors to keep the sound of students on breaks off. Furthermore, sometimes there were not even enough desks or chairs for the students. There was no running water in the schools which also means that there were no working toilets.

The urban HIV prevalence is almost 16 per cent in Mozambique (all Africa 2010-10-20) and this is also evident in the schools, there are posters informing about the disease on the walls and one of the days when I visited one of the schools, the students were able to take HIV-tests and donate blood. Donating blood was done in the middle of the school, but the HIV-testing was done a bit further away, in a tent and not so openly. However, what is evident throughout the study is that despite poverty and high HIV prevalence, many of the students, as well as other people in Maputo have the will and power within them to change things for the better.
2.1 *The Educational System in Mozambique*

The educational system in Mozambique is divided into primary school, secondary school and higher education. Primary school, which is free and compulsory, consists of two levels, with grades 1-5 in the first level, and 6-7 in the second level. Primary school should be attended from when the child is 6 years old until the child is 12 years old. The primary schools in Mozambique operate in two to three shifts, mainly because of the shortage of schools and teachers (SACMEQ 2010-10-09). Secondary school is divided into two cycles, with grades 8-10 in junior secondary school, and grades 11-12 in senior secondary school (SACMEQ 2010-10-09). Secondary schools also operate in two to three shifts, and because of the shortage of secondary schools in rural areas, secondary education is primarily accessible for children who live in towns (UNICEF 2010-10-09 b). When grade 12 is completed, the students can choose to continue into higher education, such as public or private universities. However, all students who want to enter into higher education have to complete the entry exam (SACMEQ 2010-10-09).

When discussing enrolment rates, one can either talk about Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) or Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER). According to UNESCO (2010-10-09) “NER is the number of pupils in the theoretical age group who are enrolled expressed as a percentage of the same population” while GER is the total number of students enrolled expressed as a percentage of the population of the theoretical age group that should attend the level of education (UNESCO 2010-10-09). In 2008, the GER for primary school was 114 per cent (UNESCO 2010-10-09). This means that people older than the expected age group attended primary education. However, the NER, the number of children in the expected age group for primary education being enrolled was only 80 per cent (an increase from 52 per cent in 1999) (UNESCO 2010-10-09). Hence, 20 per cent of the children who should attend primary school in 2008 were not even enrolled. Furthermore, of those completing primary school, only 57 per cent continued into secondary education in 2007, and only 6 per cent of the children in the expected age group for secondary school were enrolled. Again, much people older than the expected secondary school-age were enrolled, the GER was 21 per cent in 2008 (UNESCO 2010-10-09).

The focus of this paper is on secondary school, and the Council of Ministers of Mozambique has a strategic plan in order to increase enrolment and quality of secondary school in Mozambique, *Estratégia do Ensino Secundário Geral 2009 – 2015* (MEC 2009). In this plan,
it is stated that Mozambican secondary education should use education in order to develop the socio-economic status of Mozambique, to fight poverty and increase the living conditions of the population. To inform and educate students on how to protect themselves from HIV is also brought up as an important issue (MEC 2009:6-7). Furthermore, it is stated that an expansion of secondary school is needed, since there is not enough room for all the students who are enrolled now. However, this expansion should not affect the quality of education (MEC 2009:10-11). The areas in which the quality needs to be increased are the number of educated teachers, the number of students per teacher, the numbers of educative hours, the material as well as the number of students repeating each year (MEC 2009:18-24). In a new curriculum for secondary education in Mozambique, the students should learn to solve conflicts with peaceful methods and respect and appreciate the multicultural society of Mozambique. Furthermore, students should learn how to use natural resources in a wise way, to be aware of climate changes and to be healthy (MEC 2009:46). Furthermore, it is stressed that the education should focus on students saber fazer (learning-by-doing) (MEC 2009:47).

According to UNESCO (2010-10-09) the GER for tertiary education was 1 per cent in 1999, and no other figures are available. Mouzinho Mário, Peter Fry, Lisbeth A. Levey and Arlindo Chilundo (2003:20) claim that there were more candidates than places provided in the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) in 2000. For example, there were 100 places for 1062 applicants for Law, 75 places for 486 candidates in Economics and Management, 24 places for 120 candidates in Architecture, 90 places for 2777 applicants for Medicine and 75 places for 967 applicants for Social Sciences. The situation with few places available and a high number of applicants is the same at most of the courses. The only subjects having enough places in proportion to the number of applicants were Mechanical Engineering, Geology, Chemistry, Chemical Engineering and Physics and Meteorology (Mário et al. 2003:20). However, figures from UEM show that, for example, the course Law has expanded, and, in 2010, is offered both as a daytime and evening class, with all in all 140 places available. Medicine has also expanded its number of places by 10, which means that 100 students were admitted in 2010 (UEM 2010-10-23). The number of places may have increased in all courses, but, there is no information available on the number of applicants for 2010 and no information about the situation at the private universities.

There has been an increase of students in primary school which has led to a shortage of both schools and educated teachers. According to UNESCO, the average number of pupils per
teacher is 64 in primary school (UNESCO 2010-10-09) and UNICEF claims that only 58 per cent of the teachers in primary school have teacher training (UNICEF 2010-10-09 a). The number found for students per teacher in secondary school is 32 (UNICEF 2010-10-09 c) and out of a total of 1957 teacher in secondary school, 1766 are educated teachers, almost 90 per cent. The teacher training for secondary school includes either nine years of formal schooling and two years at the Faculty of Education or eleven years of schooling and two years education in the disciplines they will teach. For physical education teachers, the education needed is nine years of schooling and two years at the Physical Education Institute (UNESCO 2010-10-20).
3. Theoretical Framework and Previous Research

In this section, the theoretical framework of this study, which is gender theory in development, will be presented. Furthermore, a presentation of the issue education for all is followed by some previous research, even though there is not much previous research on the subject which is the focus of this paper. Hence, reports on education in both sub-Saharan Africa and Mozambique are also presented. It should be stated that some of the information in chapter 3.2 about the situation in sub-Saharan Africa is taken from a paper I wrote for the course “Children and Teachers in a World for All” at Linköping University (autumn semester of 2010).

3.1 Gender Theory and Development

The results from this study will be analysed through a gender perspective. In order to do that it is important to be clear what is meant by a gender perspective. Betty Francis and Christine Skelton (2005:14-35) bring up different perspectives of gender through time. One of the perspectives is the social constructionist theory, in which it is acknowledged that identities are “socially situated and constructed through social interaction” (Francis and Skelton 2005:28). Followers of the social constructionist theory believe that gender is constructed through interaction in every-day-life. While the biological sex is fixed and different whether a person is a man or a woman, gender is rather seen as the behaviour of persons and constructed through interaction (Francis and Skelton 2005:29). Furthermore, in the poststructuralist discourse analytical perspective, based on Michel Foucault’s theories of discourse analysis, power is seen “as operating through discourses rather than held by particular groups of people and lacked by others” (Francis and Skelton 2005:30). Through this perspective, the differences between male and female are constructed and upheld through discourse, and some claim that the term women implies “a fixity and homogeneity that do not exist” (Francis and Skelton 2005:31). Moreover, the most recent perspective is the neo-liberal, individualisation perspective which acknowledges the globalisation of the world. In this perspective, it is important to improve equality of opportunity and emphasise the development of the individual regardless of “social class, ethnicity, sexual and gender differences and so forth” (Francis and Skelton 2005:35). Moreover, Chandra Tapalde Mohanty (2003:39) criticises the Western view of women in developing regions as one homogeneous and powerless group. Mohanty (2003:33-38) claims that in the Western feminist discourse, it is assumed that every woman in the world shares experiences of being oppressed by patriarchy, a patriarchy which sometimes is put upon women in developing regions through Western feminist discourse.
Through different approaches in the discussion of gender it is possible to understand the different perspectives of women and gender in development work. Jane Jacquette and Kathleen Staudt explains different perspective of women and gender which have been prevailing in development work, mainly within the donor agencies, which in turn affect the view of women and gender in the countries receiving the money (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:17-50). The two main perspectives are WID (Women in Development) and GAD (Gender and Development). While the WID perspective arose in the 1970s and focused on women’s role in development, the GAD perspective arose in the 1990s as criticism towards WID (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:18). The GAD perspective can be connected to the social constructionist theory, according to which gender roles are socially constructed (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:28) and promote an implementation of gender issues in all development work, not only through programmes directed towards women. Throughout the article, both negative and positive effects of the WID perspective and the GAD perspective are brought up, but Jacquette and Staudt (2006:49-50) admit that the focus on women and gender in development work has decreased. However, the authors claim that this kind of focus is necessary, and that it has to “depend on the active involvement of women themselves as agents of change and protectors of the traditions they value” (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50).

3.2 Gender and Education for All

The target of MDG number three is to “eliminate disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015” (UN 2010-10-08 c). Hence, it is evident that education is considered an important factor to reach the other MDGs and to “reverse the grinding poverty, hunger and diseases affecting billions of people” (UN 2010-10-08 a), which was the reason for forming the eight MDGs. Rischard (2002:101-104) brings up “education for all” as one of twenty global issues that needs to be solved. “Education for all” is together with a “massive step-up in the fight against poverty”, an underlying issue, which will help solving the other twenty issues. Furthermore, he claims that improving girls’ education “brings one of the highest returns known in the field of economic development” (Rischard 2002:102). Caren Grown, Greeta Rao Gupta and Aslihan Kes (2005:36) acknowledge this but put the main focus on secondary and higher education;
“evidence suggests that among all levels of education, secondary and higher levels of education have the greatest payoff for women’s empowerment” (Grown et al. 2005: 36).

### 3.2.1 Gender Issues and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

The number of girls enrolled in secondary education in sub-Saharan Africa has decreased from 71 girls per 100 boys in 1999 to 67 girls per 100 boys in 2008 (UN 2010:20-21). The low number of girls enrolled in school is further demonstrated by Grown et al. (2005:44) who claim that only 29.7 per cent of school age females are enrolled in secondary education in sub-Saharan Africa. It is also claimed that the completion rate is lower for girls than boys (Grown et al. 2005:43).

In the *Millennium Development Goals Report 2010*, poverty is claimed to be the reason for this decrease: “[i]n the poorest households, about twice as many girls of secondary-school age are out of school compared to their wealthier peers” (UN 2010:21). Also claimed to be a reason for the low education enrolment in sub-Saharan Africa is the fact that many of the countries in the region suffer or are recovering from armed conflict. In an armed conflict, girls can be “forced to take care of their younger siblings […] or are not allowed to go to school because of fear of rape, abduction or sexual exploitation” (Grown et al. 2005:45). Moreover, female school students can be forced to take care of their younger siblings and do much domestic work even in countries not recovering from an armed conflict (Grown et al. 2005:51). This is also the case when it comes to girls being sexually harassed or abused by male peers or teachers. This risk prevents parents from sending their daughters to school (Grown et al. 2005:51). Furthermore, it has been discovered that the lack of latrine facilities prevents girls from going to school in Sub-Saharan Africa when they are menstruating (Grown et al. 2005:51). The quality of education is also claimed to be a reason for girls not attending school. Examples are brought up with textbooks where men and women are stereotyped, and women are said to be subordinate and passive (Grown et al. 2005:51).

### 3.2.2 Strategies to Increase the Number of Girls in Schooling

Grown et al. (2005:48-51) give many examples of strategies to use in order to increase the number of girls enrolled in education. They argue that these include making girls’ schooling more affordable, which can be done by reducing school fees (Grown et al. 2005:48). In, for example Uganda, 1997, the reduction of school fees increased girls’ enrolment from 63 per cent to 83 per cent (Grown et al. 2005:48). It can also be done by different scholarships and grants provided to families who send their daughters to school (Grown et al. 2005:49). By
reducing the distance to school much can be achieved to decrease gender disparities in school enrolment. This is exemplified by the case of Egypt, where the construction of primary schools in rural areas increased the number of girls attending education with 23 per cent, and boys with 18 per cent (Grown et al. 2005:50).

In order to address the girls’ fear of being sexually harassed or abused in school, much can be done. Examples are brought up where the girls have female helpers who take care of them during school hours, or the construction of girls-only-schools. Moreover, different NGOs have different strategies to address this issue (Grown et al. 2005:51). However, the work of the NGOs has not been evaluated enough, but if it proves to be efficient, it should be “expanded throughout school systems” (Grown et al. 2005:51). Furthermore, reducing the girls’ domestic burden can be done through changing policies, through including flexible schedules where the girl can both attend school and do her household chores (Grown et al. 2005:51).

Moreover, Grown et al. (2005:28) claim that “countries should strive to achieve more than numerical parity”, that is, focus should not only be on the number of girls or boys enrolled in education, but also on the quality of the education they receive. In order to address the quality of education, better textbooks can be used, teachers can be trained to empower girls and more female school teachers who serve as role models are efficient solutions (Grown et al. 2005:51).

### 3.2.3 The Situation in Mozambique

When looking at the figures presented by UNESCO (2010-10-09) there is a slight difference in the number of female and male students enrolled in both primary and secondary education. The NER for secondary school is the same for both boys and girls, 6 per cent, but the GER is higher with 24 per cent of the male population enrolled and 18 per cent of the female population enrolled in secondary education in 2008 (UNESCO 2010-10-09).

Many of the reasons claimed to keep girls from schooling in the region sub-Saharan Africa are evident in Mozambique as well. Jini L. Roby, Missy Jean Lambert and Joseph Lambert (2008:350) list their findings of reasons for keeping students out of school as “the caregiver’s own level of education, their income level, the distance to school, the location of family (urban or rural), and gender of the child”. In their paper, factors such as children having to take care of their younger siblings, having to work at the machamba (a small piece of land
used for cultivating), dangers affecting children on their way to school, and at school, are brought up as well (Roby et al. 2008:246-248). The dangers include sexual or physical assault, and were only reported from families living in rural areas (Roby et al. 2008:347). The families saw these dangers as more threatening for girls than boys. Furthermore, more girls than boys had to stay at home to take care of their younger siblings, and girls were more often running the risk of getting married earlier (Roby et al. 2008:350). Figures provided by the UNICEF (2010-10-09 e) says that “18 per cent of young women aged 20-24 had been married before the age of 15 and 56 per cent before the age of 17” (UNICEF 2010-10-09 e). Another reason which keeps children away from education is child labour and UNICEF claim that it is estimated that 22 per cent of the children between five and fourteen years old are working. This child labour includes domestic work and the figure is higher for girls than for boys (UNICEF 2010-10-09 e).

However, the quality of education must be brought up as well. Something that keeps girls out of schooling and which is a problem for female students in school is sexual abuse (Helgesson 2002:51-52). “8 per cent of primary school students have been sexually abused and another 35 per cent have experienced sexual harassment” (UNICEF 2010-10-09 e). This is something also found by Linda Helgesson (2000:51-52) in her study of Montepuez, a rural part in northern Mozambique. She gives examples of students who bribe their teachers, either with money, their work force or sexual favours. However, these bribes are not always given voluntarily. The teacher might threaten the student with failing if she or he does not give the bribes to the teacher (Helgesson 2000:51-52). Moreover, the fact that girls have returned from boarding schools pregnant have stopped men from sending their daughters to school (Helgesson 2000:51-52). The issue of sexual abuse has also been raised by many NGOs working in Mozambique. Research presented by Save the Children (2007:10) confirms that sexual abuse is an occurring issue in rural Mozambican schools. It is claimed that there can be three cases, the first is where the “teacher offers a girl who is having problems in school the opportunity to advance to the next grade in exchange for sexual favours” (Save the Children 2007:10), the second is that the teacher threatens to fail the student regardless of her result and finally teachers raping girls, with no regard to assessment at all. In the cases where female students are not raped, but agrees on having sex with the teacher, Save the Children (2007:10) claims that many people’s view is that it is partly the girl’s fault because she should have said no.
Moreover, research presented by WLSA (Women and Law in Southern Africa 2007:2-10) shows that it is not only in rural areas that this phenomenon exists. 117 girls who had been abused sexually were interviewed and 51 per cent of them lived in urban areas, most of them living in the suburbs (WLSA 2007:4). Furthermore, 68 per cent of the victims were over 15 years old when the abuse took place and 76,8 per cent went to primary school (WLSA 2007:4). 10 per cent of these victims had been abused sexually in school, and 19 of 97 perpetrators were the victim’s teacher. Maria José Arthur (2003:13) from WLSA criticises the country’s regulations on the issue. First of all, it is claimed that the teachers are not punished enough. An example is brought up, of a teacher who when reported guilty of abusing girls sexually, was moved to another school, where he continued abusing girls sexually. Furthermore, a comparison with South Africa is made, where teachers are forbidden to practise their profession if proved guilty of these crimes. Secondly, this is connected to the issue of female students getting pregnant (Arthur 2003:13-14). Abortion is illegal in Mozambique, but unsafe illegal abortions are made, many times with the consequence that the woman dies (DN 2010-10-23). Furthermore, complications during pregnancy can occur when teenagers are pregnant, and without access to hospitals these complications can be devastating (Arthur and Cabral 2003:14). The number of female students becoming pregnant is increasing (Arthur and Cabral 2003:14) and the national law no 39/GM/2003 says that they should be moved into the evening courses. Furthermore, if a teacher makes a student pregnant, he should be suspended from service and not receive any salary (Arthur and Cabral 2004:16). This is further criticised by Maria José Arthur and Zaida Cabral (2003:14-16), because there is no regulation on how long the teacher should be suspended, and as shown by Arthur (2003:13-14), it is possible for the teacher to get a job at another school. Furthermore, moving the student to the evening courses can both be seen as a punishment for getting pregnant (and raped, if that is the case) and cause difficulties, since all schools do not offer night courses (Arthur and Cabral 2003:16).

A campaign against sexual abuse in schools started in 2006 by different NGOs in Mozambique, and according to Action Aid, the numbers of crimes reported have increased by 50 per cent and the issue is discussed more openly in society now.

Figure 4: "If you are a victim of sexual abuse, Report!" Picture from the booklet "Assédio Sexual (WLSA 2009:16)."
than earlier (Action Aid 2010-10-22). The campaign has for example published the booklet *Assédio Sexual nas Escolas* (WLSA 2009) where the issue is presented as a story with pictures and advice that the girls can follow to avoid being sexual harassed and what they should do if they are sexually harassed.

Helgesson (2000:52) also makes the connection of teachers who abuse students sexually or take bribes in exchange for marks with teachers who drink. It is claimed that these problems are most common among male teachers, and at the school where Helgesson (2000:52) carried out her research, mostly men worked as teachers. Moreover, UNICEF claims that “[t]he limited number of female teachers – in the upper primary level, only 23 per cent of teachers are women – means that girls often lack role models who could encourage them to continue and complete their studies” (UNICEF 2010-10-09 a).

When discussing teachers abusing or harassing students sexually, it is of utmost importance to keep in mind that students are dependent on their teachers since the teachers are in the position of assessing the students (Colnerud & Granström 2006:144). This is also acknowledged by Arthur (2003:3) and recognized by the teachers’ union in Mozambique (ONP), which has established a code of conduct for Mozambican teachers. The code of conduct is divided into four parts, part one includes the teachers’ engagement in the students, part two the teachers’ engagement in parents and caregivers, part three their engagement in the society and part four the teachers’ engagement as regards the profession. In part four, it is clearly stated that some teachers, even though it is important not to generalise, “são conotados com práticas desviantes como a cobrança de subornos e rendas, o comércio de notas e ingressos, o assédio sexual das alunas” (are involved in deviant practices, such as taking bribes in exchange for marks, and sexual abuse of students) (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10). ONP also claims that consequences of this problem can be that girls become pregnant and often infected with the HIV virus. Furthermore, ONP acknowledges that these problems severely affect the education in Mozambique negatively and urge teachers to take action against such practices (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10).

Conceniação Osório (WLSA 2010-10-22) discusses the definition of sexual abuse. It is claimed that sexual abuse is used to describe “non-specified forms of violence against the female body, and rape” (WLSA 2010-10-22). However, it is claimed that the term sexual abuse, just as the terms sexual harassment, sexist remarks and gender violence are used in a
vague manner. Osório (WLSA 2010-10-22) concludes that the terms sexual violence and abuse are included in the term gender violence. In Save the Children’s research (2007:12), people considered a sexual act including violence (rape), a huge age difference and if the man “abuses his role as a father and educador (Save the Children 2007:12) to be sexual abuse (Save the Children 2007:12). In this paper, the term sexual abuse will be used to describe forced sexual activity, and the term sexual harassment as “repeated and unwelcome sexual comments, looks, or physical contact at work, usually a man's actions that offend a woman” (Collins 2006).
4. Method and Material
In this section the method for carrying out the interviews and the materials used will be presented, followed by a discussion of the method.

4.1 Method
In order to answer the research question, a qualitative method built on focus groups or group interviews as well as individual interviews was chosen. In this section, the concepts qualitative research, phenomenology, focus groups or group interviews, individual interviews as well as the procedures used for carrying out the study will be presented.

4.1.1 Qualitative Research and Phenomenology
In order to get some answers to the research question, a qualitative method was chosen. Qualitative research is built on interpretive and constructive perspective on the theory of knowledge and an inductive perspective on the relation between theory and practice (Bryman 2002:249-250). The interpretive perspective is based on the difference between studying human beings and the objects studied by natural scientists. When studying human beings and their social actions, it is important to have this view in order to understand that the social actions are subjective (Bryman 2002:25-27). Furthermore, the constructive perspective on the theory of knowledge differs from having an objective perspective. To have an objective view means to see social occurrences as objects, which we cannot affect (Bryman 2002:30). However, a constructive perspective means to acknowledge that social actors and occurrences are in conjunction, that they affect each other all the time and are created and altered through people acting in the social arenas (Bryman 2002:33). The inductive perspective is contrasted with the deductive perspective. In the deductive perspective, research is carried out based on a theory, while, in the inductive perspective, the theory is based on the research which has been carried out (Bryman 2002:22, Olsson and Söreenssen 2007:32). However, an abductive perspective can also be chosen, in which the dialogue between the theoretical framework and the results is emphasised (Olsson and Söreenssen 2007:33). For this paper, the abductive perspective has been chosen in order to create a greater understanding of the results.

Furthermore, this study is influenced by a qualitative method called phenomenology, especially when analysing the data. In phenomenology, the researcher wants to examine how the informants understand a specific phenomenon occurring in their everyday life (Olsson and Söreenssen 2007:105). Moreover, phenomenography, which is a part of phenomenology,
focuses on the relationship between how people perceive a special phenomenon and how they regard the same phenomenon. In phenomenography, the meaning of reality is regarded to exist outside humans and constructed through how humans perceive reality. However, in phenomenography the emphasis is on describing how different people regard the same phenomenon, in order to get closer to what the reality is (Olsson and Sörenssen 2007:106-107). This study is close to phenomenology, in the way that my informants were asked to describe how they perceive education in Mozambique, which is a phenomenon in their everyday life. Small comparisons will be done between female and male students, teachers and authorities, which can be seen as influenced by phenomenography. However, the main focus is on how the informants perceive their reality, not to make a comparison, hence, this study is influenced more by phenomenology than phenomenography.

4.1.2 Access to the Field and Participants

Before I arrived to Maputo my contact person at the AGS and UNDE made a plan of how my study was going to be carried out. The plan included interviews at different schools and meetings with different organisations. When I arrived I realised that these contacts were not already made, but that I had to make them. My contact person and UNDE helped me, primarily, with getting access to the schools. A school is described by Alan Bryman (2002:278) as a non-public field, since it is an organization that everyone does not have access to. Bryman (2002:278) also describes different ways in which a researcher can get access to such a field. One is to have the permission from the head, in this case the principal. It is also be helpful to explain the purpose and the methods of the study. Another way is to get help from friends or colleagues (Bryman 2002:282). As stated earlier, I had both the permission from the head, I explained the purpose and the methods of the study to the principal as well as the informants and as will be seen below, my contact persons at AGS and UNDE helped me with getting access to the school.

I would not have had access to the schools where I carried out my study were it not for the help of my contact persons. First, my contact person at the AGS and people from UNDE wrote a document saying that I was in Maputo to write my final exam paper to become a teacher. The Director of Education in the city of Maputo signed the document, and then we went to the schools to get copies of the same document signed by the principals. There were no problems at the first school, however, at the second school, the principal was away. During the following weeks, a contact person at UNDE and I went both to the school and to different
offices to find the right persons and get the papers signed. When the time came to start my interviews at the second school, all papers were signed and I did not have problems with starting the interviews.

At the first school, I was introduced to the núcleo, a group of students who work with students’ democracy and social questions on the school. They helped me with choosing students I was going to interview and the pedagogical director at the school helped me with getting access to teachers interviewed and lessons to assist. The students were interviewed in the office of this group of students and the teachers were interviewed in the staff room. On the second school, there were three pedagogical directors, which all had one office each. They helped me with choosing both students and teachers and they were also the ones who talked to the teachers who let me observe their lessons. Students and teachers were interviewed in the different pedagogical directors’ offices, and in the staff room.

For the selection of students and teachers to interview, a convenience sampling was used. A convenience sampling is mainly based on the persons who happen to be available for the researcher (Bryman 2002:114). This can also be called a subjective selection and it is important to consider the fact that the selection might not be representative of students and teachers in general (Bryman 2002:114, Olsson and Sörenssen 2007:70). The fact that the students I interviewed were either chosen by other students or the pedagogical directors affected the selection of students. At the second school, this was discussed among the pedagogical teachers who did the selection, and they tried to choose the students who were to participate as objectively as possible. Nevertheless, the fact that they made the selection probably affected the result. The criteria I had for the selection was that they should be girls attending secondary school for the interviews, and boys and girls attending secondary school for the focus groups.

4.1.3 Focus Groups and the Individual Interviews

I spent two weeks in each school. The first week I carried out focus group interviews (henceforth referred to as “focus groups”) with approximately 3-4 students in each group, with the exception of one group with as many as six students. Bryman (2002:324) describes the differences between focus groups and group interviews. The researcher is more concerned with watching the reaction of the group members when they deeply discuss a specific question in a focus group, whereas group interviews can cover greater areas and more
questions (Bryman 2002:324). However, Bryman (2002:325) claims that it is hard to
distinguish between the two ways of performing interviews. Some of the focus groups I
carried out were more similar to group interviews, since the students mainly just answered my
questions without taking much initiative on their own. However, two groups stood out and
discussed much on their own.

The second week in each school was spent by interviewing female students and teachers
individually (henceforth referred to as “interviews”). In the first school I interviewed seven
girls and in the second school four girls and one boy. All in all, four teachers were
interviewed in the first school and eight in the second school. In addition to those teachers, I
also got the opportunity to talk to three teachers who work with the teachers’ organisation,
ONP. The interviews were semi-structured, i.e. characterized by a flexible process. The
interview guide may resemble a list of themes but the respondent has to be able to answer in
different ways (Bryman 2002:303, Johannessen and Tufte 2003:98). The interview guides
used included questions in the areas I wanted to study, but the order in which the questions
were asked and the resulting questions used depended on the response from the respondents. I
had different interview guides (see Appendix) depending on whether the respondent was a
student, a teacher or an official (a person working for an authority). Important to consider is
that the interview guides were more specific for the students than for teachers and officials.

4.1.4 Collection and Analysis of Data

Almost all interviews and focus groups with students were recorded and transcribed. The
transcriptions were done as soon as possible after the interviews. However, the sound of the
two first focus groups in the second school was too poor. I realised this when starting the first
one, and I learned to take notes during the rest of the focus groups and interviews as well.
Hence, during the rest of the focus groups and interviews in the second school both recordings
and notes were parts of the data collected. Furthermore, during interviews with teachers and
authorities, I only took notes. Immediately after each interview or focus group, I wrote a short
summary of the main content in the interview. When analysing the data, both these summaries,
notes and transcriptions were taken into consideration.

Bjørn Johannessen and Per Arne Tufte (2003:109) describe how the data can be analysed with
focus on meaning. The interest is on what the informants say and different themes are
organised throughout the data if the inductive approach is used (Johannessen and Tufte
Moreover, Henny Olsson and Stefan Sörenssen (2007:108) describe the procedure of analysing data through the phenomenographic approach, and claim that there are three main points which have to be taken into consideration. These three points are: 1) finding relevant themes according to the research question, 2) analysing the utterances on these themes and 3) a comparison between what is said by different informants (Olsson and Sörenssen 2007:108). Furthermore, Johannessen and Tufte (2003:110-115) explain the procedure of finding themes in the data. First, the overall impression is taken into consideration and summarised and the themes arise from the summary. Thereafter, relevant material is marked with different codes and the material is categorised throughout these codes. Furthermore, the material is once again reduced and through tables where it is possible to see which informant who has said what according to each category. Finally, another summary is done, and compared to the first, overall impression (Johannessen and Tufte 2003:110-115).

The data collected has been categorised into different themes, in tables where it is possible to see which informants has said what. A comparison of where similarities and differences has been done, and the utterances have thereafter been summarised according to the themes. After coding and putting the text into categories, patterns and themes identified and compared will be analysed with the help of the theoretical framework (Johannessen and Tufte 2003:110). This will be done in the discussion.

**4.1.5 Ethics**

When performing the interviews, the ethical rules of researching, which include the rule of information, the rule of consent, the rule of confidentiality and the rule of usage (Vetenskapsrådet 2002:7-14, Bryman 2002:440-441) were considered. I made sure I had the informants approval, that they knew for what reason I wrote the paper and that they understood that participation was voluntary. They did not need to answer questions they found uncomfortable. I also explained that they would be anonymous through fictive names used in the paper and that the interviews I made would only be used for this paper. The interviews were carried out by me alone, in Portuguese, sometimes assisted with English when the students had enough knowledge of that language.

**4.2 Presentation of Material**

I carried out my study in two different schools in the *bairros* (suburbs) of Maputo. School A has a total of approximately 5000 students in the daytime classes whereas School B is a bit smaller with a total of approximately 3000 students in the daytime classes. Both schools also offer evening courses, but I only carried out my interviews and visited the schools during
daytime. The first daytime shift goes on from 8.00 to 12.30 and the second from 12.30 to 17.00. In School A I carried out four focus groups, two with female students and two with male students. The first focus groups with female students consisted of three students in each, and the ones with male students of two and three students, respectively. In addition, I interviewed seven female students individually. I also carried out four focus groups at School B, the ones with female students with six and three students, respectively, the ones with male students with four and three students, respectively. I also interviewed five students individually, four females and one male. All in all, 26 female students and 14 male students were interviewed. The reason for interviewing more female than male students was that I wanted to focus my study on the female students’ perspective.

Table 1: Fictive names for students interviewed in both focus groups and individual interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School A</th>
<th>School B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus groups</strong></td>
<td><strong>Focus groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: Anisia, Bianca, Cintia</td>
<td>1: Ligia, Martine, Nina, Odolina, Paula, Rita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: Adelino, Bastiam, Christiano</td>
<td>2: Gabriel, Helder, Ivan, Johan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: Deolinda, Elena, Fernanda</td>
<td>3: Keandre, Leopoldo, Marco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: Domingos, Eduardo, Felipe</td>
<td>4: Silvia, Teresa, Úrsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual Interviews</strong></td>
<td><strong>Individual Interviews</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graca, Helena, Anisia, Deolinda, Isabel, Joana, Kyla</td>
<td>Vidonia, Wendela, Xidonia, Ynez, Nunez</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, I talked to teachers at both schools, and in order to get a fuller understanding of the environment in which I carried out my study I watched some lessons. Through my contact person at UNDE, I visited ONP, the teachers’ organisation. There I interviewed a few teachers but I mainly talked to a woman responsible for organising a girls’ group. I also got the opportunity to visit a meeting of the girls’ group.
Table 2: Fictive names for teachers interviewed at different schools and ONP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School A</th>
<th>School B</th>
<th>ONP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cidalia, Denisse</td>
<td>Airas, Baltasar</td>
<td>Janinha, Letitia, Maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Estancinho, Fernam, Gervasio, Henrique, Ioham, Kaniel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Patricia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuno, Osorio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, in order to get some data of the number of students attending the schools, I also visited the Department of Planning at the Board of Education of the City of Maputo. These data are quantitative, official and secondary. Bryman (2002:213-214) writes that the reliability and validity of official data have to be considered. I received data on how many students were enrolled in the schools and completed secondary school in Maputo, in the year 2009. However, this does not say much about how many of these students who actually attend and participates in secondary education.

4.3 Discussion of Method

It is important to consider the credibility and the transferability of a qualitative study. The first, credibility is determined by whether the result as understood by the researcher is the same as the result as understood by the participants (Bryman 2002:258). During both focus groups and interviews I tried to summarize and explain to the students what I had understood from the interview in order to make sure that my perceptions of their conversations were right. However, when collecting the data, transcribing the interviews and looking for patterns, new issues might have arisen and the credibility might have been higher if it had been possible to return to the informants with resulting questions. Furthermore, the credibility might have been affected by the fact that the interviews were carried out in the pedagogical directors’ offices or in the staff room in the second school. This might have affected the result, since the students may not have felt very comfortable in that kind of setting. The location of interviews is discussed by Helgesson (2000:14), who declines the offer of using the headmaster’s room for interviewing girls in a primary school in Mozambique. I discussed this with the pedagogical principals, but no other alternatives were available.
The transferability is determined by whether it is possible to transfer the same results on other social arenas. However, during qualitative research, the focus is on the context, on the respondents’ view of their reality. In order to determine transferability in qualitative research, thick descriptions should be used. Thick descriptions can be translated to in-depth descriptions of the informants’ reality (Bryman 2002:260) and I have tried to describe the respondents’ reality according to their own responses as deeply as possible. It is important to be aware of the fact that a qualitative study is a study on the informants’ views, in this context and at this time. If the same study is to be carried out at another time, say ten years from now, or at another place, say Sweden or another part of Mozambique, the answers from the respondents might be completely different.

Important to consider in this particular study was the fact that some of the question I asked could be considered very personal. Based on information from the AGS, UNDE and other people I had talked to, the phenomenon of teachers demanding personal services, for example sex, in exchange for grades was rather common. Sex can be a taboo issue, and sometimes I realised that the students felt uncomfortable when asked about it, but in most cases the girls and boys I talked to were very open. In one group, the girls even complained about their parents and other adult not talking about it more openly at home.

Furthermore, it is important to be critical of the sources in a scientific paper. This goes both for the literature presented as well as when the informants are the sources. My informants gave me much secondary information, in the way they told me something they had heard about or something a friend experienced. Secondary sources are not as reliable as primary sources (Thurén 2005:53). However, this study examines the informants’ views on different issues, hence, even if the source is secondary, how they perceive it is of importance.
5. Results

The result from focus groups and interviews will be presented here. First of all, the students’ perspective on their future plans and their present education will be presented. Thereafter, the teachers’ perspective on education in Maputo will be presented, and finally the results from the meetings with the Ministry of Education and the Board of Education of the City of Maputo will be accounted for.

5.1 The Students’ Views

As stated earlier, I interviewed students at two different secondary schools. The students interviewed were mainly female students, but I also have some data from male secondary school students. The results from focus groups and interviews will be presented here, divided into themes that I found reoccurring during the conversations. These themes were:

- The Students’ Future Plans
- Their Present Education

5.1.1 The Students’ Future Plans

In this section, the students’ future plans will mainly be presented through what kind of profession they want when they grow up, and their own reasons for choosing that profession.

Table 3: The students' future professions. Names written within brackets show that student is not certain or that it is the student’s second choice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future plans</th>
<th>Psychology</th>
<th>Journalist</th>
<th>Medicine</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>(Silvia)</td>
<td>Isabel</td>
<td>Anisia</td>
<td>Xidonia</td>
<td>Bianca</td>
<td>Martine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joana</td>
<td>(Wendela)</td>
<td>(Wendela)</td>
<td>Ursula</td>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>Elena</td>
<td>Nina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Cintia)</td>
<td>Vidonia</td>
<td>(Joana)</td>
<td>Paula</td>
<td>Kyla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silvia)</td>
<td>Domingo</td>
<td>(Cintia)</td>
<td>Rita</td>
<td>Felipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Graca)</td>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>(Deolinda)</td>
<td>Ynez</td>
<td>(Deolinda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marco</td>
<td>(Christiano)</td>
<td>(Silvia)</td>
<td>(Teresa)</td>
<td>(Graca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Leopoldo)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adelino</td>
<td>Eduardo</td>
<td>(Graca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Keadre</td>
<td>Nuno</td>
<td>(Christiano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Christiano)</td>
<td>(Keandre)</td>
<td>(Keandre)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Publishing and Marketing</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
<th>Biologist</th>
<th>Policeman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ligia</td>
<td>Nunez</td>
<td>Fernanda</td>
<td>Odolina</td>
<td>Ivan</td>
<td>Leopoldo</td>
<td>(Christiano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Deolinda)</td>
<td>(Deolinda)</td>
<td>(Felipe)</td>
<td>Johan</td>
<td>(Keandre)</td>
<td>(Keandre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Graca)</td>
<td>(Graca)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the table it is evident that many students have second choices, the main reason for this is that they are not sure that they will be admitted to their first-choice university programme and
others have many choices simply because they have not decided yet. Furthermore, the students have different reasons for choosing the future professions. Anisia says that she wants to become a doctor in order to open her own clinic and after a while many clinics. In the future, she would like to have many clinics and employees and earn much money without having to work at all. Vidonia also wants to become a doctor, mainly in order to earn much money, support her family and not have to be hungry. However, she also thinks that the standard of the hospitals in Mozambique is bad and she wants to improve that. This is similar to Nunez’s objectives with his education, to become well educated and to help building the country. Deolinda and Fernanda, who want to become artists, also want to be able to help building the country. They want to be able to help orphans, homeless and disabled children with the money they will earn as artists. Deolinda also want to become a lawyer, and believe that she will be able to help orphans through her job as a lawyer. Furthermore, Marco also wants to help the country, when he becomes a journalist he wants to help Mozambique with tracking down people who do wrong things.

Helena and Joana want a good job with much pay after finishing secondary school. Helena explains that she wants a good job in order to be able to pay for her sister’s education. She has lost her mother, and her father is an old-fashioned man who does not think that girls should study. She receives aid from the núcleo at the school so that she is able to pay the tuition fee. She would like to get a job within an “empresa do estado” (a state-owned company), for example at a school, a ministry or maybe a bank.

Some of the female students say that they want to have a family in the future. Graca wants to get married and have four children, two girls and two boys. Helena also wants to get married, but not with just anyone, he has to be a responsible man. However, most of them say that the studies come first. Anisia says about marriage that “casar é para depois” (marriage is for afterwards). Ynez is the only female student who is sure on the fact that she does not want to get married, because everybody gets divorced. However, maybe she wants to have children later on, she likes children. The male students did not bring the issue of family, marriage and children up at all.

Some of the students are already preparing themselves for their future jobs. The female students who want to become artists are taking part in a choir or a theatre group. Many of the students are also members of the núcleo or the Red-Cross group at school, the latter will
prepare them well for studying Medicine. Leopoldo, whose second choice is to become a journalist, is preparing himself by taking part of a project called “Debate Juvenil” (Youth Debates). Furthermore, most of the students have chosen subjects at secondary school which will prepare them for their future university studies.

In order to reach their goals, most of the students have to study at university. However, some are a bit worried that they will not get admitted to the programme they want and that they will not be able to afford the school fee. Most students also emphasise the importance of working hard and be focused on what they want. Anisia says that they have to “*estudar, estudar, estudar mais. Ter pensamento positivo*” (Study, study, study more. Have positive thoughts) and Keandre claims that studying hard “*é a chave do sucesso*” (is the key for success). Ligia says that they do not only have to study at school, but also at home. The girls in the second focus group in School A believe that they have to not listen to other people saying that you cannot do it. Úrsula, in School B, says that they have to “*querer no fundo da coração*” (want it from the bottom of their hearts). When I ask about what she has to do in order to reach her goals, she says “*never give up, I won’t give up*”. However, Úrsula also says that the students might need financial support from family and friends in order to pay for schooling.

5.1.2 Their Present Education

The students bring up many positive factors which are connected to their education. Most of them believe that they themselves are in charge of their own lives and their future, for example Graca says, “*eu, quando meto uma coisa na cabeça é isso*” (for me, when I put something in my mind, that is what counts) and Keandre believes that “*eu é o boss*” (I am the boss). However, many of the students, including Graca and Keandre, believe that family is an important influence. Some of the students believe that they are influenced by their family when making choices, for example Deolinda who wants to continue studying because she has seen that her aunt and uncle study. Others say that they are mainly supported by the family. For example, Joana’s mother has always wanted her to be happy “*era sempre, foi um sonho dela*” (it has always been her dream) and support her decisions. Other positive factors are friends who help them studying and who support them, religion who teach them what is right and what is wrong, and how to behave. Teachers are also an important influence. Many teachers motivate the students, give the students time in class to think about what they want and how to reach their goals, and teach well which make the students want to learn more. However, the students also bring up issues that they regard as problems connected to their
education, mainly the alcohol and drug-consumption at the schools, the issue of money and how teachers handle the assessment of the students. These issues will be presented below.

**Alcohol and Drugs**

Half of the female students interviewed at School B claim that the alcohol and drug-consumption is a problem at their school. The girls in the second focus group say that the problem is the fact that the *barracas* (small pubs or shops situated in the neighbourhoods) are so close to the school. Teresa says that all *barracas* sell alcohol and cigarettes, and Silvia adds that if she would go to the one close to school, she could easily buy a cigarette for 2 MT, and for 5 MT she would get a bottle of spirits consisting of 45 per cent alcohol. Teresa says that it can be confusing for some children, because their parents may drink at home but teachers at school say that drinking is bad for your health. It can be even more confusing when you see the teachers drinking at the *barracas*. In the interview with Vidonia, she says that it is normal to start drinking at the age of 14, and she thinks that her fellow students who drink and take drugs are bad influence for her. Sometimes they even drink and take drugs within the school area. Xidonia is a bit worried because she has seen male students being high on drugs who assault the female students. It is also a problem for the students who do drugs themselves, because this makes them stop studying. The boys in School A also bring up alcohol and drugs, and believe that students who are drinking and doing drugs at school hours may influence their own education negatively.

During my time in Maputo, I got the opportunity to attend a meeting regarding the alcohol and drug-consumption in the schools. This meeting was initiated by both female and male students at one of the schools I visited, and they invited me to take part in this meeting. The meeting was on a Saturday and went on from approximately 9 in the morning to 14 in the afternoon. Approximately 100 students from schools in Maputo attended the meeting. In the beginning of the meeting, everyone who had something to say regarding the issue wrote her or his name up on a piece of paper, and during the meeting everyone had their say. This meeting was in the beginning of my stay in Maputo, and despite the fact that I did not understand much of what was said (because of being unfamiliar to the language), I understood that this is an issue which the students are concerned about and they are willing to do something about it. Furthermore, the students who initiated the meeting were going to pass the result from it forward to different authorities.
Money
When it comes to the problems or issues connected to education, money is brought up as a big issue. The students are not completely sure of the price for studying at university, but they all know that it is much more expensive than secondary education. Anisia and Kyla, especially, mention money as a problem, and show their concerns about not being able to pay for university studies. Most of the students connect this to their parents’ economy. Anisia says if her parents do not have a job good enough to pay for her education, she will not be able to continue studying and this is brought up by Isabel, Wendela and Ynez as well. Among the male students, the issue of paying for university is not as high as the issue of entering university. Domingos says, “podemos correr para 12º mas para correr para faculdade fica muito difícil” (we can finish 12th grade, but to enter university is very hard). In School B, the boys in the second focus group also discuss the difficulties of entering university. The entrance exams for university go on from January to February. Exactly when they take place is up to the different universities to decide; they do not have the exams on the same days. It is possible to find out if one has passed or not at the university or on the Internet and the results might come after a month or maybe later. In the meantime it is possible to take another course, and Marco says “ninguem entra la sem passar por isso” (no one enters without going through all that). Anisia also brings up the difficulties of entering university because, “tem que ter familiares lá dentro” (you have to have family inside) and Joana believes that teachers and principals can influence whether a student is admitted or not. She believes that if she has good connections to the principal of university she will enter university more easily.

Moreover, when discussing the influence of money, Wendela thinks that if her boyfriend wants to, he can help her by paying for her education. However, she also believes that a boyfriend can influence negatively, if he wants marriage and that she should stay at home. If her future husband would want her to stay at home, she says that she would be the one without money and education if they would separate. Had she lived with a man who would say this, she would move back to her parents’ house. Meanwhile, Helena is the student who suffers most from the influence of money. Her family does not pay for her education, she is now getting help from the school, and she discusses the influence of money much. She is very worried that she will not be able to continue studying at university because of the lack of money.
The influence of money is also connected to the development of Mozambique. Ynez believes that the government and the country are factors that can influence her life. Mozambique is a poor country and living in these conditions make students want jobs where the salary is good, in order to escape poverty. The influence of Mozambique being a poor country is also brought up by Nina, who wants to become a teacher in order to take part in developing the country.

**Teachers’ Handling of Marks**
The third and biggest issue brought up in the conversations concerns the teachers. In School B, the girls in the second focus group say that some teachers just give lessons the way they want. Some teachers are good at explaining while others are not so good, which makes it hard for the students. Teresa also says that some teachers never show up at school at all, they only come a few days a week, and then only to give tests and never give lessons.

Moreover, another teacher-related issue is that some teachers give away marks in exchange for sexual services or money. The girls in the first focus group in School A say that this has not happened to them, but they know that this exists in every school in Maputo. They discuss whether this is the students’ or the teachers’ fault. They say that sometimes a male teacher approaches a female student and simply says that her grades are low and that she can raise them by having sex with him. However, these suggestions can also come from the student by her approaching the teacher and saying “estou a pedir nota” (I am begging for a mark), whereupon the teacher answers that she can get one if she agrees to have sex with him. Furthermore, the students claim that girls are afraid of reporting the teachers, since all teachers, and the principal, are friends and act like a family, and “uma família nunca prejudica outra pessoa” (a family never hurts another member of the family). Anisia believes that a sensibilização with the students, by organizing debates and meetings, has to be done in order to reduce the problem. Sensibilização is a word used often, and can be translated into an achievement of making the people concerned aware or raising their consciousness of a problem.

The girls in the second focus group in School A believe that this is a problem in the whole country. They say that it may include both money and sexual services. Elena also claims that there are teachers who rape the students, and as a consequence the girl gets pregnant. Furthermore, her family might believe that she was the one wanting it in the first place, and therefore she might get thrown out of her family. However, they all say that there are also
students who want it, either because the teacher might pay them money for having sex with them or give them better marks. In order to avoid this happening, the students should not be intimate with the teacher, should pay attention to how to dress so as not to dress “sexy”, with short skirts and blouses that show cleavage, and should try not to sit in the front of the classroom where the teacher can see the student well. Deolinda also believes that the teachers have to think of their female students as daughters.

In the second focus group in School A, the students had a big discussion whether it could be appropriate for a teacher to have a relationship with a student or not. Bastiam believes that it could be possible if the teacher is strict on the fact that “sou professor na sala de aulas mas fora da escola eu posso ser teu namorado ou teu amigo” (I am a teacher when we have lessons, but outside of school I can be your boyfriend or friend). Adelino however, firmly says that this “não podera acontecer” (this should not happen). He believes that it would be hard for the teacher to keep it this way, and he also believes that it would be hard for the teacher to keep it from affecting the education. He also wonders what will happen if the student see her teacher drinking. Christiano also brings up the age difference. In the fourth focus group, Domingos says that there is nothing to do about this problem. It regards both money and sex in exchange for marks. They have talked about the problem, they have seen cases on the news, but the teachers do not understand “sempre quere dinheiro” (they always want money), or if you are a woman, you might “ir ná cama com ele para passar” (go to bed with him to pass). The boys give an example of a friend who failed last year because a student who never showed up in class paid the teacher to pass. They also talk about a teacher who was taken away from teaching since he had sex with a student last year. He still works at the school, but with other things. In order to prevent this from happening, they believe that they themselves should store all the tests they have taken at home, to show the principal if they fail. However, this might not help. Eduardo says, “sempre é o palavra do professor é a palavra forta” (the teacher’s word is always the strongest).

During the interview with Graca, she told me that she was given a falta vermelha (a red mark) by a teacher last year. When she asked about it, he said that he could take it away, and so he did. The next day he asked her to have sex with him. When she said no, he started begging “uma vez na sala” (once in the classroom), she kept saying no as a consequence he said to her: “voce já chumbou oficialmente” (you now failed officially). She is now repeating the same year again because of this. She believes that in order to prevent and avoid this, there has to be
a sensibilização with the teachers. Kyla also says that a teacher asked her to have sex with him last year. She did say no, and failed the course. However, she does not know if she failed the course because of saying no or just because she had not been studying enough. About having sex to get marks, she says “isto aí não dá!” (that will not do!). She believes that it is wrong, and that students should say no and think about the fact that the teacher might be the same age as their fathers. Isabel believes that this problem exists because the students do not know how to negotiate with their teachers. The students offer money to the teacher and “como ser humano” (since he is human), he will not say no. The consequence of this, according to Isabel, is that the students always will think that they can pay for their grades. Isabel believes that if teachers give grades in exchange for sex, it is because the students want it, otherwise the teachers would not do it.

The girls in School B are also aware of the problem of teacher accepting money or sexual favours in exchange for marks. None of the girls I talked to had experienced it, but most of them know at least someone who has either paid for marks or had sex for marks. Silvia says that she knows someone who paid a teacher in order to raise her marks, but in the end, the teacher did not raise her marks and she failed anyway. Teresa believes that the money should be spent on someone who can give these students extra lessons or explain the parts he or she does not understand. All the girls say that the issue of sexual abuse happens to the girls who hang out and drink with the teachers at the barracas. Teresa also emphasises that not all teachers do this. Moreover, the consequences can be that the girl gets pregnant, she could get an STD, and it can also affect the girl’s mental health. Silvia believes that it is easy to go from having sex in order to raise the marks to prostitution. In order to prevent this, meetings and debates could be arranged to inform about the issue and to teach the students and the teachers to do what is right. They also believe that their parents should talk more openly about this issue, and also about sex in general. That would answer many of their questions and make them more prepared on the issues or problems they might face later in life.

Vidonia tells me about the newly established rule of female students not being allowed to wear skirts or trousers which show their knees. She says that this rule was implemented because some students wanted to seduce the teachers in order to pass. These students want it because they do not like to study. However, many students wear long skirts and trousers to school, but keep their shorter clothes underneath, and take the longer ones off when school starts. In order to prevent it, Vidonia says that the teachers should say no and take action
against it. However, she says that some of the teachers want it and approach the girls with the suggestion. She believes that the consequence is that the girl might “chega na curso de ser médica, chega na operação e a pessoa vai morer” (arrive to the course to become a doctor, starts the operation but the patient dies). Girl V also agrees that there are two cases; it is either the student or the teacher who come with the suggestion. She says that “a relação do professor e as alunas tinha que ser mesmo de professor para aluna” (the relation between the teacher and the female students should be the one of teachers and students). She also believes that the teachers have to think of their female students as if they were their daughters. They are educators and students should not fear running the risk of being sexually abused.

The boys in the second focus group at School B group say that the teachers who do these things are corrupt. Keandre believes that “corrupção é uma epidemia” (corruption is an epidemic), it exists everywhere. These boys also believe that the teachers should be reported in order to find a solution to the problem, but they know that many students are afraid of failing and that is why they do not report the teachers. When I ask if they believe that this corruption exists at university as well, Keandre answers “claro que acontece, isto é Moçambique” (of course it exists, this is Mozambique).

5.2 The Teachers’ Perspective
I interviewed four teachers at School A, seven teachers at School B and three teachers at the ONP. To keep the teachers anonymity, I will only state whether they are male or female teachers.

All of the teachers complained about the large number of students in each class, and different numbers were mentioned. While many of the teachers at School A say that there is normally around 60-70 student in each class, teachers at School B say that it is normal to have 80 and sometimes even 100 students in each class. This was also observed during the few classroom observations I made. Airas, a male teacher, believes that there are too many students in relation to the number of schools and teachers existing in Mozambique.

Many of the teachers also believe that a big problem that education in Mozambique faces is the lack of properly built schools and of teaching material. In the countryside, a sight which still can be seen is the one of teachers teaching under a tree. In the schools in the city, the teachers believe that the lack of material is a problem. Denisse, a female teacher who only has
worked for a few years, says “how can you teach reading without books?” She also claims that the students cannot afford to buy the material needed. Estancinho, a male teacher, says that the teachers have to write down everything the students are supposed to read down on the blackboard, the students then have to write this down themselves, which make it difficult to find the time to go through everything that has to be taught.

A third issue is the students’ motivation. Many of the teachers who have been working for a long time claim that the students’ are not motivated to learn as much as they were when they started teaching. They do not do their homework and do not seem to be interested in studying.

All the teachers say that there is a problem of teachers in Mozambique being corrupted and taking money or abusing girls sexually in exchange for marks. Estancinho says that he does not know whether it exists at the school where he is working, but he is sure that it exists in Maputo. However, many of the teachers say that it this goes for only a small number of teachers, and that it is important not to generalize.

Airas believes that in order to prevent this, something should be done at the Teacher Training. Estancinho who not long ago was a student of Teacher Education says that they discussed teacher’s ethical responsibility in general, but not this specific problem. Baltasar, a male teacher, believes that teachers who do this should be punished, and that the teachers’ salaries should be raised in order to stop corruption. Gervasio, a male teacher, believes that groups should be formed, where students’ rights are discussed in order to prevent incident behaviour among teachers.

Denisse believes that the teachers should say no if the students ask for a higher mark in exchange for sex. Furthermore, she claims that if the student thinks that it is appropriate to approach the teacher with such a question, the teacher must have somehow made it appropriate for the students to do it. She talks much about the importance of keeping a proper distance in the student – teacher relation. This is further claimed by Estancinho, who says that teachers and students should not act as friends. He also believes that it is important that the teacher is professional. I told Estancinho about an informal conversation I had with another male teacher at the school, who said that it is hard for male teachers when female students wear short skirts and trousers. Estancinho said that even if the teacher is affected, he has to leave those thoughts and remember that he is a teacher. This is also somehow claimed by
Gervasio, who says that the teachers have to think about their students as if they were children. Maria, a female teacher, says that she has heard people talking about it but she does not know whether if it is true or not. If it is true she says that the teacher has to change, and act as a father and not an animal.

Female teacher working for ONP
At ONP I talked to a woman who works both as a teacher and within ONP, in this paper I will call her Patricia. Patricia gave me a very full and clear picture of the situation of girls in education in Maputo and Mozambique. She began by telling me about her experiences of teaching during the war, how they did not know how many students or teachers had been shot or captured when they arrived at school each day. During the war, people moved in to the city, Maputo, because it was safer than staying in the countryside. This is one of the reasons for the big classes in the schools. She is also the only one who says “yes” when I ask about whether the educational situation is different for female and male students. However, she claims that it has not only to do with the education. The differences start at home and are established in society, hence also noticeable in school. She believes that even though men and women are equal by law, there are informal differences in reality. Patricia thinks that quotas should be used, for example, at least 30 per cent of all university students should be females. However, she says that the biggest problem lies in changing the people’s attitudes, not primarily the institutions.

Patricia believes that the problem of students being sexually abused by teachers definitely exists. However, she says that it is more common in the countryside than in Maputo. In the countryside, the parents might want their daughter to become the teacher’s lover, since the teacher is a man who is respected, and in that way their family can be more respected as well. However, now, people opening supermarkets and shops on the countryside become the respected persons that the parents want their daughters to associate with. However, much work has to be done with changing the parents’ view of education. One of the consequences of girls being abused sexually is that they can get pregnant. The law says that a pregnant student should be moved into the evening classes. However, in the countryside this can sometimes mean that they are out of education since the schools do not always offer evening classes. ONP has started girls’ groups at different schools in Maputo, as well as one for the Maputo province and a few in other provinces in the country. In these girls’ groups (where male students are allowed, but only 7%) questions related to girls’ education are discussed. I
had the opportunity to visit a meeting of one of the girls’ groups, where students from different schools in Maputo participated. Patricia acted as leader, and let the student bring up the issues they found important. Many issues regarded the use of drugs and alcohol in schools, and some students said that it is common to see teachers and students drinking together at the barracas outside of school. Thereafter, the leader started a discussion about what solutions there could be to the problems and how they should deal with the problems in the future.

5.3 Authorities
I had the opportunity to visit both the Ministry of Education and the board that works with education in the city of Maputo. The result from the interviews made at the Ministry and the board will be presented here.

5.3.1 The Ministry of Education
Towards the end of my stay in Maputo, I had the opportunity to meet a woman at the Ministry of Education who works specially with the involvement of girls in education in Mozambique. She gave some background information on the school system in Mozambique and explained that even though primary education is free, secondary education is not. There are also some organisations which help students who cannot afford to buy school uniforms, notebooks and pencils. However, a problem that Mozambican education faces is that many female students are taken out of school by their parents in the first years of primary school, mainly in the countryside. She explains that female secondary school enrolment is much higher in the city of Maputo than in the countryside.

The woman I interviewed believes that cooperation between many different Ministries is important to reach the goal of getting all girls enrolled in education. She also explained many of the reasons for the low enrolment of girls in secondary education in Mozambique. For example, she told me that at the countryside, many parents still believe that education is most suited for boys, while girls should be kept at home in order to take care of the household, their younger brothers and sisters, as well as work at the machamba and prepare themselves for marriage. One campaign which has been created to stop this is called “Amiga da Criança” (Friend (female) of the child), where the construction of schools is funded, schools are supported with material, teachers are educated and female students are given places to discuss issues concerning their schooling. When schools are constructed, wells are sometimes built into the schools. In that way, the girl can both get water and stay for a few hours of schooling. Moreover, the parents are involved in the construction of schools. In that way they are more
proud to send their daughters and sons to that school. The local radio is also used, where parents and students who are educated talk about these things.

Moreover, in order to increase the quality of education, she believes that teachers’ salary should be raised. If it were to be raised, more teachers would be interested in their job, and more people would like to become teachers. In addition, the Teacher Training has to educate the teachers to work in the conditions that are the reality in Mozambican education, such as teaching a large number of students in the classroom. The woman at the Ministry of Education claims that there is a problem concerning students being abused sexually by teachers, but that it is decreasing. However, she says that the numbers are not completely reliable since the girls, the parents and the teachers do not always speak openly about this.

5.3.2 The Board of Education of the City of Maputo
I also had the opportunity to interview a woman who works with gender issues at the “Direcção da Educação da Cidade de Maputo” (The Board of Education of the City of Maputo). She also explained that many girls in the countryside are taken out of education very early. Moreover, she claimed that the issue of girls being sexually abused by teachers has been a big problem, but that it is now in decline. She agrees on the fact that it is a bigger problem in country villages than within the city of Maputo. She informs about the penalty for teachers who do this, and explains that if the teacher is accused of sexual harassment, the principal first talks to the teacher. Thereafter, the teacher is either moved to another school, to the board of education in the neighbourhood, or is just not allowed to teach. She emphasises that teachers have to be teachers and should not do these things.

At the Board of Education of the City of Maputo, I also received some statistical data from the city of Maputo and the two schools I visited (see Table 4 below). It is important to bear in mind that these figures are for the city of Maputo, School A and School B, hence not for the whole country. However, figures for the enrolment in the whole country are presented in the background chapter to Mozambique. Furthermore, these figures do not say anything about how many children in secondary school age there are in Maputo, we can only get information on how big the proportion of female and male students there are at the schools and in Maputo. When looking at the table, it is evident that there is not much gender disparity when counting the number of female and male students within education. The number of female students is higher both in Maputo and in School B, it is only in School A where there are slightly less
female than male students. However, the number of teachers working at the schools shows a huge gender disparity. Only 26 per cent of the teachers working in secondary school in Maputo are female and only 20 per cent at School A, and 37 per cent at School B.

Table 4: Number of secondary level students and teachers in 2009, in Maputo, School A and School B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enrolled</td>
<td>Finishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>12950</td>
<td>12400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>1168</td>
<td>1248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School B</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>1202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Discussion
In this section, the informants answers will be discussed through the theory of gender and development as well as previous research and literature presented in chapter 3 (p.8). The results and the literature will be discussed in themes according to the research questions.

6.1 The Students’ Objectives with their Education and their Future
Most of the students’ main future plan is to be admitted to university in order to get a good job. However, all the students discuss the difficulties of being admitted to university. Domingos says that “podemos correr para 12ª, mas para correr para faculdade fica muito difícil” (we can finish 12th grade, but to enter university is very hard). These difficulties are also shown by Mario et al. (2003:20), who provide data from 2000 and claim that much more students apply for the courses than there are places available. Through the data from UEM (2010-10-23) it is evident that in 2010, some courses had expanded the number of places, for example Medicine by ten places. Ten places do not seem to be enough, considering the fact that there were 2777 applicants for Medicine in 2000 (Mario et al. 2003:20). However, there are no data on the number of applicants in 2010. The number might be much lower or higher. Anisia claims that in order to be able to compete for the places available, “tem que ter familiares lá dentro” (you have to have family inside), and Joana believes getting admission is easier if one has good connections to the principal.

Moreover, the female students also discuss the high price of university studies. They all depend on someone paying for their studies, in most cases family. However, the male students rather express difficulties of being admitted than uncertainty of parents paying for their schooling or not. Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world (UNICEF 2010-10-09 d) and according to UN (2010:12), especially in poor countries, it is more likely that boys are enrolled in education than girls (UN 2010:12). However, it must be emphasised that my informants are students, hence enrolled in education. Among the students interviewed, it is only Helena who does not get financial support from her family in order to be able to attend education. When regarding gender and differences between women and men as changeable and constructed through discourse (Francis and Skelton 2005:28-31), it may be so that the discourse about education being more suitable for boys than girls is changing. Even though Helena’s father does not think that girls should study, she receives aid from school in order to be able to pay for the school fee. Considering this, and that there actually is approximate gender parity in School A and School B (see Table, p. 37), society in Maputo’s view probably
is that girls also should receive education. The question is if the female students will be supported in order to be able to continue into further education? Nevertheless, an expansion of the number of places at university is needed, because higher education has one of the greatest payoff “for women’s empowerment” (Grown et al. 2005:36), and according Rischard (2002:102), “brings one of the highest returns known in the field of economic development” (Rischard 2002:102).

Most students are very determined and claim that they themselves are in charge of their own decisions. Some even prepare themselves for their future professions already, by taking part in spare-time and extra-curricular activities. According to Francis and Skelton (2005:35), the most resent gender approach is the neo-liberal individualisation perspective, in which the development of the individual is in focus. The students interviewed, whether they are female or male, definitely have their own development in focus, even though they believe that outside factors can both affect them and be affected by them. Furthermore, Jacquette and Staudt (2006:50) claim that through a gender focus in development work, focus must be on “the active involvement of women themselves as agents of change” (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50). In this perspective, I believe the students interviewed, both female and male, to be agents of change. They believe that they are able to continue studying through their determination, despite the difficulties which they are aware of, such as money. Furthermore, many of them themselves believe that they are agents of change. This is most evident to all the students who choose their future profession based on the fact that they want to participate in developing the country, but also through the student most dependent on aid, Helena. When she has finished secondary school, she first of all wants a well-paid job in order to pay for her sister’s education, despite her father’s old-fashioned view on education being suited mainly for boys.

6.2 Issues or Problems in their Present Education

In this section the issues that the students found problematic in their present education will be discussed. However, it is important to point out that many of the students also brought up many positive factors regarding their education, such as teachers who motivate and influence the students in positive ways. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that most of the students are secondary sources, which are not as reliable as primary sources (Thurén 2005:53). However, the focus of this study is to examine how these students perceive issues or problems in their education. Hence, their view on the issues is of importance.
6.2.1 Alcohol and Drugs

The alcohol and drug-consumption within or close to the school-area worries the students. The easiness in which students wearing school uniforms can get hold of high content of alcohol for cheap prices is expressed as most worrisome. Sometimes, they see teachers, parents and fellow students drinking, which they all claim to be bad influence. There is not much literature on this issue, but Helgesson (2000:52) brings it up in her research. She claims that it is most common among male teachers at the school in northern Mozambique where Helgesson (2000:52) committed research. However, even if some of the students interviewed claim that it is a problem among teachers, it mostly arises as a problem among fellow students.

Furthermore, the consequence of fellow students drinking can be different depending on if the student is female or male. When male students drink, Xidonia, for example, says that they may assault female students at school. However, the girls in the second girls-only focus group at School B say that the girls who hand out and drink with the teachers at the barracca are the ones being victims of sexual abuse. During my first weeks in Maputo, I had the opportunity to visit a meeting initiated by students where these issues were discussed. In this case, the students were definitely agents of change (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50), they were the ones organising the meeting, and fellow students from other schools in Maputo participated in it. I believe this to be a proof of the fact that many students in Maputo regard this as a problem, and also have the ability and will to do something about it.

6.2.2 Money

All students express that they are dependent on financial support, mainly from family, in order to participate in education. The student who brings up money as the biggest problem is Helena. She believes that it is her father that is holding her back, since he does not believe that girls should be studying and therefore does not want to pay for her education. The UN (2010:21) claims that these attitudes are connected to poverty and states that keeping children out of school because of poverty is affecting girls more than boys. This is also acknowledged by Roby et al. (2008:350), who claim that the caregiver’s income level and the gender of the child are factors which keep girls out of school. The attitude of education being more suited for boys than girls is acknowledged by Grown et al. (2005:45) to exist in the whole region of sub-Saharan Africa, especially in countries that are suffering or recovering from armed conflicts. The war in Mozambique ended eighteen years ago (Daleke 2007:16), but the country is still struggling with an enormous poverty (UNICEF 2010-10-09 d) which probably
makes some families’ financial situation extra hard. “Making schooling affordable” is one of the strategies brought up which can increase the number of girls in school (Grown et al. 2005:48). However, in Maputo, the number of female students enrolled is higher than or equal to the number of male students. Despite this, Helena goes to school every day knowing that her father thinks that she should work at home instead, and knowing that it is only thanks to reduced school fees and by the aid of the núcleo that she can attend education. If secondary school was free in Mozambique, Helena would probably be able to go to school without worrying about whether she could continue studying or not, and maybe being less worried over her father’s beliefs.

Another strategy to increase the number of female students in schools is to reduce the girls’ domestic burden, which can be done through flexible schedules (Grown et al. 2005:51). The schedules in Maputo are flexible, and the student can choose to either attend school in the morning, the afternoon or the evening. However, through that solution, it will still be the gender role women which will be connected to doing household chores (Francis and Skelton 2005:30). In order to reduced the girls’ domestic burden, the discourse on gender and domestic chores might need to be changed, so that it is not only the girls who are supposed to help with household chores.

6.2.3 Teachers’ Handling of Marks

Many of the students witness of teachers handling the assessment of the students in improper ways. This is also connected to whether they are regarded as good or bad teachers. Some only give lessons the way they want, without regard for the students’ need of good explanations. Furthermore, some only show up at school a few days a week, give tests and never teach at all. Listening to what the teachers say about the conditions in which they teach, without sufficient books and materials and with up to 100 students in each classroom, it is understandable that assessment and marking becomes a difficult process.

In Exchange for Money

A problem the students brought up was teachers sell marks to students. In the focus groups and the individual interviews, the students say that some teachers sell the tests in advance and others raise the students’ marks if they give them money. Many of the students give example of friends who have either gotten their marked raised when paying the teacher, or lowered when another student had paid the teacher. Furthermore, Silvia tells me about a friend of hers who paid a teacher to raise her marks, but in the end, failed anyway.
If regarding identities to be “constructed through social interaction” (Francis and Skelton 2005:28) and operated through discourses (Francis and Skelton 2005:30), there is a risk that the identity of being a teacher is associated with accepting money for raising the students’ marks. For example Isabel, believes that it is understandable that this problem exists. Some students do not know how to negotiate with their teachers, and a teacher “como ser humano” (since he is human), will not say no to money.

In order to prevent this, the ONP has brought it up in their code of conduct and wants teachers to take action against it (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10). It is also brought up as a problem in Helgesson’s study in rural Mozambique (2000:50-51). There is a risk that when ONP and others say that it is happening in Mozambican schools, it may be socially accepted through discourse. However, the ONP takes it up as a problem which has to be solved, and I believe that rather than the issue being accepted, it will be regarded as a problem, as it is by many of the students.

Furthermore, when looking at this issue as if the students are agents of their own change or not (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50), some students bring up possible solution, such as reporting, or Teresa who says that the money should be spent on paying someone to explain the parts that the student does not understand. However, many of the male students believe that they cannot do much about it. Especially the boys in the second boys-only focus group in School A, talked about it as a hopeless situation, and even if they report the teacher or store results of tests at home, the teachers’ word always carries more weight. The boys in School B believe that this is very much related to corruption which, according to them, is an epidemic spreading over Mozambique. They also think that this happens at university, “claro que acontece, isto é Moçambique” (of course it exists, this is Mozambique).

**In Exchange for Sex**

When discussing teachers taking bribes in order to raise the students’ marks, one of the boys says that if you are a girl you might “ir ná cama com ele para passar” (go to bed with him to pass). Many of the students bring up examples of someone they know that this has happened to, examples that they have seen on TV or their own experiences. For example, Graca describes how the teacher begged her to have sex with him and when she denied, he said that she failed the course. Even though she might have failed because she was not studying hard
enough, she also believes that she could have passed if she had agreed on having sex with him. The aim of this study is not to examine whether the phenomenon of teachers abusing students sexually exists or not at the schools I visited, in Maputo or in Mozambique. However, what is evident is that the students perceive it to be occurring, and most of the students perceive it to be a problem. Furthermore, according to Grown et al. (2005:51) the fear of girls being sexually harassed or abused by male peers or teachers is one of the reasons which prevents parents from sending their daughters to school in the region of sub-Saharan Africa (Grown et al. 2005:51). Figures provided by UNICEF say that “8 per cent of primary school students have been sexually abused and another 35 per cent have experienced sexual harassment” (UNICEF 2010-10-09 e).

Furthermore, when discussing the problem, one first of all has to see the students’ different perspective. Firstly, there are those who see it as mainly concerning the students as seducers. For example, Isabel claims that if it exists, it is the students who want it and try to seduce their teachers, because they do not want to study. Others bring up examples where students try to seduce their teacher by wearing short skirts and blouses which show cleavage, and some believe that this only happens to students who hang out with their teachers in their spare time, outside of school.

Secondly, there are those who regard the teachers to be seducers or rapists. Save the Children (2007:10), studied this phenomenon in rural Mozambique, and found three different cases. The first is that the teacher offers a girl who has problems in school to raise her marks if she has sex with him, the second is when the teacher threatens to fail the student if she does not have sex with him and the third where the teacher rapes the student (Save the Children 2007:10). These three cases are all similar to the cases brought up by the students. Furthermore, Save the Children (2007:10) claims that if the student was not raped but agreed to have sex with the teacher, many people regarded it to be the student’s fault. One example brought up by the students is that the student confronts the teacher and says “estou a pedir nota” (I am begging for a mark), whereas the teacher answers that she can get one if she agrees on having sex with him. Students are dependent on their teachers when the teachers are assessing them (Colnerud and Granström 2006:144), and this may lead to the student agreeing on having sex with the teacher. This example was brought up by the girls in the first focus group, and at first they seemed to consider it to be the student’s fault. However, when
continuing discussing it, they also said that the girl might be afraid of failing, and that is why she says yes.

Furthermore, among those who see teachers as seducers or rapists, there are those who believe that the students have to take action to change in different ways. One example is the rule which is implemented on one of the schools, where the students are not allowed to wear skirts or trousers which show their knees, in order to prevent the students from seducing the teachers. Other examples of how to avoid this is not to be intimate with the teacher, not to dress sexy and show off by sitting in the front of the classroom. However, adjusting to the problem by wearing clothes in order to prevent teachers abusing female students sexually can seem to be close to Jacquette and Staudt’s (2006:50) perspective as seeing women as agents of change. The question is what kind of change this will lead to? From my point of view it seems to be a way of reducing the risk, but not confronting the problem. Furthermore, connecting the solution of the problem as if it lies within the students implies that it is the students who are the problem. In ONP’s code of conduct (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10) it is stated that the problem rather concerns the teachers, and ONP urges teachers to take action against it, rather than students.

Moreover, there are students who rather want solutions to be done in a greater perspective, to confront the problem. Several students talk about the fact that the students should report teachers who do this. However, students are often afraid of reporting the teachers, since all teachers, and the principal, are friends and act like a family, and “uma família nunca prejudica outra pessoa” (a family never hurts another family member). However, there is also a danger in seeing teachers as seducers or possible rapists, and this is also brought up by the students who say that the teachers have to think about their students as if they were their daughters and that students should not have to fear being sexually abused in school. If teachers are seen as possible seducers, there is a risk that this becomes associated with the role of being a teacher. This is similar to the discourse analysis perspective on gender, where gender roles are constructed and upheld through discourse (Francis and Skelton 2005:30), which also can be implied on the identity of being a teacher. A common word brought up when discussing solutions with the students is sensibilização (awareness-raising). Some think that this should be done with the teachers, others with the students. This sensibilização can be initiated in the form of debates and meetings in order to teach the students and the teachers to do what is right. Through a sensibilização, the positive characteristics and roles which are
wanted to be associated to teachers and students can be raised and discussed. However, in a sensibilização, the negative sides also have to be discussed in order to confront the problem.

Mohanty (2003:33-38) claims that Western feminist discourse regard women in developing regions as being helpless victims. From that perspective, it must be stated that the students interviewed for this study are definitely not helpless victims, but rather, as Jacquette and Staudt (2006:50) put it, agents of their own change. Even though they have different perspectives on the solutions of the problem, they do all, especially the female students, provide some examples on how to prevent or stop it. Furthermore, they are all aware of what the consequences would be if they would agree on having sex with a teacher in order to raise their marks. Pregnancy and STD’s, mainly HIV, are brought up as big issues. Another consequence, further on in life, is that the girl might “chega na curso de ser medica, chega na operação e a pessoa vai morer” (arrive to the course to become a doctor, starts the operation and the patient dies).

6.3 Differences among Female and Male Students

One could expect a gender bias regarding what kind of future profession the students choose. It must also be said that it is hard to make a comparison of the popularity of different professions is more or less popular based on gender by using my data since such a low number of students were interviewed. However, in my data, there is no future profession which is deviant depending on whether the student is female or male. The future professions which were most popular, counting the number of students who had it as a first-hand choice, were economist, medical doctor, lawyer and teacher. However, regarding their future plans, the main difference among female and male students was that it was mainly the female students who talked about having a family further on in life. However, it is evident that even the female students prioritise their education and work over getting married and having a family. For example, Anisia says firmly that “casar é para depois” (marriage is for afterwards), and shows that she wants to study, become well-educated and have a job before she marries. The fact that more female than male students discussed having a family can be connected to the fact that girls prior to boys are considered to be the ones who take care of younger siblings and the household chores in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Grown et al. 2005:51) as well as in Mozambique (Roby et al. 2008:350). Regarding gender roles as constructed and socially situated (Francis and Skelton 2005:30), the students’ discussion may
be a sign of change regarding the role of women staying at home and taking care of household chores, at least among this group of students.

Furthermore, when discussing the issue of sexual abuse, all informants said that this could only happen to female students. This can be regarded as very hetero normative, and one may imagine male students being victims of sexual abuse as well, either by male or female teachers. The reasons for the students only bringing up female students as victims may be that the discourse on this issue only regards male teachers abusing female students, hence these roles are upheld through discourse (Francis and Skelton 2005:30).

6.4 Teachers’ and Authorities’ View
The main issues regarding education in Mozambique brought up by the teachers are the number of students in each class, lack of properly built schools and teaching material, the students’ motivation to learn and the teachers who are corrupted. Furthermore, the teachers believe that it is hard to teach in the conditions which are available. One example is Denisse, who says, resignedly “how can you teach reading without books?” Another example is the high number of students per teacher. The official number of pupils per teacher is 64 in primary school and 32 in secondary school in Mozambique (UNICEF 2010-10-09 c), but the teachers who were interviewed claim that it is much higher.

At the Ministry of Education, the answer is that discussions about teaching in these conditions have to be included in the Teacher Training. She also explains that the enrolment of students in primary school has increased and there is probably a connection with the abolishment of school fees at primary level and the fact that students are given free books. In the strategic plan for secondary education in Mozambique, it is stated that an improvement of the quality of education is needed (MEC 2009). Improving the quality of education is also brought up by Grown et al. (2005:51) as a way of increasing the number of students enrolled in education in sub-Saharan Africa, where this is exemplified with schools using textbooks where men and women are stereotyped. However, what is evident through my results is that a bigger problem is rather the lack of textbooks than the use of textbooks where people are stereotyped.

The teachers I have spoken to also acknowledge the issue of teachers accepting either money or sexual favours in exchange for marks to be a problem in Mozambique, even though some of them do not want to answer questions about whether it happens at the schools where they
work. However, they emphasize that it is important not to generalize, which is also stated by the ONP in their code of conduct (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10). Furthermore, the woman at the Ministry of Education, the woman at the Board of Education of the City of Maputo and Patricia at ONP claim that teachers abusing students sexually is more common in rural than in urban areas. Patricia, at ONP, explains how this has to do with the parents’ view of education, and sometimes they want their daughter to become the teacher’s lover since he is regarded as a respectable man. However, in research provided by WLSA, it is evident that this is a problem in urban areas as well as in rural (WLSA 2007:4).

Most of the teachers believe that if a student is abused or harassed sexually, it is the teacher’s fault. Denisse acknowledges that it might be the student who confronts the teacher and asks for a mark, but in that case, the teacher must have somehow allowed this procedure. Furthermore, by constructing the code of conduct, ONP acknowledges this to be a problem existing among teachers, and clearly state that they should not “são conotados com práticas desviantes como a cobrança de subornos e rendas, o comércio de notas e ingressos, o assédio sexual das alunas” (indulge themselves in deviant practices, such as taking bribes in exchange for marks, and sexual abuse of students) (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10). ONP claims that this affects education negatively and that teachers should take action against it. The teachers, especially the newly-trained, discuss the importance of keeping the student – teacher relationship detached and Estancinho says that if a teacher is affected by a student trying to seduce him, he has to leave those thoughts and act as a father instead by, for example, teaching the student good manners. Maria’s comment on the teacher who is affected by students wearing short skirts is that he should act as a teacher and not an animal. Furthermore, the view that it is the teacher who is responsible is most common among the organisations working on the issue as well as the women working at ONP, the Ministry of Education and the Board of Education.

They provide different solutions to the problem. Airas believes that this should be discussed at the Teacher Training Programme, where according to Estancinho, the teachers’ ethical responsibility in general was discussed, but not corruption. Baltasar, believes that teachers who do this should be punished, but also that the teachers’ salaries should be raised in order to stop corruption. The woman at the Board of Education talks about the penalties for teachers who abuse girls sexually, but says that they can still be allowed to work within the school system, although not as teachers. Arthur and Cabral (2003:14-16) criticise these penalties, and
say that it is not stated for how long the teacher should be suspended from teaching, and it is also possible for the teacher to get a job at another school (2003:13-14). Furthermore, the regulations around this issue are criticised by the woman at ONP. She explains how pregnancy can be one of the consequences for girls being sexually abused, and the regulations say that pregnant students should be moved into the evening classes. However, in the countryside all schools do not offer such courses. This is also acknowledged by Arthur and Cabral (2003:16), and they believe that putting the girl in the evening course is a kind of punishment for getting pregnant on top of the sexual abuse (Arthur and Cabral 2003:16). Furthermore, one consequence of getting pregnant can be abortion. However, this is illegal in Mozambique and when unsafe illegal abortions are done, the consequence is often that the woman dies (DN 2010-10-23). Also discussed in the literature as a problem is that complications in general occur more often during teenage pregnancies, and without proper hospitals the result can be devastating for the mother (Arthur and Cabral 2003:14).

Grown et al. (2005:51) provide a solution to the problem by securing female students’ place at school by using female helpers who take care of the girls during school hours (Grown et al. 2005:51). The board of Education of the City of Maputo provides figures of the number of female and male teachers in secondary education in Maputo, and 469 of 1799 or 26 % of the secondary school teachers were female. At School A, 24 teachers of 122 (20 %) were female, and at School B, there were 38 female teachers out of totally 104 teachers (37 %). I believe that the girls do not necessarily need female helpers who take care of them during school hours. However, since male teachers are the ones reported responsible for these crimes and in order to make school a secure place to be in for a girl, an increase of the number of female teachers is needed.
7. Conclusions
In this section, answers to the research questions will be discussed. Furthermore, the fact that the students can be perceived as “agents of change” (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50), rather than “helpless victims” (Mohanty 2003:54) will be proved.

The first question regarding the students’ objectives as regards their studies can shortly be answered by the fact that they want a job. Some want to work immediately after secondary school, while most of them want to become well educated and continue studying at university. However, the number of places available at university is low (Mário et al. 2003:20, UEM 2010-10-23) and the university fees are higher than for secondary school, which seems to be a factor most worrisome for the female students. The gender roles of women being suited for household chores rather than attend education (Roby et al. 2008:350) must be changed in order to open up the market of higher education for female students as well. Nevertheless, they do all believe that they will succeed, and also that they will be able to help developing the country through their future jobs. In this aspect, the students very much have the will of being “agents of change” (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50), rather than “helpless victims” (Mohanty 2003:54). However, in order to give them all the opportunity of being agents of change and developers of their own country, an increase in the number of places at university is needed.

The issues which the students found prevailing in their present education were alcohol and drugs, money, and the teachers’ handling of mark. The alcohol and drug consumption worried most of the students, and again, they can be seen as agents of change (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50), in the way they organise meetings and try to do something about the issue. Furthermore, the issue of money mostly concerned one student, who could not get her family to pay for her education. She could be described as a helpless victim (Mohanty 2003:54), depending on the aid from the school. However, I would rather choose to see her as an agent of change (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50), in the way she is determined that when she finishes secondary school and get a job, she will be the one paying for her sister’s education.

The third issue is the teachers’ handling of marks. Teachers demanding money in exchange for marks can affect both female and male students, but it is only female students who are affected by teachers who want sexual favours in exchange for marks. Two of the students I
interviewed had experienced this, and they said no to the teacher. There has also been much literature presented on the issue (Helgesson 2000, Save the Children 2007, WLSA 2007 and 2009) and the teacher’s union recognise it to be a problem (Centro de Integridade Pública 2010-10-10). What is also evident is that, even though all students regard it as a big problem, they provide many possible solutions to the problem. They talk about how they can dress in order to avoid it, but also about starting campaigns, organising meetings and how the teachers’ attitudes must change. Once again, I believe that this is a proof of the fact that the students are agents of change (Jacquette and Staudt 2006:50) and not helpless victims (Mohanty 2003:54). It has been pointed out to me that if these things happen in Mozambican schools, the target MDG nr 3, to eliminate disparity in secondary education (UN 2010-10-08 c) may not really be such a good idea. However, Rischard (2002:102) claims that improving girls’ education “brings one of the highest returns known in the field of economic development” (Rischard 2002:102). Furthermore, in order to see these female students as agents of their own change, they have to take part in education to be able to change it. A combat against teachers handling marks in wrong ways which leads to an increase of the quality of education and an increase of the number of female students attending education in Mozambique is needed at the same time.

The third question regarded the differences among female and male students, and it is evident that when regards their future it is only the female students who bring the issue of having a family up. Furthermore, when regards their present education, it is mainly female students who are having problems with paying for their education, and also those who may suffer or are afraid of being sexually assaulted by teachers. However, male students also perceive teachers who assault female students sexually as a problem, and both female and male students suffer from teachers taking money in order to raise other students’ marks.

Regarding money, the development of the country is also affecting the students’ choices and their lives, both at home and in school. Teachers and authorities mainly bring up the poor teaching conditions, such as not properly built schools, too many students in each class, teachers’ low salaries, and this directly affects the students’ education. Furthermore, the students’ decreasing motivation is brought up as a problem, as well as the teachers who accept money in exchange for higher marks and assault and abuse female students sexually. All teachers I have interviewed dissociated themselves from that kind of practices, and emphasised that it is important not to generalise. I believe that they are right, there is a risk
that when generalising, the role of being a teacher is associated with such deviant practices, similar to the way that gender roles are constructed according to the poststructuralist discourse analytical perspective on gender (Francis and Skelton 2005:30). However, if not talking about the problem at all, on the other hand, the risk is that it might continue going on without anyone doing anything about it. This is not the case in Maputo, at least not among the students, teachers and authorities I have interviewed. The problem has been brought up, for example through the campaign *Assédio Sexual nas Escolas* (Action Aid 2010-10-22, WLSA 2009) and my informants discuss the importance of solving the problems.

It would be interesting to further investigate how students in rural parts of Mozambique regard their future. It could also be possible to focus more on the specific issues, such as sexual abuse, the handling of marks or alcohol and drugs, and how government, schools and organisations work with these issues. Furthermore, based on the students’ awareness it would be interesting to further study how they take action against issues they find problematic in their education.
References


**Other References**


The Swedish Government Offices (2009-10-20) ”Moçambique – kort historisk bakgrund” [http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2574/a/75548](http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2574/a/75548)


UNICEF (2010-10-09 e) “Child protection”
http://www.unicef.org/mozambique/protection_2976.html

WLSA (2010-10-22) “Sexual abuse in the context of the construction of female sexuality”
Osório, Conceniação http://www.wlsa.org.mz/?__target__=Art_AbuseSexuality
Appendix 1: Interview guides

**Girls in Secondary School**

*Podes contar um pouco de você e o seu fundo? Quantos anos tem de educação?*

(Tell me a little about yourself and your background. How many years of schooling do you have?)

*Pensa que o seu fundo é importante quando estar em escola?*

(Do you think that your background has any impact on your schooling?)

*Podes decidir sobre o seu educação?*

(How much are you able to influence your schooling?)

*Qual e o os antecedentes com a sua educação? Qual e o seu trabalho em o futuro?*

(What are your goals? What do you think is your future profession? Where will you live and what will be your future civil status?)

*Que e que podes fazer para atingir os objectivos?*

(What can you do to reach your goals?)

*Quem tem o possibilidade de influenciar os objectivos? Seu pais, familia, amigos, professores?*

(Who has the ability to affect your goals? Do parents, relatives, friends or teachers influence your choices?)

*Qual factores podem ter influência negativa no seu objectivos? Qual factores podem ter influência positiva no seu objectivos?*

(What factors could have a negative impact on your goals? What factors could have a positive impact on your goals?)

*Pensas que os possibilidades de antigir os objectivos são diferentes para mulheres e homens? Qual são as diferenças?*

(When it comes to schooling, are there any difference on male and female’s abilities to reach their goals? What are the differences?)

**If possible, the following questions could also be asked:**

*(Boas notas são importantes para você antigir os objectivos?)*

(Are good grades important for you being able to reach your goals?)

*O professor (uma vez) ofereceu-te boas notas em troca de serviços pessoais?*

(Has a teacher offered you grades in exchange for any personal services?)

*Sabes uma pessoa que ofereceu boas notas em troca de serviços pessoais ou sexuais?*
(Have you heard of anyone being sexually abused in exchange for grades?)

Aconteceu/tem acontecido nesta escola? Pensa que pederia acontecer para você?

(Has it happened at this school? Do you think it could happen to you?)

Quais podem ser consequencias de tais serviços?

(What could happen, STDs (Sexually Transmitted Diseases), pregnancy?)

O que pensas que poderia ser feito para evitar situações semelhantes?

(What do you think could be done to avoid such situations?)

**Boys in Secondary School**

Podes contar um pouco de você e o seu fundo? Quantos anos tem de educação?

(Tell me a little about yourself and your background. How many years of schooling do you have?)

Pensa que o seu fundo é importante quando estar em escola?

(Do you think that your background has any impact on your schooling?)

Podes decidir sobre o seu educação?

(How much are you able to influence your schooling?)

Qual e os antecedentes com a sua educação? Qual e o seu trabalho em o futuro?

(What are your goals? What do you think is your future profession? Where will you live and what will be your future civil status?)

Que e que podes fazer para atingir os objectivos?

(What can you do to reach your goals?)

Quem tem o possibilidade de influenciar os objectivos? Seu pais, familia, amigos, professores?

(Who has the ability to affect your goals? Do parents, relatives, friends or teachers influence your choices?)

Qual factores podem ter influência negativa no seu objectivos? Qual factores podem ter influência positiva no seu objectivos?

(What factors could have a negative impact on your goals? What factors could have a positive impact on your goals?)

Pensas que os possibilidades de antigir os objectivos são diferentes para mulheres e homens?

(When it comes to schooling, are there any difference on male and female’s abilities to reach their goals? What are the differences?)

If possible, the following questions could also be asked:
Sabes uma pessoa que ofereceu boas notas em troca de serviços pessoais ou sexuais?
(Have you heard of anyone being sexually abused in exchange for grades?)
Aconteceu/tem acontecido nesta escola?
(Has it happened at this school?)
Quais podem ser consequencias de tais serviços?
(What could happen, STDs (Sexually Transmitted Diseases), pregnancy? )
O que pensas que podera ser feito para evitar situacoes semelhantes?
(What do you think could be done to avoid such situations?)

Teachers
Quantos anos estava professor?
(For how many years have you worked as a teacher?)
Quantos anos trabalha neste escola?
(For how many years have you worked at this school?)
A escola é diferente agora de quando comecei trabalhar?
(Is the school, or education in general, different now from when you started working?)
Pensa que educação é diferente para estudantes depende de eles são mulheres ou homens?
Qual são as diferenças? Falaste sobre isto na educação para ser professor?
(Do you think education is different for students depending on if they are female or male? What are the differences? Did you talk about this during your education?)
Sabe de alguma estudante ofercer notas em troca de serviços pessoais? O que pensas que podera ser feito para evitar situacoes semelhantes?
(Do you know if it happens that students are offered good marks in exchange for personal services? What do you think should be done to avoid such situations?)

Authorities
Pensa que educação é diferente para estudantes depende de eles são mulheres ou homens?
Qual são as diferenças?
(Do you think education is different for students depending on whether they are female or male? What are the differences?)
Sabe de alguma estudante ofercer notas em troca de serviços pessoais ou sexuais? O que pensa que podera ser feito para evitar situacoes semelhantes?
(Do you know if it happens that students are offered good marks in exchange for personal services? What do you think should be done to avoid such situations?)