Teachers Talking

Primary teachers’ contributions to the quality of education in Mozambique
VSO

VSO is different from most organisations that fight poverty. Instead of sending money or food, we bring people together to share skills and knowledge. In doing so, we create lasting change. Our volunteers work in whatever fields are necessary to fight the forces that keep people in poverty – from education and health through to helping people learn the skills to make a living. We have education programmes in 15 countries, as well as education volunteers in other countries who work in teacher training colleges and with schools on teaching methods and overcoming barriers facing marginalised groups. We also undertake advocacy research through our Valuing Teachers campaign and we are a member of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) and of the International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All hosted by UNESCO. For more details see back cover or visit www.vsointernational.org

NUT

The National Union of Teachers (NUT) is the UK’s largest union for qualified teachers in primary and secondary education. The NUT supports a number of campaigns which address international development issues, including VSO’s Valuing Teachers campaign and the Global Campaign for Education. The NUT collaborates with unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the Global South on development projects, which aim to provide high-quality education for all children, safeguard the wellbeing and professionalism of teachers, and build the capacity of teacher unions. This includes funding for short-term projects, commissioning research and working in partnership with unions or civil society organisations on long-term development programmes. Through the provision of training, events, study visits and teaching resources the NUT also supports UK teachers’ professional development on global learning, and increases members’ awareness and involvement in international development issues. For more information, visit: www.teachers.org.uk

Mozambican Education for All Movement (MEPT)

MEPT is a forum that brings together NGOs, associations and individuals who work in education or are interested in it. The aim of the MEPT is to strengthen civil society actions in support of Education For All (EFA), contribute to the institutionalization of positive experiences developed by them and outline joint actions in the field of education. MEPT was founded in 1999; it is a member of the Africa Network Campaign on Education for All (ANCEFA) and the Global Campaign for Education for All (GCE), and acts as the implementer of the Global Action Week for Education.

International Task Force on Teachers for EFA

The International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All (EFA) is an international alliance of EFA partners working together to address the global teacher gap. Its creation was officially endorsed by participants in the Eighth High-Level Group (HLG) meeting on EFA (Norway, December 2008). Recognising the critical role that teachers play in providing Education for All, the Task Force aims to foster collaboration on teacher provision worldwide, and to provide focus and impetus in the drive for EFA. The Task Force is supported by several key EFA partners including the European Commission and the Governments of Norway and Indonesia. Its Secretariat is hosted at UNESCO. Its Action Plan is structured around the three major gaps facing countries, a policy gap, a capacity gap and a financial gap. For more information please visit www.teachersforefa.unesco.org
Acknowledgements

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The views expressed in this report are representative of individuals who carried out the research and may not necessarily reflect the views of MEPT, ONP/SNPMM, International Task Force on Teachers for EFA, VSO Mozambique, VSO International, or the NUT UK.

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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADPP</td>
<td>(Ajuda de Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo) Humana People to People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFPP</td>
<td>(Centros de Formação de Professores Primárias) Former primary teacher training institutions now merged with the IFPs</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPD</td>
<td>continuing professional development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRESER</td>
<td>(Cursos de Reforço Escolar: Sistemáticos, Contínuos, Experimentais e Reflexivos) A national model of continuing professional development for teachers which is implemented locally (through ZIPs, IFPs and schools)</td>
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<tr>
<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP1</td>
<td>(Ensino Primário do 1 Grau) Primary Education First Level (grades 1–5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP2</td>
<td>(Ensino Primário do 2 Grau) Primary Education Second Level (grades 6–7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPC</td>
<td>(Escola Primária Completa) Primary school that offers both EP1 and EP2, ie that can teach pupils for the complete cycles from grade one to grade seven</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESSPII</td>
<td>Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010/2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>(Frente de Liberação de Moçambique) Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (the majority ruling party since independence)</td>
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<td>GCE</td>
<td>Global Campaign for Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>(Instituto de Formação dos Professores) Teacher Training Institution for Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGO</td>
<td>international non-governmental organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEC</td>
<td>(Ministério da Educação e Cultura) The government department responsible for education and culture up to 2009. Education and culture are now separate ministries</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEPT</td>
<td>(Movimento de Educação para Todos) Mozambican Movement for Education for All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINED</td>
<td>(Ministério da Educação) Ministry of Education (formerly (pre-2009) Ministry of Education and Culture or MEC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>non-governmental organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUT</td>
<td>National Union of Teachers, UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONP/SNPM</td>
<td>(Organização Nacional dos Professores/Syndicato Nacional de Professores de Moçambique) National Organisation of Teachers of Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCR</td>
<td>pupil/classroom ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTR</td>
<td>pupil/teacher ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RENAMO</td>
<td>(Resistencia Nacional de Mocambique) Mozambique National Resistance. RENAMO is now the main opposition party in Parliament but it had started in the 1980s as an externally backed resistance movement to FRELIMO’s socialist government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEM</td>
<td>(Universidade Edouard Mondlane) The first and major public sector university in Mozambique with branches in several cities</td>
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<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>Universidade Pedagogica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIP</td>
<td>(zonas de influência pedagógica) School clusters for the purpose of mutual learning and support and in-service training</td>
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Executive summary

This research report looks at the impact that differently qualified and trained teachers, and teachers working under different conditions of service, can have on the quality of primary education in Mozambique. The research concentrates on teachers in the public system of primary education. It is based on qualitative social research carried out among teachers and other education stakeholders; their views provide the main focus. The fieldwork was undertaken in the north, centre and south of the country between July and September 2010.

*Teachers Talking* is part of VSO Valuing Teachers research and advocacy initiative which supports the achievement of the Education for All goals and particularly focuses on improving the quality of education. Valuing Teachers draws attention to the important role that teachers play in the education reform process. Valuing Teachers research into what motivates teachers, what affects their morale, and what will help them perform well, has been conducted in 14 countries. These reports give voice to teachers’ views about changes in educational policies that affect their work, their professional identity and their motivation.

The report looks at several different aspects of both achievements and continuing challenges in primary education in Mozambique and aims to give a balanced overview. The Mozambican education system faces particular challenges in promoting universal primary education – while trying to improve quality at the same time – with many untrained teachers, teachers trained through a variety of different training models and teachers working under different conditions of service. Mozambique’s 2004 ‘new curriculum’ for primary education introduces further challenges.

Teacher shortages are an issue in many low income countries as they try to meet the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All objectives by 2015. Many countries use so-called ‘para teachers’ and ‘contract teachers’ to fill the ‘teacher gap’. The Mozambican government has employed untrained teachers (the local equivalent to ‘para teachers’) to ensure that there is a teacher for every class. It also makes extensive use of ‘contract teachers’ (who can be trained or untrained). Another response to teacher shortages has been fast-tracking teacher training (the 10+1 model). As a result, since 2009 no new untrained primary teachers have had to be recruited. The implications of the different measures were examined in the fieldwork.

The fieldwork also explored some factors involved in educational quality – and how the absence of these factors can adversely affect teaching and learning, drawing on the teachers’ own views of educational quality in Mozambique.
Teachers’ explanations for the apparent decline in the quality of teaching and learning and in student attainment include problems with the new curriculum, the impact of semi-automatic progression and teachers’ low pay and status.

Gender equality in primary education is an essential aspect of quality (and one that ranks high in the priorities for action in the government’s strategic planning). The government’s efforts to close the gender gap in the teaching profession are beginning to show results but there is still some way to go before gender parity is achieved. Although women are a minority in the teaching profession, a greater proportion of female than male teachers are trained. It is vital that female teachers act as role models to bring marginalised girls into education while remaining sensitive to traditional cultural norms, particularly in rural areas.

Mozambique’s use of untrained teachers – and the presence of teachers who have been trained through many different models of in-service training – affects teaching quality and the professional identity of the teaching force. There are some worries about the quality of teaching delivered by untrained teachers, although many of them have gained considerable experience and appear to be doing a good job.

Stakeholders also expressed concern about the frequent changes in teacher training models and in particular about the quality of fast-track training (such as the 10+1 model). Teachers, teacher trainers and students in teacher training colleges as well as the National Organisation of Teachers of Mozambique, the ONP/SNPM, all have clear and pertinent views about its limitations.

The evidence from teachers themselves stresses the need for continuing professional development (CPD). There is considerable interest among members of the teaching force in improving and updating their qualifications and skills, but existing provision – although it appears well planned in concept – seldom even comes close to meeting the extent of the need or demand. Teachers feel that the objectives of different types of CPD and the criteria by which particular teachers are chosen to participate are unclear. Currently teachers tend to regard gaining additional qualifications primarily as a means of increasing their remuneration, attaching less importance to improving their teaching skills. It should be possible to restructure training so that it leads directly to improved performance, with increased pay as an associated benefit.

The professional status of primary teaching gives cause for serious concern. Teaching is a relatively low-paid profession whose status has been further compromised by the very process of the expansion needed to widen access to education. Teachers in Mozambique are working under difficult conditions. The fact that different teachers have different conditions of service – some as civil servants and others as temporary contract teachers – is a major issue that threatens to divide the profession. Many find current arrangements for transfer to civil service status confusing and frustrating.

The report includes recommendations for action that government and civil society organisations could take to address the concerns of an increasingly demotivated teaching force and as a result help to improve the quality of primary education. Much has been achieved already, but great challenges remain, as was found in the context of this research. The major challenge is to improve educational quality at the same time as educational provision continues to expand. Educational quality must not be further sacrificed for quantity.

Financial and capacity deficits impose serious constraints on the government that may limit the extent to which it can, in the short term, address the issues identified in this report. The report is therefore also addressed to the development agencies whose very significant contributions to the funding of the Mozambican education system help to support the country’s progress in working to achieve Education for All, and help to reduce poverty.

Further funding will be required to help implement some of the recommendations of this report. The report invites the international donor community to use its best efforts to ensure that teachers and their pupils are able to achieve their potential. Good quality education will help the young generation of Mozambicans to overcome poverty and to contribute to the economic development of the country as a whole.

1. For a summary of issues arising from VSO’s Valuing Teachers research see Managing Teachers: The centrality of teacher management to quality education.
1. Purpose and objectives of the research

1.1 The Valuing Teachers research programme

Valuing Teachers focuses on the views that teachers hold about current educational issues in Mozambique, and about policy initiatives devised to address them. Teachers are the key players whose understanding, acceptance and support of new policies are vital to ensure successful implementation. Listening to teachers’ experiences and views is crucial, but unfortunately often neglected.

VSO published its first Valuing Teachers report in 2001 and has since produced other reports in 14 developing countries. All put the experiences and opinions of teachers at the centre of their analysis – but without ignoring the views of other stakeholders. These reports have concentrated on a range of issues affecting the teaching profession and educational quality: topics have ranged from the motivation and morale of teachers, their working conditions and salaries, to management and leadership in schools.

In each of the countries where Valuing Teachers research has been carried out, VSO has developed advocacy activities with local partners to help attract funding to implement the main findings and recommendations. VSO staff have also been working with the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), UNESCO’s International Task Force for Teachers for Education for All (EFA) and through the Informal Network on Para, Untrained and Contract Teachers (INPUT) to make teachers’ views heard in debates about education and development. They have also talked directly to major funders of education in low-income countries, such as the World Bank, the IMF and UNESCO.

3. The reports can be found at: http://www.vsointernational.org/what-we-do/advocacy/campaigns/valuing-teachers.asp
1.2 **Context and terms of reference of the research**

More than ten years have passed since the international community adopted the six EFA goals to be achieved by 2015. Since then access to education has significantly increased: UNESCO’s 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report records this progress but also warns that unless efforts are further increased, there could be more children out of school in 2015 than there are today (UNESCO, 2010a).

In many poor countries, the problem is not just low teacher numbers but also little, or poor-quality, education and training of teachers. Many developing countries have addressed the problem of teacher shortages by employing new teachers, often unqualified and untrained, on contracts that are less favourable than those of their more established colleagues. These so-called ‘para’ and ‘contract’ teachers are usually paid lower salaries than their colleagues, which may force them to take on extra jobs to supplement their income, and, due to their lack of job security, they may feel less motivated and less committed than those teachers who have the status of public servants. ‘Contract’ teachers now represent more than 50 per cent of all teaching staff in many sub-Saharan African countries (Fyfe, 2007). Policies that meet teacher shortages by hiring ‘cheaper’ teachers not only represent a serious setback for the integrity of a unified and professional teaching force, but also represent a long-term threat to the quality of education in the countries that have large-scale recourse to such policies. Millions of children are now leaving school without having acquired basic numeracy and literacy skills. A recent survey found that only two-thirds of 3rd grade students in sub-Saharan Africa could subtract single digit numbers (UNESCO, 2010b).

Against this background, the terms of reference for this research project were to explore reasons for the apparent decline in educational quality, focusing on the use of unqualified or untrained and contract teachers in primary schools in Mozambique, and on the motivation, professional identity and status of teachers.

1.3 **Teachers Talking: Primary teachers’ contributions to the quality of education in Mozambique**

The current study *Teachers Talking* explores how teachers’ qualifications and training and their terms and conditions of employment affect the quality of teaching and learning, either directly (eg in the application of methods and approaches learnt and practised in training) or indirectly (eg by affecting teachers’ morale and wellbeing). It builds on VSO’s earlier Valuing Teachers report, *Listening to Teachers: The motivation and morale of education workers in Mozambique*, published in 2008.

The report is structured under topic headings that have emerged as questions of concern in primary education in Mozambique. They are related to teachers’ work situations and their conditions of service. The report includes recommendations that are addressed to different education stakeholders in Mozambique and in the international donor community. These concern aspects of teachers’ initial and in-service training, their conditions of service and remuneration, as well as issues of gender equality. The purpose of the recommendations is to inform policy-makers and funders on matters that will assist teachers and other stakeholders in providing high-quality education. The recommendations have been developed from stakeholders’ testimonies provided during the research fieldwork, with the emphasis on information provided by teachers.

Background information about the Mozambican primary education system is included in the report, for example information about some major changes the system is undergoing as a result of the country’s commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals and EFA objectives.

The research was carried out between May and October 2010 and included fieldwork trips to different regions of Mozambique in July, August and early September. The project was funded by the National Union of Teachers (NUT) in the UK. Another study exploring very similar themes — also funded by the NUT — was carried out at roughly the same time in The Gambia. While the two projects were not devised as comparative studies, they pursue the common theme of differently qualified teachers in two different contexts in sub-Saharan Africa.
2. Research methods

This is a qualitative study that explores the experiences of Mozambican primary teachers — and other key education stakeholders — and their views about the quality of education in Mozambique. It investigates the effect that untrained and differently trained teachers — as well as teachers working under different contractual conditions — have on the quality of teaching and learning.

Mozambique is a large country with a land area of 800,000 square kilometres and a coastline almost 3,000 km long. There are significant regional differences between the north, centre and south of Mozambique. Administratively there are 11 provinces and 128 districts. The population is estimated to have reached nearly 23 million in 2010. Over 70 per cent of the people live in rural areas and are engaged in small-scale agricultural production (World Bank, 2010).

Differences in the geography, culture, history and politics of the regions have affected patterns of participation in primary education. The research design took these factors into account by undertaking fieldwork in rural and urban areas across three provinces of the south (Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo), one large province in the centre of the country (Zambezia) and two provinces in the north (Niassa and Nampula).

Close involvement of local stakeholder organisations in planning the research and validating the findings is an important aspect of VSO’s approach. At both the planning and reporting stages, workshops were held involving senior members of the Ministry of Education and other Ministries and representatives of non-governmental organisations and civil society groups who work in the education sector.

The main methods used to collect data for this study were as follows:

• Focus groups were held with teachers, teacher trainers and students training to become teachers, as well as with members of school councils (see Appendix D). The focus groups were the main source of primary data. Twenty-nine focus groups were conducted between July and September 2010. Twenty-one of these were with teachers (a total of 265), the primary stakeholders. Three focus groups were held with teacher trainers (a total of 37); three were conducted with students from teacher training colleges (a total of 36) and two with members of school councils (a total of 19). All focus group participants were assured of anonymity and informed what use would be made of their views in the report, and that quotes could not be linked to particular persons. Most teacher focus groups were conducted without anyone with direct authority over the teachers present.

• Semi-structured interviews were used to tap into the expert knowledge of secondary and tertiary stakeholders’ about particular aspects of teachers’ training and deployment and about questions of educational quality. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were used to gather factual information not readily available in published form. In some cases these interviews were also used as a triangulation tool, ie to check particular points made by another research participant from another angle.

• Questionnaires were used to gain information about the profile of the main focus group participants, the teachers and teacher trainers (see Appendices A and B).

• Questionnaires were also used for school directors and human resource directors in district education offices. The information obtained from these questionnaires has been integrated into the analysis of human resource issues (see also Appendix F).

The data obtained through the above methods was analysed using qualitative methods by looking for common themes, counting the frequency of particular statements made across different focus groups as well as across different data collection tools and methods. Frequency counts were supplemented by listening to examples and personal experiences and gauging the strength of feeling associated with particular points.

This analysis led into the report narrative with description, interpretation and explanation of the findings and recommendations. The analysis of the findings is grounded in the way teachers reported their experiences and in the comments of secondary and tertiary stakeholders. Teachers and local education officials on some occasions may have misunderstood or misinterpreted aspects of education policies. Such misunderstandings are also an important part of the data, in that “if men [people] define situations as real they are real in their consequences” (Thomas’ theorem as quoted in Merton, 1995). In doing this the focus groups give voice to teachers – the key group who can make a difference to the quality of education by providing a good learning experience to their pupils.

4. Whenever there is a quotation in the report, it is attributed in terms of the gender of the participant, the type of area in which the person teaches (urban, semi-rural, rural or remote) and the province in which the particular focus group took place. Where it seemed relevant to a particular quotation, reference is also made to the particular teacher’s status (trained or untrained, civil servant or contract teacher).

5. In this context secondary and tertiary stakeholders are individuals and groups who are concerned with primary education without necessarily working in education (they can affect and be affected by what goes on in education; for example school council members and education officials are secondary stakeholders and staff in NGOs and INGOs are tertiary stakeholders).
3. The Mozambican education system

3.1 Historical development of education

During the colonial period the local population attended rural schools run by the Catholic (and sometimes the Protestant) churches and missions which offered three years of rudimentary schooling. Only a minority of so-called ‘assimilated’ local African pupils were able to move on to primary schools and an even smaller number attended secondary schools. On the eve of independence, the illiteracy rate among the local adult population was estimated to be above 90 per cent, possibly as high as 97 per cent.

Following Mozambican independence in 1975, public education was made into a central pillar of national development. Education became a right – and indeed a duty – for every citizen. In view of the desperate shortage of teachers (the majority of colonial era teachers and other professionals had left the country following independence), the government closed all secondary schools and sent most of those who had benefited from at least some formal education to be specially trained to instruct others and to become teachers. As a result, the gross enrolment rate in first level primary education reached 93 per cent in 1981 (van Diesen, 1999:40). In 1983 the National System of Education (Sistema Nacional de Educação) was introduced, which following some changes is still the current system (see flow chart page 10). It includes five branches: (i) general education; (ii) adult education; (iii) technical-professional (vocational) education; (iv) teacher training; (v) higher education. These different branches in turn are divided into three levels: basic, medium and higher. The thinking was that there would be an appropriate educational path for every citizen.

However, acute shortage of resources limited the effective implementation of this national education system, particularly as the country was by then in a situation of armed conflict (first with surrounding white-dominated countries and then with the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO)). During these wars much of the country’s infrastructure was destroyed. It took until the end of the 1990s for primary school enrolment rates to recover to pre-conflict levels. The peace process of 1990–92 led to the change from a one-party to a multi-party system and a process of decentralisation of government. The country also accepted the use of neo-liberal economic policies, resulting in substantial international development aid.

The conditions for the delivery of aid included the development of a strategy for poverty reduction, which is set out in PARPA (Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty). This plan includes expansion of access to education as a top priority, alongside health and rural development. Mozambique signed up to the Millennium Development Goals and to Education for All which attracted further donor support. The flow of funding enabled policy changes that led to the rapid expansion of education, particularly at primary level. It enabled the country to achieve a reduction in levels of poverty and to move towards gender parity in education. Two Education Sector Strategic Plans – covering 1999–2005 and 2006–2010/11 – set out the basis for these changes, with a strong emphasis on primary education for all.

3.2 The national system of education

This report is about primary education and the training of primary teachers. The flow chart shows the main elements of the whole education system. The school system separates after the first stage of primary education into general education on the one hand and vocational education on the other. Vocational studies start after the first stage of primary education and students can progress to basic and medium level vocational courses. Around 90 per cent of all students are in general primary education; the remaining 10 per cent are in vocational, secondary and higher education. The flow chart also shows the different qualification levels that primary teachers can achieve and how these correspond to broad pay categories. Primary teachers’ qualifications are either at basic or medium level (it is unusual to find a primary teacher with higher education level). Public sector pay (including teachers’ pay) is based on the qualification level within the national system of education (basic, medium or higher) that an individual has achieved.
3.3 The ‘new curriculum’ for primary education

In 2004 Mozambique introduced a new curriculum for primary education which, in the words of the then education minister, was “one of the fundamental steps to improving the quality of education”, by making the teaching “more relevant, in accordance with the needs of the individual, the family, the community and the country”. Curriculum innovation was regarded as a way of addressing differences in access to education and making the curriculum more relevant to vocational and life skills and hence to the needs of all the regions in Mozambique as well as to different disadvantaged social groups (Alderuccio, 2010).

The stated objectives of the new curriculum include moving from subject-based to interdisciplinary teaching, from teacher-centred to pupil-centred learning combined with an emphasis on culturally relevant and applied learning. There are three curriculum strands: communication and social sciences, mathematics and natural sciences, and practical and technological activities. Within the communication and social sciences strand, some schools are teaching one of the Mozambican local languages prior to or alongside Portuguese, which is the official common language of the country. It is now widely accepted (on the basis of several countries’ experiences) that mother tongue education gives children the best chance in their first years at school (Verspoor, 2008; Ogadhoh and Moltewno, 1998), but bilingual education in Portuguese and a local African language is still at the experimental stage in Mozambique.

Twenty per cent of the new curriculum time is intended to be devoted to the ‘local curriculum’, the content of which is to be devised locally, to provide both cultural and vocational learning relevant to the local community and economy. The indications are that the local curriculum is still at an early stage of development in many areas, but its introduction is clearly welcomed in the rural and remote areas. Members of the two school council focus groups supported the local curriculum wholeheartedly and were keen to mention the pupils’ achievements in local music and local crafts, as well as their knowledge of traditional local herbs. (See also section 5.3.1 for teachers’ views about the ‘new curriculum’).
### 3.4 Achievements and challenges in primary education

#### 3.4.1 Access to and completion of primary education

Mozambique has been able to make noticeably good progress on access to primary education. The net enrolment rate to grade one of primary schools (i.e. enrolment of pupils who start school at the age of six) is now virtually at 100 per cent and there is gender parity on enrolment (Ministério da Educação, Novembro 2010a:11). As more children start school at the appropriate age, the difference between gross and net enrolment rates\(^6\) narrows. Pupil drop-out rates, however, are still high and completion rates low, with continuing differences between provinces and between the genders. In 2009 13.5 per cent of pupils left school after the second cycle (i.e. after grade five) (ibid:13). Girls are more likely than boys to leave school early; in the provinces of Nampula and Zambezia their completion rates are half those of the male pupils (Ministério da Educação, Novembro 2010b:16). Staying on in school is difficult for many pupils – for girls in particular – because many primary schools in rural areas are not yet EPCs (escolas primárias completas)\(^7\) which means that they do not offer the complete cycle of primary education. This in turn means that pupils may have to walk long distances to one of the schools that offer primary education up to grade seven, giving cause for concern to parents of girls (see also chapter 6).

Nevertheless the gender gap in completion rates is narrowing. The overall completion rate increased from 43.1 per cent in 2004 to 47.9 per cent in 2009, while the completion rate for girls over the same period went up from 26.3 per cent to 42.8 per cent. In other words, the rate for girls is increasing faster than the overall rate (Ministério da Educação, 2010b:15–16). The highest rates of increase in access are now in secondary education, making the education pyramid less steep. An increase in the number of secondary school graduates is needed if Mozambique is to enlarge its human resource potential in teaching and other areas and develop a diverse skills base.

#### 3.4.2 Improving teaching and learning

The government’s efforts to improve the quality of teaching have been successful to the extent that since 2009 Mozambique has no longer needed to recruit new untrained primary teachers. In 2009 31.7 per cent of teachers serving at EP1 level and 20.8 per cent teaching at EP2 level in primary schools were still untrained (Ministério da Educação e Cultura 2009: 25,30). These proportions have decreased to 26 per cent in EP1 and more modestly to 19.2 per cent in EP2 (Ministério da Educação, 2010c). However, many stakeholders – including teachers themselves – believe that the training many teachers have received (including that offered by the 10+1 model) is not sufficient (see chapter 7).

There is now a great need and demand for in-service training and for continuing education (by attendance at courses as well as by distance learning). For example, teachers need to gain a better appreciation of the new curriculum and how to implement it successfully (eg by learning new diagnostic assessment methods, including how to use the results for planning student progress).

Monitoring of pupil outcomes is still at an early stage. The Ministry’s recent formulation of standards of achievement for different levels in reading and writing\(^8\) is a welcome development and will hopefully be backed up by training so that teachers can implement the standards successfully.

#### 3.4.3 Other issues that affect quality

Lowering the pupil/teacher ratio (PTR) is not specifically mentioned in ESSPII, but lowering the pupil/classroom ratio (PCR) is. The PTR is the measure used for resource planning and is widely used internationally as an indicator of educational quality. In EP1 the PTR has gone up from 61 in 1998 to 73 in 2008 but decreased again in 2009 and is expected to reduce to 65 by 2011. In EP2 it increased from 39 to 41 between 1998 and 2008 (Ministério da Educação e Cultura 2008:6). In terms of teachers’ working conditions and pupils’ learning experience, it is the PCR that is of more direct significance (particularly as multi-grade teaching is rare in Mozambique).

The PCR is affected not only by the number of teachers available but also by the school construction programme (which is also a high priority in Mozambique’s educational planning). In 2010 the PCR stood at 50 children per classroom (Ministério da Educação, 2010c:23). The resource challenges that confront teachers and others working in primary education have a direct bearing on the quality of education, the subject of chapter 5.

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6. The gross enrolment includes all children enrolled at a given level. The net enrolment rate on the other hand only includes the children of the appropriate age group for that level, and is calculated as a proportion of the number of children in that particular age group in the country (or in the province, where the data is broken down by province). In Mozambique, after years of war, many older children who had lost out on education earlier on, started attending classes when the school system expanded, resulting in gross enrolment rates above 100 per cent.


8. Verbal communication by a senior human resource official at MINED.
4. Teacher demand and supply

Efforts to achieve universal primary education (UPE) have led to increased pupil enrolment which in turn has led to serious teacher shortages, particularly in low-income countries. Countries needing the most new teachers currently have the least well-qualified teachers (UNESCO, 2006b). Due to the difficulties of training enough teachers quickly, there are serious teacher shortages in many parts of the world.

4.1 Teacher attrition and teacher absenteeism

Teacher shortages that result from increased access to schooling and from growing populations are sometimes made worse by high teacher attrition and absenteeism rates. The main causes of attrition tend to be retirement, death, other employment opportunities, or personal reasons (such as illness or family responsibilities). Teacher absences may also be due to illness or family responsibilities, but can additionally be due to dissatisfaction or demotivation with some aspect of the job. They can also arise when teachers try to juggle different shifts or jobs.

Information about teacher attrition in Mozambique is available in three categories only: teachers who died, teachers who are systematically absent and teachers who have left (abandoned) teaching. No information on retirements is available. When teachers are recorded as being ‘systematically absent from work’ this could be due to chronic or terminal illness or to absenteeism. There is no separate data on voluntary teacher resignations. The situation may be similar to that in other developing countries where, according to the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA (2010), working conditions, school management, lack of training opportunities or poor living conditions lead to teacher resignations (International Task Force on Teachers for EFA, 2010).

Mozambique’s data on teacher attrition appears not to be complete and may not be completely reliable, but it shows a downward trend between 2009 and 2010. In 2010 a total of 3,377 teachers appear in the attrition statistics, of whom 752 teachers were reported to have died while in service, 2,213 were systematically absent from work and 412 had left the profession altogether (no further breakdown of causes or reasons is given). These figures represent an attrition rate of 3.8 per cent (Ministério da Educação 2010c:32), although for planning purposes the Teacher Training Directorate assumes an attrition rate of five per cent.

In the course of the fieldwork some head teachers and district human resource directors were asked questions about teacher attrition and teacher absences (see Appendices E and F). These questions were often not answered, possibly because they were not understood (eg the concept of teacher attrition was new to them) or because they had no data (eg about absenteeism). When the question was answered (as it was by just a handful of respondents), the information appears to have been based on impressions rather than on recorded figures. The information obtained about teacher absenteeism is also largely impressionistic.
4.2 ‘Para teachers’ and ‘contract teachers’ as a response to teacher shortages

Faced with increased pupil enrolment rates and high teacher attrition rates, many countries have tackled the problem of insufficient numbers of teachers by employing young people with relatively low qualification levels as primary teachers, often without first giving them pedagogical training. In the literature such teachers are frequently called ‘para teachers’ because they are usually less qualified, often have less secure employment contracts and are paid less than regular teachers (who are mostly civil servants). ‘Para teachers’ are often equated with ‘contract teachers’, because in many countries it is usual for all lesser-qualified teachers and untrained teachers to be employed on temporary contracts without being integrated into the regular conditions of service for qualified teachers, which are usually those of public servants. But a recent trend in several countries in sub-Saharan Africa is for qualified and trained teachers also to be employed on temporary contracts.

The characteristics that describe so-called ‘para teachers’ also apply to many teachers in Mozambique but there is not necessarily a direct link. Pay is determined by qualification level but contractual conditions vary independently. Teachers’ status and pay is differentiated by qualification level, but these do not correspond to differences in contractual conditions in any direct way. For example, one teacher may have a ‘basic level’ school-leaving certificate and may not have been trained as a teacher but may nevertheless have obtained civil service status, whereas another teacher who left school with higher qualifications and then trained to become a teacher may still be a contract teacher.

The term ‘para teacher’ is not used in Mozambique and following advice from local stakeholders it is not used in this report when the situation of either contract teachers or untrained teachers in Mozambique is discussed, as both ‘trained’ and ‘untrained’ teachers may be paid at either basic or medium qualification level and may have either civil servant or contract teacher status. Also, because every teacher in Mozambique has a ‘qualification level’ (even if only a basic one), but not every teacher has been specifically ‘trained’ to be a teacher, this report refers to ‘untrained’ teachers rather than ‘unqualified’ teachers.

Duthilleul (2005) outlines several different reasons why many governments have tended to use contract teachers, the most important of which is the need to meet the teacher shortages in a manner that is affordable within their respective education budgets. A further important reason for some countries has been the need to serve ethnic minority populations with teachers who can relate to the local communities and speak the local languages.

According to Fyfe (2007), contract teachers now represent more than 50 per cent of all teaching staff in many sub-Saharan African countries. This is the case in Mozambique, where in 2009 contract teachers represented 58.5 per cent of all teachers (Ministério da Educação 2010a:101).

Evidence on the respective motivation and effectiveness of teachers who are public servants versus contract teachers is mixed and may reflect local/national circumstances. Kingdon for example found that the absenteeism rates of ‘para teachers’ in India are actually lower than those of regular teachers. In spite of the much lower salaries of ‘para teachers’ (who in India seem to be synonymous with contract teachers) they appear to be more motivated precisely because they are temporary and want to keep their jobs (Kingdon, 2010). In contrast, Fyfe’s review of studies from several different countries reported that absenteeism rates of contract teachers tend to be higher, either because they are less committed or possibly because they need to juggle contracts in several different schools. In other words, the underlying reasons are related to their substantially lower salaries and less secure conditions of service (Fyfe, 2007).

In many countries the terms ‘contract teacher’ and ‘para teacher’ are used interchangeably. However, the situation is more complex in Mozambique, where all teachers, trained and untrained, now start off as contract teachers, because the process of nomination to become a civil servant takes a minimum of four to six months9 and – as the fieldwork showed – often takes much longer. The status of contract teachers is meant to be a temporary or probationary one, but in practice many teachers remain contract teachers for an indefinite period (see chapter 9).

9. Verbal communication by senior human resource official at the Ministry of Education.
4.3 Mozambique’s response to teacher shortages

Against the backdrop of a rising population of young people, Mozambique, like many other low-income countries, has experienced difficulties training sufficient numbers of teachers to meet the needs of the expanding education system. Various projections about the number of additional teachers required were made. For example, Mulkeen and Chen (2008), starting from 2005 figures as their baseline, outlined three different scenarios for Mozambique of how demand for EP1 teachers might develop depending on assumptions made about gross enrolment rates and pupil/teacher ratios (PTRs). The 2006 UNESCO Report Teachers and Educational Quality projected that Mozambique would need to increase its teaching force by 121 per cent (equivalent to 7.8 per cent each year) from 2004 in order to reach UPE by 2015 and reduce the PTR to the internationally recommended level of 40:1 (UNESCO, 2006b). More recent calculations presented by UNESCO’s Institute of Statistics project that the number of teachers in Mozambique would have to increase by around three per cent annually between 2009 and 2015. This suggests a slowing down in the need for additional teachers compared to changes in teacher demand in the preceding decade (Bruneforth, 2011).

This slowdown has been possible because Mozambique has responded to the projected demand not only by employing untrained teachers (a practice that was widely used before 2008 but has now been virtually phased out), but also by reforming teacher training. The government increased the number of places in teacher training colleges for primary teachers by expanding the network of colleges and halving the length of the training courses. Some teaching resources were also freed up as a consequence of reductions in the number of pupils repeating grades following the introduction of semi-automatic progression (where pupils are able to move on to the next grade almost regardless of their level of scholastic achievement during the year). The semi-automatic progression is an important aspect of the ‘new curriculum’ and has cut the number of students who repeat grades by at least 20 per cent.

The number of additional teachers required by 2015 as projected by Mulkeen and Chen (2008) had already been achieved in Mozambique by 2009, with 61,242 EP1 teachers employed. Moreover, all recently made primary teacher appointments are now of trained teachers and, although PTRs remain high, some trained teachers cannot find employment. There is also criticism of the fact that the pre-service training of current and recently trained primary teachers is too short.

The measures taken by the Ministry include employment of ‘fast-tracked’ teachers (who were given a one-year training course whereas before it took at least two years to train to be a teacher) and employing most teachers as contract teachers, as well as keeping them in this status for a long time. In this way it was possible to keep ongoing future financial commitments sustainable, such as those arising from a higher general education level of teachers and those from pensions obligations to civil servants. From the Mozambican government’s point of view, these measures provide a cost-effective solution in the short term. Whether they will be considered cost-effective in the medium to longer term is increasingly being questioned, as the cost of in-service training and continuing education will need to increase to meet the quality challenge (Fyle, 2007; Verspoor, 2008).

As a result of these various policy measures, Mozambique claims to have ‘solved’ its primary teacher shortages. However, this welcome development needs to be set against a background of growing dissatisfaction among stakeholders with the quality of primary education as well as with the quality of teacher training and with teachers' conditions of service. Although it is a tremendous achievement that Mozambique currently does not need to employ more untrained primary teachers, other problems remain (discussed more fully in chapters 5–10). That there is now a surplus of trained teachers was confirmed to some extent through the fieldwork for this study. Among a small sample of head teachers and district education officials who were asked about teacher shortages, only one head teacher reported difficulties in getting enough teachers, which he attributed to budget constraints, and another had had difficulty in recruiting an English teacher for her primary school two years earlier. Interestingly, none of the head teachers mentioned the high PTRs when asked about teacher shortages. They seemed to think more in terms of having enough teachers for the number of classrooms and for the subjects to be covered than in terms of the number of pupils attending.

Given the way the current stock of teachers has developed over time, there is now a differentiated (perhaps even fragmented) stock of teachers. A large proportion are still untrained and the others have been trained in many different ways (see chapter 7). All this makes it difficult to set and monitor quality standards.

Current problems with the quality of primary education should be taken into account in calculations of future demand for and supply of teachers. Given additional resources, substantially more teachers could usefully be employed and existing teachers upgraded, for three main reasons:

- Pupil/teacher ratios and pupil/classroom ratios are considerably above internationally recommended levels and could be decreased.
- Teacher attrition appears to be high (although official information on this is limited) and may be growing both because of the high rates of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique and because contract teachers are becoming demotivated and there is a risk that they will leave as soon as the country’s economic development enables them to take advantage of other opportunities in the labour market (MEPT [Mozambican Movement for Education for All], 2007).
- There is a great need for developing and upgrading existing teachers’ skills in ways that develop their competences as primary teachers, without taking them out of primary teaching altogether (as often happens when primary teachers upgrade their qualifications to a higher level).

10. Young people under 14 make up almost 50 per cent of Mozambique’s population.
11. Buckland (2000: 3) stated that “one of the greatest cost drivers in education systems in developing countries is the very high rate of repetition and dropout”.

14
5. Educational quality

Educational quality is difficult to measure directly; instead indicators are commonly used. The main quality indicators used in this report are: the training of teachers; pupil/teacher ratios (PTRs); enrolment, completion and drop-out rates of pupils; the extent to which gender equality is achieved; and pupil performance in assessments. Many of these quality indicators are affected by the motivation and professional commitment of teachers, which in turn are influenced by teachers’ conditions of work and service.

‘Quality’ is often conceptualised in terms of ‘input–process–output–context’ models (see the discussions of such models in Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2005; Heneveld and Craig, 1996; Verspoor, 2008). When applied to education the model looks something like this:

- **Input factors** include the training, qualifications and vocational commitment of teachers, the capacity of learners and available teaching and learning resources.
- **Output factors** include pupil learning achievement (which is measured in terms of performance in the main subjects that have been taught, or in terms of the development of cognitive and life skills more generally) as well as the ability to gain employment.
- **Input and output factors** are linked through the key **process factors** of teaching and learning in the classroom, which are affected by the nature of the interaction between teachers and their pupils, as well as between pupils and are also influenced by the children’s home environment and by school leadership.
- **Contextual factors** are specific to the country or region under consideration and include national education policies.

5.1 Quality in primary education

Increasingly there is a general concern among education stakeholders in Mozambique that educational quality has been sacrificed for the sake of quantity, namely to high pupil enrolment rates, and that resources are not sufficient to address both quantity and quality issues simultaneously.

Mozambique is still one of the world’s poorest countries. Its government is working with partners in the international donor community to try to ensure that the programmes for building further schools and classrooms and for supplying each child with textbooks and exercise books are growing in tandem with the increase in pupil numbers. The drop in the PTR in recent years in Mozambique indicates that it has been reasonably successful in doing so – the PTR decreased from 76 in EP1 in 2006 (Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 2008) to 66 in 2010 and is projected to drop to 65 in 2011.

Abolition of school fees for primary education in 2005 has helped to increase access, which increased the PTR. There is now increasing recognition that high enrolment rates are not sufficient indicators of educational quality, unless pupil progression and completion rates also increase, and unless there are well-qualified and trained teachers and sustainable PTRs (Yates, 2007; UNESCO, 2006b). In fact there may be a risk that unless higher enrolment rates (a quantity input factor) are also linked to quality processes (successful teaching and learning in the classroom) and to output factors – such as children being able to read and write and do arithmetic – there may be a drop in the value that members of rural communities in poor countries attach to education. When parents fail to see the potential economic or social benefit of schooling, they are likely to prefer their children’s participation in the family’s subsistence efforts, be it in farming or in small-scale trading (UNESCO, 2006a).

To ensure quality in primary education, attention now needs to be directed to teachers. Obanya (2010:90) states that “no educational system can rise above the level of its teachers” because teachers more than anything or anyone else affect the quality of learning that takes place. The importance of teachers in determining educational outcomes is greatest in poor countries, where, due to shortages in the availability of other learning materials, they – the teachers – are the only or main learning resource (VSO, 2002).

Well-qualified and trained teachers are a prerequisite for achieving educational quality. Teachers’ employment conditions and working environment are also central to educational quality, as they have an impact on teachers’ motivation which in turn affects the way they are able to perform in the classroom and interact with their pupils.

12. Its GDP per capita is estimated to be less than US$500 per capita, and its Human Development Index (HDI) rank puts it in place 172 out of 182 countries. (UNDP, 2009)
13. Verbal communication by senior planning official at the Ministry of Education.
14. The shortage of classrooms and facilities, learning materials, etc is a major difficulty and is beyond the scope of this report, except to acknowledge that increased teacher numbers need to be matched by suitable infrastructure and materials. Although it is not impossible for good teaching and learning to take place under a tree, under such circumstances the available learning time can be much reduced due to weather conditions.
5.2 What do teachers regard as good educational quality?

Participants in the 21 teacher focus groups were asked what they regarded as good educational quality. Teachers worked on this question individually and then shared their thoughts in discussion. The information provided pointed to six main factors that were considered necessary for achieving good educational quality:

- Well-qualified and well-trained teachers.
- Professional commitment to teaching.
- Good pay and conditions for teachers.
- Good working conditions for teachers and a good material learning environment for pupils.
- Good educational policies (e.g., an appropriate curriculum).
- Parent and community involvement.

The detailed points relating to each of these factors have been put into an input–process–output framework in the box opposite. Some related items have been grouped together in the form of main point and sub-point. Many of the factors mentioned were not actually present (or not present to a sufficient degree) in the participating teachers’ working lives. As a result, almost inevitably, some of the points were expressed negatively about what should or should not happen, rather than positively about what individual teachers and schools were doing that signified good quality. For example, one teacher talked about the importance of having employment stability in order to be able to monitor and support pupils’ progress. But he summed up his point ‘negatively’ by saying: “teachers shouldn’t be transferred all the time” (male trained contract teacher, urban school in Niassa). This example highlights that indicators of good quality education also have a flipside: when any of the factors listed on the next page are absent, quality may suffer.

“Good educational quality is what a child demonstrates after completing a cycle... If the pupil is not able to meet the objectives of the cycle, then quality is not achieved”

Male untrained civil servant teacher, rural school in Inhambane

5.3 Is educational quality declining in Mozambique?

There appears to be a widespread feeling within education circles – among teachers as well as other stakeholders – that the quality of education in primary schools in Mozambique is going down. The quantitative expansion of schooling has widened access to education but has led to serious human and material resource constraints, which in turn affect factors that are involved in educational quality, such as the training of teachers and learning resources.

A provocative question was put to all focus group participants: ‘Is educational quality declining?’ This question was almost universally answered in the affirmative and it sparked very lively debates about the reasons for this. Several of the ingredients considered necessary for good educational quality were said to be missing in the education system, but teachers also stressed that they do their best under difficult conditions. Less than a handful of participants across all the focus groups thought that education was getting better rather than declining.

Teachers were particularly concerned that a large proportion of pupils fail to learn to read and write. Many teachers had stories of pupils who still could not read by the time they had completed EP1 – or not even when they had completed EP2. These examples were taken as indicators of the decline in quality: “We have children in grades six and seven who do not know how to read and write. We have experience of the previous curriculum in which children were able to read and write” (male trained teacher, civil servant, rural school in Zambezia). The reasons for the decline in educational quality that were given by teachers in the focus groups are summarised on page 18. Their points are illustrated with quotations below and are developed in subsequent chapters.

15. To address this issue a working party convened by MINED has recently formulated the standards of reading and writing that are considered adequate (verbal communication by senior official at the Ministry of Education’s human resource directorate).
As teachers what do you mean by ‘good quality education’?

Views expressed in focus groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Output</th>
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| 1. Professionally committed teachers  
  - teachers are valued  
  2. Qualified and trained teachers  
  - training of sufficient length  
  3. Continuing professional development for teachers  
  - in-service training as well as continuing education/further training  
  4. Better pay and incentives for teachers  
  - teachers paid on time and according to their qualification category  
  5. Good school environment (material condition of the school)  
  6. Sufficient teaching/learning materials  
  7. Children attending school at the right age  
  8. Involved parents | 1. Assess students on their actual progress  
  - (instead of automatic progression on improbably high pass marks)  
  2. Teachers are role models  
  - girls look at women teachers as their mirror  
  3. The learning objectives are achieved  
  - adequate in-school time  
  4. Low pupil/teacher ratio  
  5. Teachers prepare and plan lessons  
  6. Subject content is appropriate to pupils and not too heavy  
  7. Mutual support among teachers  
  8. Specialist subject teachers available  
  9. Teachers are able to accompany pupils through the complete cycle of learning  
  - teachers should not be frequently transferred  
  10. Pupils and teachers are assessed  
  11. Good relationships between teachers and pupils  
  12. Incorporation of cultural values  
  13. Teachers are effective  
  14. Pupils are motivated | 1. Children have learnt the ‘basics’ (are able to read and write)  
  2. Children become useful citizens in society |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Context</th>
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| 1. Community involvement | 2. Education policy  
  ('stop the semi-automatic progression') | 3. Children must have minimum conditions at home  
 (food, clothes, support) |
Why is educational quality declining in Mozambique’s primary schools?

Summary of views from focus group discussions (in order of the frequency in which they were mentioned)

1. ‘Bad interpretation’ of semi-automatic progression means that teachers are under pressure to give high marks and pupils ‘don’t care’ whether they learn or not. See 5.3.1
2. Education policies are modelled on developed countries and are ‘inappropriate’ for Mozambique.
   • ‘new curriculum’ was not well introduced or explained. See 5.3.1
3. Lack of interest from parents and from the wider community. See 5.3.2
4. Lack of material conditions for good teaching and learning (not enough classrooms, classrooms ill-equipped, shortage of textbooks and lack of other learning materials). See 5.3.3
5. Lack of commitment from teachers
   • teaching sometimes a ‘last choice’ career. See 5.3.4 and chapter 8
6. There are many untrained and ‘badly’ trained teachers and few opportunities for continuing professional development. See 5.3.5 and chapter 7
7. Low teacher salaries and lack of material incentives. See chapter 8
8. Many children per class (high pupil per class and pupil per teacher ratios). See 5.3.6 and throughout
9. Children start school too early. See 5.3.6
10. Many pupils drop out and don’t complete schooling, especially girls. See chapter 6 and throughout

“The problem here is not the teachers or students or even the parents...it is the curriculum itself”

Female untrained teacher, urban school in Inhambane

5.3.1 The new curriculum and semi-automatic progression

Many teachers appeared to attribute the children’s failure to learn to read and write adequately to the ‘new curriculum’. The approaches introduced with the ‘new curriculum’ are innovative within the Mozambican context, but are regarded by quite a number of the teachers as inappropriate: “This new curriculum was designed in a globalisation context, an international curriculum. To design a curriculum for our country the first thing to look at is our reality...and not to observe the way other countries developed their curriculum. This curriculum would probably be appropriate for England...The problem here is not the teachers or students or even the parents...it is the curriculum itself” (untrained female teacher, urban school in Inhambane).

Other teachers pointed out that the resources to implement the new curriculum were not at their disposal: “The country is always trying to copy policies from other countries, developed countries. For example, the introduction of music and art. If one looks at many schools there are no instruments for music making and no resources for art. Also, in many cases the teachers themselves do not have adequate training” (male untrained teacher, rural area in Inhambane).

16. The innovative approaches include: (a) pupil-centred rather than teacher-centred learning, (b) integrated subject teaching, (c) using local languages as the main teaching medium in EP1 in some schools before gradually introducing the official Portuguese language for teaching in grade three, (d) devoting one-fifth of the learning time to a locally developed local curriculum, (e) semi-automatic progression of pupils within a cycle, (f) one teacher per class in grades one and two. For further information on the new curriculum see also 3.2 above.
Despite a long process of planning for the new curriculum, not much preparatory training had been undertaken with the teachers prior to implementation in 2004. There had been induction talks but often not much else, as is highlighted in these two quotations from different parts of the country: “The curriculum is rich but the problem is that it was introduced without preparing the field” (male teacher, rural area in Gaza) and: “the government introduced a new curriculum without preparation. There should be updating [in-service training] courses; that would be motivating” (male trained teacher, rural area in Niassa).

Teachers felt that the new curriculum was too difficult and complex for both pupils and teachers: “Education is getting worse due to the new curriculum...not all pupils speak Portuguese but the book assumes they do and they have to learn to read and write in grade one” (female teacher, rural school in Inhambane); “the curriculum content is difficult to teach. In grade one the child is supposed to know how to read...but what happens is that the teacher has to finish the programme and children progress with gaps” (female teacher, urban school in Maputo province). Teachers find it difficult to squeeze the required amount of material from a range of different subjects into the time available and are not sure how to teach in a thematic interdisciplinary manner. In other words, teachers were not convinced either by the underlying philosophy nor by the detailed content of the new curriculum. They felt ill-prepared to apply it in the classroom.

A minority of teachers approved of the new curriculum approach but felt that they, too, could not properly implement it: “The curriculum is good. It is a shame that the other aspects do not follow these changes in the curriculum...This curriculum requires parent and community participation...but it is not what is happening” (male untrained teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane).

It is clear that there was a widespread feeling among teachers that the curriculum was ‘not fit for purpose’ in the Mozambican context. The teachers’ unenthusiastic reception of many of the aspects of the new curriculum is probably due to the fact that there appears to have been too little explanation and virtually no training on how to implement this new approach.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there is substantial ‘policy drift’ in the implementation of the new curriculum. The policies are conceptualised and laid down by the Ministry of Education at national level but get changed as teachers implement the reforms with limited resources, and as they bring their own opinions and ways of doing things to the task. For example, the new curriculum emphasises learner-centred approaches – but this gets reinterpreted in a classroom of 60 or more students in a way that appears to be little different from traditional ‘chalk-and-talk’. Civil society organisations that are working with teachers on learner-centred approaches reported that it was difficult to get teachers to apply the approach in a consistent manner, because it requires more preparation time and is seen to be difficult to implement with large classes.

Most teachers did see some merit in some aspects of the new curriculum, but there was widespread lack of understanding of why it was introduced and how it might improve basic education. The new curriculum and other policy reforms may not have been adequately explained to teachers. The consultative mechanisms before the introduction of the new curriculum appear to have bypassed most classroom teachers, although there had been at least token consultation with the teachers’ organisation ONP/SNPM.

Attempts to win teachers over to the new policies through discussion and training sometimes backfire, as teachers interpret them as being directive rather than consultative or participative (see chapter 8).

The aspect of the new curriculum that was almost universally condemned by the participating teachers is the so-called semi-automatic progression (or promotion of pupils between grades within a cycle of learning). It was seen by the teachers as the most important reason for the perceived decline in educational quality and as a contributing factor by other stakeholders. It was mentioned almost three times more frequently as a factor promoting poor quality of learning than any of the other factors.

“The government should stop the automatic progression. It is better to have fewer pupils who know something rather than having many who don’t know anything”

Male teacher, rural school in Niassa

When accompanied by diagnostic tests and feedback to pupils, semi-automatic progression assists teachers when planning individual pupils’ learning and development. But teachers have not been trained to administer diagnostic tests and the policy of semi-automatic progression appears to be misunderstood by some school leaders and district officials. Many put pressure on teachers to turn in high percentage marks for pupils even when these do not correspond to pupils’ actual

17. ‘Fitness for purpose’ is a widely used definition of quality which regards quality in terms of whether it fulfils the needs of users of a service. In relation to education this is usually taken to mean whether it meets the needs of pupils or students and of their future employers. ‘Quality as fitness for purpose’ can also mean meeting the objectives and mission of an institution or organisation.
“If teachers do not achieve (the required percentages) they are questioned. Teachers are sometimes obliged to do things in order to keep out of trouble”

Male trained contract teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane

achievements: “We can see progression of children in very large numbers, but their quality is not good enough, because even in grade six, seven or even ten we find students who are not able to write their names. This did not happen with the previous curriculum. This is due to semi-automatic progression and children understand that whether they go to school or not, they will always pass the grade because there is a requirement that states that teachers must achieve a certain percentage. So if teachers do not achieve [the required percentages] they are questioned. Teachers are sometimes obliged to do things in order to keep out of trouble” (male trained contract teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane).

Others made similar comments: “In the past...even if only 35 per cent passed the head teacher accepted it...nowadays if a teacher presents this kind of percentage, it is the teacher who is called incompetent” (male teacher, rural school in Niassa). “Semi-automatic progression has also contributed to this failure [children not being able to read and write]...because it creates a mental laziness on the part of the pupil; at the end of the year whether the pupils master the subject or not they have to pass” (male trained teacher, rural school in Zambezia).

Teachers feel that they cannot be professionally accountable while they are asked to obey the rules of a political game. Pressure from head teachers and local education officials to deliver high marks may be interpreted as either a way of ‘encouraging the teachers’ (as a senior provincial official in a southern province suggested) or as a political strategy. However, teachers appear to feel disempowered rather than supported by such strategies.

The ability to punish (eg by failing pupils) is seen as an important aspect of power and authority in Mozambican culture. Teachers as well as secondary stakeholders and school council members mentioned that teachers’ authority and status have been weakened as a result of having lost the power to punish by failing students who do not make an effort to learn. “Our children at home sometimes need to be beaten,” said a female member of a school council, “the same is the case with our pupils...but if you do that to a pupil nowadays it creates a problem and that is why this pupil doesn’t make any effort, because he knows that he will be allowed back in class anyway, whether he makes any effort or not.” This comment was ‘put in context’ by another colleague on the school council, who said: “You may think we are sending our children to school to be ill-treated, but this is not the case, it is a way of keeping order” (male school council member, rural area in Zambezia).

“The children know that even if they do not come to school they will pass anyway”

Female trained contract teacher, remote area in Niassa

The rationale for the semi-automatic progression – supporting the process of learning by giving regular feedback to each pupil instead of a ‘pass or fail’ test at the end of the year – is not well appreciated by the teachers who participated in this study. Instead of increasing the quality of education, the semi-automatic progression is the policy that is blamed by teachers for the deteriorating quality of education. They feel that it has made teachers’ work more difficult as neither the children nor their parents think that pupils need to make an effort to attend school and to learn when they are in school: “Even if the child does not attend classes we have to make sure that they complete the grade. If we go to the community to find out why the child did not come to school we are told to leave the child alone. This is because of the current curriculum. We should change the fact that everybody can pass. Children who do not know should fail. The children know that even if they do not come to school they will pass anyway” (female trained contract teacher, remote area in Niassa).

Teachers are expected to achieve the curriculum objectives with large classes in which pupils learn at different rates. Many pupils and their parents may fail to understand that progressing to the next grade is not the same as ‘learning’ or ‘passing’.

From the government’s point of view, a useful side-effect of semi-automatic progression is that it substantially reduced the proportion of pupils who were repeating grades, freeing up some resources that benefited the further expansion of access to education. Before the introduction of semi-automatic progression, the repetition rate in primary education was about 20–25 per cent. The failure and drop-out rates at the end of EP1 and EP2 have remained at these levels, whereas within a cycle pupils now progress automatically. So in 2009 82.8 per cent of children passed EP1 and 76.5 per cent passed EP2 (the end of the two major cycles of primary education); the other pupils having either ‘failed’ or ‘dropped out’ (Ministério da Educação 2010b: 9,10).

18. Every school is governed by a school council consisting of the school leadership, representatives of teachers, administrative staff, parents and guardians, members of the community and pupils. Half the membership should be composed of women and the total number of members depends on the size of the school (pupil numbers). The school council’s duties and responsibilities include: approving the School Plan, administering the Direct Support to Schools Fund and dealing with any complaints from pupils or parents.
5.3.2 Lack of parent involvement in children’s education

Teachers mentioned ‘lack of interest’ by parents and other local community members as an important factor that negatively influences quality. It is a problem particularly in rural and remote areas, where adult illiteracy rates are still high, and where there may not be much understanding of how best to support a child’s learning. Also, the need to secure a family’s livelihood will often take precedence over schooling, particularly in cases of orphaned and other vulnerable children and their families: “The important role of the teacher is to guide the child. In rural areas we have the problem of children who have difficulties at home. Sometimes a child ends up leaving school...I was talking to the parent of a girl who had stopped coming to school, so I wanted to know what was happening and the parent could not tell me the truth. But from other people I found out that the child looks for food to survive because...the father died and that creates difficulties” (female teacher, civil servant, rural school in Inhambane).

The number of children completing primary school is increasing, but the non-completion rates are still high for children in rural areas, particularly girls (Ministério da Educação Novembro, 2010a:11). This was confirmed in the focus groups: “There is what we call the virginity culture. Girls are virgins and kept under the control of their parents. The parents do not allow their daughters to be educated because they think that school will make them ‘fool around’. So parents prefer it when their daughters do not learn; and that contributes to the high drop-out rate and to premature marriages” (male untrained teacher, remote school in Nampula).

5.3.3 Poor condition of schools and challenging learning environment

The teaching and learning environment is deficient in the majority of schools. “If you visit my school you will find out that there are almost no classrooms,” said a male teacher in a rural area in Gaza. Even where there are classrooms these are often poorly built and minimally equipped. There is also a lack of textbooks and supporting materials. Teachers say: “Materials are indispensable” (female teacher, urban school in Inhambane) or “the school should have the minimum material for teaching” (male semi-retired teacher, rural school in Inhambane). PTRs are so high that it is impossible for teachers to get to know each pupil’s capacity and progress: “with 66 students per class it is not possible to monitor each student” (male teacher, rural school in Inhambane).

5.3.4 Teachers are not well trained

More than one-quarter of primary teachers are still untrained (Ministério da Educação, 2010c). Those teachers who have been trained in recent years are considered by many secondary stakeholders not to have been trained very well because the one-year training course is too short and training models were designed in a hurry, leaving teacher trainers ill-prepared to train students for a new model. Opportunities for participation in continuing professional development are limited and therefore cannot adequately address the huge need and demand for further training that exists among teachers.

5.3.5 Lack of commitment from teachers due to low pay and lack of incentives

Teachers saw the lack of commitment by many members of their profession as a consequence of poor salaries, a lack of material incentives and difficult working conditions. Lack of clear criteria and transparent processes (eg on how to move from contract teacher status to the desired status of civil servant, and on how to access continuing professional development opportunities) further add to frustrations and demotivation. These issues are discussed in greater depth later in the report.

There is widespread disillusion within the teaching force due to teachers’ low pay and lack of other allowances or benefits (such as housing), combined with a feeling that education policies render teachers ‘powerless’ in the classroom and that children and their parents ‘don’t care’. Teachers’ low pay and lack of authority in relation to their pupils also has a detrimental effect on the way teachers are valued and respected within the communities whose children they teach. These combined factors adversely affect teachers’ commitment to teaching.

In some of the teacher focus groups it was mentioned that dedication to the profession may be weak because teaching may not have been a first choice of career for a significant proportion of recently recruited teachers. With the expansion of education, some teachers have entered the profession for the sake of having any job, perhaps having previously failed to enter other careers.

5.3.6 Other factors

Among the other factors impacting negatively on quality that were repeatedly mentioned by teachers were: large class sizes, the fact that some children start school too early (before the age of six) and the fact that many children, particularly girls, fail to complete their schooling (see also chapter 6).
5.4 Conclusion

There were no significant differences in the importance that different categories of teachers – trained and untrained, male and female, in urban or rural areas – gave to the positive and negative quality factors outlined above, with two exceptions: teachers in rural and remote areas emphasised the importance of material conditions more than teachers in urban areas, and they also stressed the importance of female role models for girls in order to help keep girls in education. The fact that teachers in rural areas seem to stress these points more than teachers in urban areas is an indication of the greater material and cultural restrictions on what education is able to achieve in rural Mozambique.

When teachers talked about what constitutes good quality education they considered input factors, such as teacher training and teachers’ working conditions and pay, but they tended to focus most on their own role in contributing to quality education.

In contrast, the second question for the focus groups, ‘why is educational quality declining?’, appeared to encourage teachers to talk less about their own role and more about the constraints that they are working under – from lack of teaching materials to inappropriate educational policies. They also made connections between their low salaries and the lack of material incentives on the one hand, and the fact that some teachers are not very committed or motivated on the other hand. In other words, teachers emphasised those positive aspects of quality that they had some control over (which is the process of teaching and learning), but also pointed out negative quality factors that are outside their influence but that adversely affect their ability to provide a high-quality learning experience. As the boxes on pages 17 and 18 show, teachers do not think of good educational quality and poor educational quality as direct opposites. Instead they are considering the question of agency – who can affect quality. They are aware that as teachers they have responsibility for the quality of teaching in the classroom, provided that they have been adequately trained and have an appropriate curricular framework, enough materials and a supportive context such as good leadership within the school and by local education officials.

Consideration of the appropriateness of the new curriculum is outside the terms of reference for this research. However, aspects of the new curriculum have an impact both on teachers’ motivation and on their need for training and professional development. Recommendations in relation to these issues are therefore included. There may be misinterpretations by teachers of what the new curriculum requires of them and their pupils. These appear to be at least partly due to inadequate preparation of teachers for the new curriculum, so that many fail to implement integrated (thematic) teaching and learning, and most have a limited understanding of different assessment methods. Teachers are worried that many of their pupils fail to learn to read and write, and attribute their pupils’ difficulties with these basic skills to the amount of material that needs to be covered, the lack of relevance of some of the curriculum content to the Mozambican context, and the overall complexity of the new curriculum. More guidance for teachers – with detailed examples – may be required both in written form and in the form of regular in-service training. Teachers have not been won over to semi-automatic progression of pupils; they almost universally express disapproval of it.

• Recommendations arising from the fieldwork evidence in this chapter are set out in chapter 10, namely recommendations G 1–3.
6. Achieving gender equality in primary education

6.1 Girl pupils

Gender parity is high on the list of priorities in Mozambique’s strategic planning. Good progress has been achieved, but much remains to be done.

Whereas in the past girls’ schooling had been given low priority in rural communities, the campaigning influence of government and civil society agencies had an impact once peace was restored to the country. In the ten-year period between 1998 and 2008 the number of girls enrolled in EP1 more than doubled, bringing up their proportion of the total gross enrolment from 42.1 per cent to 47.2 per cent, while in EP2 the number of girls increased four and a half times over the same period, bringing up their proportion from 40.8 to 44.1 per cent. The period saw a noteworthy move towards gender equality in school enrolments in all parts of the country.

However, significant regional and gender differences remain in relation to completion rates. In the southern provinces 97.2 per cent of girls completed EP1 whereas only 53.6 per cent of girls in the northern provinces completed EP1 (gross completion rates) (Ministério da Educação 2010b:17). The sharpest drop in the number of girls attending school occurs between the ages of 10 and 12 in the northern provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Nampula. Here, traditional initiation ceremonies that prepare girls for taking on the responsibilities of marriage and family are more widely practised than elsewhere in the country (World Bank, 2005:31).

Evidence shows that girls’ education is one of the most important determinants for the survival, health and general life chances of their children. So the continuing disparities in drop-out and completion rates of boys and girls are of major concern in the context of Mozambique’s anti-poverty strategy. The government has therefore rightly prioritised equal opportunity of schooling at all levels for children of both genders, as well as encouraging more women to take up teaching.

### Girls’ net enrolment rates in primary schools

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>EP1</th>
<th>EP2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>88,041</td>
<td>1,938,711</td>
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<tr>
<td>Girls as per cent of pupils at that level</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>47.2</td>
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6.2 Women teachers

The government’s efforts to close the gender gap in the teaching profession are also beginning to show results. The number of women teachers has increased substantially, as shown in the table below. There is still some way to go before gender parity is achieved, but progress is being made.

The number of women teachers deployed in schools almost trebled between 1998 and 2008 in EP1 (see table below), and for EP2 the rate of increase was even more dramatic (a six-fold increase of female teachers) (Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 2008:5).

Nevertheless, women are still a minority in the teaching profession (in 2010 41.7 per cent of teachers at EP1 level and 30.6 per cent at EP2 level were women). But a greater proportion of women teachers are trained: just under 20 per cent of female teachers teaching EP1 are untrained whereas just over 30 per cent of male teachers teaching at EP1 level remain untrained. From 1998 to 2008 the proportion of women students in the teacher training colleges has consistently been at or above 50 per cent. Letters from the Ministry of Education to the heads of teacher training colleges encouraged the colleges to take affirmative action in recruitment. This measure – in the context of a doubling of the total number of graduates from teacher training colleges from 2008 onwards – has helped to increase the numbers of women teachers quickly.

Gender issues in education were raised in nearly all the focus groups. Teachers of both sexes spoke in the focus groups about the important impact that women teachers can exercise in their schools and local communities. Some of the focus groups were held with female teachers only and others with male teachers only.

Female primary teachers

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>7,351</td>
<td>20,938</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female teachers as per cent of all teachers at that level</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


6.2.1 Why are more women going into teaching now?

Most teachers replied in terms of women’s increasingly wide role in society and in terms of changing gender relations. Their comments included the following: “Previously a woman did not have the right to study. Now we have the right to study and we use it to study up to any level we need” (female trained teacher, remote area in Niassa).

“In the past women did not go to training courses because they were afraid. Now the government has opened up opportunities, women have to be in front” (male untrained teacher, remote area in Niassa).

“It is government policy to value women’s role in society. In the past women were thought not to be able to do the same work as men, but now they are” (male trained teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

“We now have education for all, men and women...Women teachers are now role models. Parents send their girls to school to be like them” (male trained teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

“Employment can now only be found in the education and health sectors. For men there are more opportunities” Female trained teacher, urban school in Gaza.

But some female teachers saw their situation much more as the result of economic forces than of changing social attitudes: “It is because of unemployment. Education recruits people who want to work” (female trained teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

“The number of female teachers is increasing due to unemployment. Employment can now only be found in the education and health sectors. For men there are more opportunities; for example they can go to South Africa to work in the mines, or can work on projects, and so on” (female trained teacher, urban school in Gaza).

And another in the same group: “I believe the increased number of female teachers is due to low salaries. Men prefer to go to other places with better salaries...Women feel happy with the little money they get” (female untrained teacher, urban school in Gaza).

The social and economic approaches are complementary in that social changes have permitted and encouraged more women to enter paid work outside the home. This has exposed these women more directly to market forces, while the majority of Mozambican women continue to work in the subsistence household economy.

6.2.2 Do male and female teachers carry out their work differently?

There was consensus in the focus groups that there are no gender differences in the way teachers carry out their professional roles, for example in their teaching approaches or methods: “We are all human beings. Male and female teachers teach the same way and we learn in the same way” (female untrained teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

“Teaching does not depend on the sex of the teacher. It depends on what teachers know and the effort they put into the job. We learn teaching methods in the same way” (male teacher, rural area in Maputo province).

Yet the initial emphatic denial of any gender differences in their work was then usually modified, with teachers – mostly males – stressing the continuity between women’s roles at home and at school. They thought that women are able to handle young children better than men do, because “female teachers are closer to the children both at home and at school” (male teacher, rural area in Zambezia), and also that “female teachers are best for the initial grades” (male teacher, rural area in Inhambane province) because “women teachers have motherly affection and this encourages the child to study. School directors will never give a grade one class to men – the men have no patience” (female teacher, urban area in Gaza province).

Resentment and negative views about women teachers were expressed in one group of all male teachers in a remote area in the north because classes have to be covered when a woman has maternity leave. “The women are here and bring problems. Men don’t have maternity leave” and: “our women don’t meet the education objectives. They are here to get salaries, not to teach”. Others in the same group tried to modify these comments but did so by using comments about the physical attractiveness of women and their sexual appeal to men.

In contrast, in some focus groups women colleagues were seen as proactive. This is nicely expressed through this image: “School issues that should be solved by men no longer take long to be solved: because there are women, the machine moves” (male teacher, urban area in Gaza).

“...because there are women, the machine moves” Male teacher, urban area in Gaza.

Although much awareness-raising about women’s changing roles appears to have been achieved and teachers see their colleagues of both sexes as equally professionally competent, traditional assumptions about women’s ‘proper’ role and their ‘natural’ aptitudes prevail. There may be a risk that the teaching of young children will be undervalued rather than being seen as one of the most important educational tasks, simply because it is associated with ‘women’s work’ that women are thought to be ‘naturally good at’.
6.2.3 What difference has the increased number of female teachers made?

Both male and female teachers had much to say on this point and recognised that the increase in the number of female teachers has made it easier for girls to attend school, particularly in the rural areas. “In this area the female teachers influence girls to join education in greater numbers, and female teachers help girls to stay on in school” (male teacher, rural area in Nampula).

Women teachers are aware that they are important role models for girls: “Girls come to school not because female teachers teach better, but because they have the ambition to be like us” (female teacher, remote area in Niassa). “There are lots of changes. Women used not to care about education. We thought we should be housewives. Now we are role models, so there are lots of girls who want to be like us and this will reduce poverty” (female teacher, rural area in Zambezia). “In rural areas parents did not allow the girls to go to school. They had to stay at home, fetch water, go to the farm...We female teachers have given the parents motivation: they now let their girls go to school so that they can be like us” (female teacher, rural area in Zambezia). Yet it can still be an uphill struggle to get parents and local communities to accept that education is important for girls as well as boys: “The parents in this area are interested in getting their girls married while they are still virgins. The parents do not care if the child has gone to school or not, the most important thing is marriage” (male teacher, urban area in Gaza). Often children have to be left behind with the partner or another family member because of a lack of good health facilities or nearby secondary schools.

Women with families, as well as women without children, feel vulnerable away from the help and protection of other family members. Unmarried women may feel that there are few suitable potential husbands for them in remote areas. All teachers, but particularly the women, worried about the lack of facilities when they get to rural areas: “You are sent to a remote area. You are starting to work and you are not given transport and food...you can’t go to a posting without food and money. How are you going to live? You arrive there and you are not given a place to live. How can one survive? We will not accept [a rural posting] easily, when we are not given the support that we should have” (female teacher, rural area in Niassa). “When I am sent to a [rural] place there should be a time limit for me to work there and then to return, so that I have the opportunity to continue my studies. We should be given a guarantee that after two or three years we would return” (male teacher, rural area in Zambezia). Incentive payments for teachers who take posts in remote areas have recently been increased. This additional payment now adds 25 to 50 per cent to the base salary, depending on the particular district. Its effects on teacher recruitment in rural areas are not yet known.

6.2.4 Why are women teachers reluctant to take posts in rural areas?

It has been difficult to get women teachers to accept placements in remote rural areas, where they are likely to have the greatest impact as role models. In several discussion groups the men tended to see women’s reluctance to go to rural areas as a sign that women try to avoid harsh living conditions, or that women get to choose their postings. “Women have the privilege of being women. When they are sent to a rural area they face many difficulties. A woman compared to a man was not made to face hardships...but men can cope” (male teacher, urban area in Gaza).

When the female teachers talked about the difficulties involved in going to rural communities they, too, talked about the hardships, but were more concerned about being separated from their families: “It is difficult for a woman to abandon her house, her children and her husband to go to work far from home...there is the risk that the marriage will end in divorce” (female teacher, urban area in Gaza). “Men will often tell us that if we go to rural areas and stay there for a long time, when we return we will find another woman there” (female teacher, rural area in Zambezia). Often children have to be left behind with the partner or another family member because of a lack of good health facilities or nearby secondary schools.

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6.2.5 Do female and male teachers have the same career opportunities?

Teachers were also asked whether they thought that female and male teachers have the same opportunities to advance their careers and get promoted – be it through in-service training, continuing education or taking on leadership roles. Because opportunities for further study are greatly sought after but not easily attainable, teachers of both sexes tended to assume that the advantages lie with members of the opposite sex: “I have been working for seven years since entering public service. I have never seen a woman given opportunity to go for further education...except this year I did see a woman who managed to go for further studies” (female teacher, remote area in Niassa). “Priority is only given to men and school directors and not to us. So how are we going to study?” (female teacher, remote area in Niassa).

But elsewhere a different view was expressed: “Currently advantages are given to women in leadership. Years ago only men were considered able. When opportunities are given to women they can progress” (female teacher, rural area in Zambezia) and: “women get more opportunities to get promotion, as a way of motivating other women” (male teacher, rural area in Zambezia). In one focus group, distinctions were made between different types of promotion: “In relation to promotion from one category to the other there is equality; it is the same for men and women. But when it comes to leadership there are some criteria that have to be followed. For example they have to be civil servants and most female teachers have not yet been nominated to become civil servants” (male teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

So teachers’ perceptions of the extent of gender equality in the teaching profession differed and were probably based on relatively few examples from personal experience. Views appeared to be less polarised (and on the whole better informed) in those areas where gender issues had been given special attention, for example through special appointments: “It was useful to have in the District Directorate the woman who is in charge of gender. She encourages us and because she works with female teachers and women in the community she helped to increase the number of female teachers. Vocationally committed female teachers stimulate girls to attend school” (female untrained contract teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

6.3 Conclusion

The female and male teachers quoted above include both trained and untrained teachers and contract teachers as well as civil servants. Their views on women teachers’ work and role appeared to be influenced more by their respective geographical location (whether it was in the north, centre or south of the country and whether the teacher worked in a rural, urban or remote school) than by their qualifications or conditions of service.

The presence of women teachers in the early grades gives confidence to local communities that their girl children will be well looked after. It also provides role models to encourage girls to complete their education. However, it is important for the sake of unity of status and pay in the profession that EP1 does not become the preserve of women teachers only. Young boys, too, need role models (particularly when a male parent may be absent). All children benefit from experiencing women and men in caring and supportive roles during their early years of schooling.

More women teachers are needed in rural communities, particularly remote rural communities. In order to encourage more teachers to take postings in these areas, MINED now provides financial incentives. The President publicly announced during World Teachers’ Day in October 2010 that teachers will be provided with housing or credit to get their own housing. These measures will encourage both men and women to teach in remote areas.

Additionally, some district officials are working with school councils and local communities to ensure that new teachers have a place to stay, basic equipment (eg bedding) and food to keep them going until their first salary payment (these measures are targeted at teachers of both genders but are considered particularly helpful to women). Time-limited postings to rural and remote areas (to tie in with the learning cycles to provide continuity to pupils) are desirable. So too is financial assistance with the cost of travel, so that teachers who have to live apart from their families can afford to visit them.

District Directorates may also want to designate a suitable person (possibly a new post) to be in charge of gender issues. This role might involve working with school leadership and teachers of both sexes to raise awareness within the community of the beneficial effects of women’s education for the wellbeing of the individual, family and community and to develop a strategic plan to get more women into leadership positions in schools.

- Recommendations are set out in chapter 10 as B1, B4, B5 and F1.
7. Mozambican primary teachers’ qualifications and training

In Mozambique everybody who has received formal education is considered ‘qualified’ in some way. People who have completed primary or the lower cycle of secondary education are qualified at the ‘basic’ (basico) level, people with completed secondary education (or equivalent) have ‘medium’ (medio) qualifications and those with degrees are qualified to a higher (superior) level.

The Mozambican education system employs teachers of varying qualification levels. Some teachers have only attended primary school, others have attended one or both levels of secondary school and others have gone on to get degrees (this is rare for primary teachers). Teacher training can bring an individual from basic to medium qualification level, but not necessarily so – it depends on the course of teacher training attended (see the flow chart in section 3.2). Qualification levels determine at which grade(s) a teacher is deployed. Normally teachers teach at a level that is at least one step below their own qualifications. So teachers who have attended primary school only are deployed to teach at the lower level of primary schools (EP1), those who have completed the lower level of secondary education can teach up to EP2, those who have completed secondary education can teach up to grade 12 in secondary schools and in colleges. Qualification levels also determine the level of pay teachers receive (see also 9.2 below).

7.1 ‘Trained’ and ‘untrained’ teachers

Teachers at any qualification level can be either ‘trained’ or ‘untrained’. The distinction between trained and untrained teachers is an important one in Mozambique. ‘Untrained’ teachers are those who did not receive any pre-service training at one of the designated teacher training institutions, except perhaps a short induction course of anything between two weeks and two months. ‘Trained’ teachers on the other hand have completed a recognised programme of psycho-pedagogical pre-service teacher training.

A major focus within this research was to explore the differences between trained and untrained teachers from the point of view of the perceptions and views of the teachers themselves. A key question that both trained and untrained teachers were asked concerned the importance and impact of training on their approach to teaching and on the quality of education they are able to deliver – or, in relation to untrained teachers, how the lack of pedagogical training affected their teaching.

Trained teachers emphasised the importance of their training and hence the range of teaching methods that they were able to employ, compared to the untrained teachers who – it was generally thought by participating teachers – had fewer tools at their disposal for dealing with difficult situations: “A teacher who has psycho-pedagogical training has a notion of methodology, what and how to use strategies in the classroom...Those who do not have that kind of training...think the way they do it is the correct one but they cannot use alternatives” (female trained teacher, urban area in Niassa).

The advantages of training were particularly highlighted in the case of children with special needs: “Trained teachers know the kinds of students they have and how to teach them. For example, when children have special needs the trained teacher will know how to deal with that and they can also support the parents and hear from them what is happening to the child” (male trained teacher, remote school in Nampula).

Untrained teachers themselves often felt that they lacked an understanding of pedagogical principles or techniques, as indicated by teachers from rural and urban areas: “Trained teachers use pedagogy, they know how to teach” (untrained male teacher, rural area in Niassa). “Teacher training is very important in the sense that teachers then know what to teach, how to teach and who to teach. They can change from one teaching approach to another. In training the teacher is taught many teaching strategies” (male untrained teacher, urban area in Gaza). Trained teachers emphasised the professional advantage that they have over their untrained colleagues more strongly in those focus groups that did not include any untrained teachers.

Yet trained teachers acknowledged that untrained teachers might have other advantages. For example, they might have a better grasp of the subject matter in cases where an untrained teacher may have completed 12th grade, whereas the trained teachers at the same school may have completed only 10th grade or less before entering teacher training college: “The knowledge
transmission depends on each teacher’s subject mastery. There are untrained teachers who teach well and trained teachers who do not teach well... but trained teachers have methodology” (male trained teacher, remote area in Nampula).

It was also generally acknowledged by trained teachers that untrained teachers may be very good and committed teachers: “We have among us untrained teachers who are good. We have trained teachers who do not provide quality education” declared a male trained teacher in a rural area in Nampula. Whereas the majority of participating teachers emphasised the importance of training, in most of the focus groups there were one or two teachers who thought that there was no clear relationship between the training that the teacher has or has not received and their effectiveness in the classroom. For example, a female trained teacher in an urban school in Inhambane said: “untrained teachers can often perform better than trained teachers”. Many of the teachers also thought that professional commitment was at least as important as formal training: “the untrained teacher, when committed, can do better than a trained teacher” (female trained teacher in an urban area in Gaza). Some argued that teaching experience should be given as much weight as training: “After two years untrained teachers can be considered to be trained through their experience” (female trained teacher, urban area in Inhambane).

Some of the teachers pointed out that training is sometimes of only limited use, as teachers can end up teaching subjects or levels for which they have not been trained: “What we find in the field is different from what we learnt through training. For example, a teacher is trained to teach Portuguese but when he starts teaching he is given a class to teach social science” (male trained contract teacher, rural school in Niassa).

The distinction between trained and untrained teachers is important in terms of teachers’ professional identity. All stakeholders wanted to see teachers ‘properly’ trained, although some of the teachers emphasised that training is only one of the factors contributing to a teacher’s effectiveness in the classroom.

### 7.2 Trained teachers and their pre-service teacher training

Increasing the number of teachers has been a government priority to help meet Mozambique’s urgent economic, social and political development needs. Teacher training in Mozambique combines the teaching of pedagogy with the teaching of subject knowledge in core subjects to ensure that future teachers’ subject knowledge is at the level at which they expect to be employed.

There are several different types and levels of teacher training institutions and there are also different ‘models of training’ (programmes of study) of different lengths. The ‘nationally defined minimum standard’ for the training of teachers has changed repeatedly over the years, in accordance with the changing conditions and needs of the country. Since national independence in 1975, Mozambique has used 21 different teacher training ‘models’ to train future teachers. Entrance level and length of the different models has varied. As a result, some teachers received more intensive pedagogical training than others, but all teachers who have attended pre-service psycho-pedagogical training are called ‘trained’ teachers. For example, as secondary education has expanded, the Ministry of Education has found it possible to stop accepting students for training who possess primary school-leaving qualifications only, and instead the primary-level teacher training colleges now recruit students who have completed a minimum of first-level secondary education (i.e., ten years of schooling).

The different teacher training models tend to be referred to in shorthand in a way that is conveniently descriptive: the number of years of schooling that the prospective teacher has received plus number of years of training, i.e., 4+4, 6+1, 7+3, 10+2, etc. The different models are a reflection of the way education has developed in Mozambique. They represented different ways of bringing on able pupils and turning them into teachers where there were teacher shortages but limited resources. In colonial times, only a small section of the local population had access to schooling. The minority of the local population who could read and write and do sums were therefore recruited to become teachers or teacher trainers. After four years of primary education, bright students were encouraged to take a special teacher training course lasting another four years (the 4+4 model). As more children started to progress through the primary education system, those who had stayed on until the 7th grade and completed primary education were able to join teacher training courses that were tailored to start from the knowledge base of a good pupil with completed primary education and then advance this knowledge further while developing teaching skills at the same time.

The majority of the 21 different teacher training programmes are no longer offered within teacher training institutions, but they are still valid in the sense that a large proportion of currently serving teachers have been trained through one or other of these earlier models of teacher training.

Currently the minimum school-leaving qualification for someone wanting to enter the teaching profession as a primary teacher is 10th grade. For those wanting to teach at secondary level, completion of the second level of secondary education (12th grade) is required. Ten years of schooling corresponds to the internationally recommended minimum level that an aspiring teaching should have before entering pre-service teacher training (UNESCO, 2006b).

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20. In one of the focus groups conducted for this research, 10 different models of teacher training were represented within a group of 14 trained primary teachers.
During the field research for the current report, the 10+1 model was the one being taught in the primary teacher training institutions, the IFPs (Institutos de Formação dos Professores). There are 24 IFPs that train students to become primary school teachers, whereas secondary school teachers are trained mostly at UP (Universidade Pedagógica) and some at UEM (Universidade Edouard Mondlane). Before 2007, each province tended to train students who came from that province. On completion of their course the graduates were usually deployed in their home province, but teachers had the opportunity to apply for posts elsewhere. IFPs now accept students from all over the country, and IFP graduates are able to apply to any district nationally that announces vacancies.

Introduced in 2007, the 10+1 model was controversial from the outset. Teacher trainers and other educationalists argue that the training is too short to ensure that the future teachers’ own knowledge base is solid for teaching at primary level, and too short to be able to impart the basics of good psycho-pedagogical practice to the future teachers. On the other hand, some of the tertiary stakeholders suggest that teachers who have benefited from one year of training provide a better solution to teacher shortages than hiring more untrained teachers. The ‘fast-tracking’ of students through the 10+1 model was seen as a transitional solution which, from the point of view of the government, had the advantage of offering an answer to the dilemma of how to increase the number of teachers without entering massive ongoing salary commitments. By halving the length of the training course, twice as many students than before could be trained per year, which in turn made it possible for the country to take significant strides towards achieving the EFA goals. A further merit of this approach, from the government’s point of view, was that the shorter training time made the training less expensive, but more importantly, it kept the salary level of these fast-tracked trained teachers low, as their qualification is considered to be a ‘basic level’ qualification.

The first graduates from the 10+1 scheme entered teaching placements in early 2008 and increased the total number of new primary teachers very significantly: 4,000 new primary teachers were deployed in 2006 and numbers of new teachers then rose to 7,717 in 2008 and to 9,800 in 2010.

The introduction of the 10+1 scheme led to comments in some circles that the increased number of primary teachers has led to a decline in the standard of competence of teachers, compared to cohorts who graduated earlier from other training models. The 10+1 model is now on the way out: plans for a new teacher training model (10+2 or 10+2½) are already well advanced and will be piloted in a small number of IFPs from 2012 with a view to rolling it out nationally in all IFPs in 2013.

Mozambique has now moved to a situation where the government no longer needs to recruit untrained primary teachers. Since 2008 nearly all newly contracted teachers have been trained. There are even indications that there is now some teacher unemployment – or, as MINED officials prefer to call it: ‘a teaching reserve of about 10 per cent of new graduates’. “The best students get employed first and the others are a reserve to replace teachers who retire and so on” (senior teacher training official at the Ministry of Education). Teacher unemployment appears to occur mainly in urban areas, where teachers who were not offered postings – or who did not accept postings to rural areas – tend to be concentrated. The underlying reason for teacher unemployment in Mozambique is inadequate funding (the education budget is funded predominantly by bilateral and multilateral donor organisations). The overall size of the budget, competing spending commitments and constraints make it difficult to hire enough teachers to reduce the PTR to the EFA target ratio of 40:1. The need to train and employ additional teachers in Mozambique therefore continues. It is hoped that MINED and its development partners will be able to commit to providing enough resources to close the gap.

21. The IFPs were founded in 2007 and brought together the functions of the former CFPPs (Centros de Formação de Professores Primárias) and IMAPs (Instituto do Magistério Primário). Additionally there are also the independent teacher training institutions that are run by Humana People for People (Ajuda Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo – ADPP) who train teachers, some in line with the ADPP’s own curriculum and some under contract to the government.

22. Verbal communication by a senior Ministry of Education official.

23. ActionAid’s (2007) publication Confronting the Contradictions: The IMF, wage bill caps and the case for teachers suggested that wage ceilings imposed by the IMF prevented the use of donor funds and therefore ultimately the hiring of more teachers. The wage bill caps have since been removed.
7.3 Views of teacher trainers at IFPs

Focus groups were held with three groups of teacher trainers. One group consisted of trainers from nine different colleges who had come together for a one-week training course to update their own teaching skills. Additionally, interviews were held with two IFP directors and senior staff at IFPs.

7.3.1 Teacher trainers’ responsibilities

Teacher trainers tend to specialise in one or more subjects, and the teaching of methods appropriate for each subject was given priority in their lectures. In addition to their subject teaching, nearly all trainers were involved in arranging and supervising students’ teaching practice. But it emerged that it is not always practical for the trainers to regularly supervise students during their teaching practice, as some of the schools are more than an hour’s walk away from the college. Both trainers and their students mentioned these difficulties (which are particularly critical in rural areas) and thought that (more) transport vehicles should be provided for the IFPs.

The relationship between the IFPs and the schools that host the IFP students for their teaching practice seemed to vary between different IFPs or possibly between different teacher trainers. Some – but not all – seemed to have quite a close mentoring-type relationship with the serving teachers whose classes the students observe and with whom the students do their teaching practice.

The majority of students live in dormitories in college, and many of the trainers also had some pastoral duties in relation to the students. Normally all the teacher trainers also take part in the activities of the IFP’s Resource Centres (Centros de Recursos da Formação dos Professores – CRFP) which are organised jointly with District Education staff and ZIPs (zonas de influência pedagógica) and offer short in-service training courses for some of the teachers in their area, as well as giving support to teachers who are taking continuing education courses by distance learning (see also chapter 8). So teacher trainers potentially have a wide range of duties which require a broad set of skills.

7.3.2 Selection and quality of the students who attend IFPs

The trainers in all three focus groups expressed concern about the calibre and preparedness of the students applying to their colleges. Potential students have to undertake an admissions test and interview. Selected applicants are then allocated to one of the IFPs, not necessarily to the college of their choice. “There are 14,000 applicants for 2,000 places” (male teacher trainer) while another in the same group added: “We try to select the best students through an entrance exam, and we then still have to fill the rest of the places” (male teacher trainer), implying that ‘the rest’ of the students are usually not of the level of scholastic achievement that one would hope to find in an aspiring teacher. Another trainer explained: “We assess the students against the objectives a grade 10 student should attain” but “we made a mistake in assuming that they would come with subject knowledge of a good year 10 graduate” (male teacher trainer). “[The 10+1 model] is a solution in terms of quantity but not quality. I cannot explain it, but the trainees in this new model are very weak. The selection is not good enough” (female teacher trainer).

A male teacher trainer thought that “the government is recruiting just anybody to become a teacher” (male teacher trainer). A female teacher trainer thought that “we do get trainees who cannot read or write properly. We wonder how they will be able to teach reading and writing if they cannot do it themselves.”

Female teacher trainer

Such comments as well as those quoted below support the evidence of serving teachers that the quality of education in schools is low: “We do get trainees who cannot read or write properly. We wonder how they will be able to teach reading and writing if they cannot do it themselves. They should have been helped at the schools that they attended” (female teacher trainer). This view was shared by some of the students: “How can a teacher teach a student to read when he or she is unable to read themselves? The selection process should be harder. We should come with knowledge, and then we can get practical experience when we are here” (male student).

7.3.3 Subjects taught in IFPs

IFPs teach all the subjects that their students will be expected to teach in primary schools. The courses are usually divided into a general strand and an English strand (English is taught from grade six in primary schools). Students who intend to become English teachers have a proportionately greater part of their timetable devoted to the English language than any of the other subject teachers are able to devote to their ‘specialism’. The emphasis in all subjects is on the teaching of methods, ie how to transmit the subject knowledge to pupils in schools. It was not possible to gauge through the focus groups to what extent the teacher trainers at IFPs provided examples of integrated subject teaching to their students (cf. Guro and Weber, 2010).

“24. The course was organised by ONP (Organização Nacional dos Professores) and delivered through their partner organisation, the Canadian Teachers Federation.
7.3.4 Experience and training of teacher trainers

The majority of participating teacher trainers for primary education had taught in schools earlier in their career. Many had taught in secondary rather than in primary schools and some had come straight from universities (see profile of teacher trainers in Appendix B). Over half, 21 out of 37, said they had received some training to be teacher trainers, but did not provide further information about this training. The impression gained through the focus groups with teacher trainers was that the ‘training of trainers’ was given low priority in education policy and that it was not seen as any organisation’s particular responsibility: “The universities do not train you as teacher trainers but as teachers, and when you are out of the university you are put on the job as a teacher trainer” (female teacher trainer). It would be useful to ensure that teacher trainers are specifically trained to teach future primary teachers.

7.4 The views of IFP students

The three focus groups with students (36 students in total, with equal numbers of young men and women) were from three different IFPs and were all at least halfway through 10+1 programmes. During the discussions they were asked about their courses, particularly about the relationship between subject learning and teaching practice; what had motivated them to become teachers; what their hopes for their teaching careers are; and – for the benefit of future student intakes – what (if anything) they would like to see changed in the programme of studies for future teachers. Some of the participating students had completed more years of school than were required for entry to the 10+1 course, ie they had completed 11 or 12 years of schooling before entering the IFP. The students who had more than the minimum entry qualifications for IFPs were referred to by the teacher trainers as ‘the better students’. A small number of the students had started but then abandoned other occupational training or had been unemployed before joining the teacher training course.

7.4.1 Reasons for joining teacher training

For approximately one-third of the participating students, teaching had not been their first or preferred choice of career. They decided to join the 10+1 course for a variety of reasons: “I studied basic level at an agricultural school, but could not go for further studies for financial reasons. So I completed secondary school to 12th grade and decided to join teacher training” (male student). A female student reported: “I completed secondary school (grade 12). I tried to get into university but was not successful...and then decided to go for teacher training” and another student said: “I did not want to be a teacher but unfortunately because of unemployment in my country I joined education” (male student). Others had also experienced unemployment, for example the female student who said: “When my contract ended last December, I tried to apply for other jobs but did not succeed, so I joined the IFP.”

Although for several students teaching had been a choice made out of necessity, they were also clear that they were satisfied that teaching was a secure and useful career because “there is always a need for teachers” (male student). They emphasised that they were learning useful skills such as “to know how to educate children and deal with the community” (female student) or “even without a job I will know how to behave well” (female student). One of the students reported: “Honestly speaking it was not my dream to be a teacher, I had another dream, but I came here because of curiosity and lack of alternatives. After three or four months I realised that it is worth being a teacher...I can now see that it should be fine” (male student).

So teaching was regarded not necessarily as an excellent career but as a good career. There was also a realisation among these groups of students that teaching is not (or is no longer) a passport to a guaranteed job or to a job for life. They realised that even as trained teachers they may not be able to obtain civil servant status (see also chapter 9), or worse still, that they might not even get employment as teachers at all: “Each year teachers are trained but not all of them will get a job” said one female student, followed by a male student who reported: “This year [in this area] there have been 80 trained teachers without a job. Next year teachers will only get recruited if they have high marks on their certificates. Those with lower marks will not get a job – what will happen to those of us who do not reach the mark?”

Students had become aware of the financial gap that may prevent the government from employing all available teachers, even though they may be badly needed: “The new 10+1 model is to help train teachers through a fast track to have enough teachers for the whole country. But the government only provided the budget to train teachers...We worry that we will not be employed” (male student). Other students expressed the view that “it would be a good thing if the government employed the trained teachers soon after training. Those who go for training want a job” (male student).

Some of the students felt that trained teachers should be given priority when posts are filled: “I would like to see the Ministry stop employing untrained teachers” (male student). This last suggestion is already being implemented by MINED. Policy is now that posts that become vacant due to teacher attrition will be filled only by trained teachers. Yet the students’ apprehension about not being able to get a teaching post once they have graduated from the 10+1 course for primary teachers may be well founded. In one provincial education office, researchers saw the posted lists of many dozens of trained teachers (at all levels of teaching qualifications) who were without employment in the province in which they had been trained. Some may have obtained teaching posts in another province or may have found other employment or may be still looking for work – but there appears to be no systematic information on this.

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25. Students have to be at least 17 years old to join teacher training and should not be older than 25. Aspiring teachers have to be at least 18 by the time they join the profession.
Some of the student participants were well aware that “it is not that there is no need for more teachers; trained teachers are not working because there is no money” and argued that: “Mozambique needs more trained teachers because we still have places where there are no teachers. The government should probably try to find ways of employing trained teachers who have no jobs. Everything is possible depending on how things are done” (male student). “If the Ministry employed everybody it would help to fight poverty...when people are employed they can help their families” (male student). So among the student teachers, particularly in two of the groups, there was a strong underlying apprehension about future employment prospects. Yet students in all three groups remained positive about the teaching profession as their career choice.

7.4.2 Motivations for becoming teachers

The students’ contributions to this part of the debate were upbeat. Over a third of the trainee teachers said that it had been their dream since childhood to become teachers, either because it was a family tradition or because they had been inspired by one of their teachers who had been their role model. Many of the trainees also mentioned their wish to be useful to their country: “I want to be useful to the society in general, ensure the development of our country and eradicate illiteracy” (male student). “Wherever I will be placed I will work with children who do not know how to read and write and count. After they have learnt they will be able to support their families” (female student). Enthusiasm for teaching shone through in the little speeches that some students made. They talked about “working with dignity and respect in the society and community” (male student) and “educating the nation; fighting extreme poverty; valuing the national culture” (male student).

7.5 Trainers’ and students’ views of the 10+1 course

The vast majority of teacher trainers and their students were in agreement that the 10+1 course was too short: “They should add years to the training. One year is too little time. We are being fast-tracked in everything” (male student). “The training time is short and the students arrive with problems but there is not much we can do as the training time is very limited” (male teacher trainer); “one year of teacher training is too short, particularly as it is not even a full year” (male teacher trainer).

The trainers felt that there was not enough time for either subject learning or for practical skills development and wanted time for both to be increased. The students considered learning of practical teaching skills as most important and emphasised that more time should be given to methodology and teaching practice. Students felt that much of the so-called practical time was simulation in college, or watching serving teachers in their classrooms (some of whom apparently did not demonstrate good practice), and that usually only one day per week over a few weeks was given over to the students’ actual teaching practice. This was considered too little: “The main challenge we have is that practice is only once a week, but we are four people which means that each of us only does practice once a month” (male student). “The pedagogical practice is very important. It helps us a lot because my supervisor, the methodologist and my fellow students are observing the lesson that I am teaching. At the end there is a discussion about what could be improved” (female student).

7.6 Conclusion

There was awareness among participants of the reasons why the government introduced the 10+1 teacher training model – as a short-term solution to pressing teacher shortages in a context of resource constraints. This solution can be considered a success to the extent that it has helped to turn Mozambique within a short space of time from one of the countries with a severe teacher shortage into one with an ostensible teacher surplus. With sufficient funding in the education budget the ‘excess number of teachers’ could be turned into an opportunity to reduce class sizes and raise the quality of primary education.

However, it is a cause for concern that neither teacher trainers nor students were satisfied that the current 10+1 teacher training model serves the needs of future teachers or their future pupils at all well. The time that students spend being trained to be teachers is considered too short because teacher training continues to have the dual function of upgrading students’ general knowledge and developing their practical teaching skills. Criticisms of the one-year courses in IFPs include comments that both lecturing time and practical sessions are too short, that subjects tend not to be taught in the integrated manner that teachers are expected to apply in the context of the new curriculum and that the 10+1 curriculum as a whole is overloaded. A one-year course following on from 10th grade is short by international standards. But for students who have a minimum of a good 12th grade school-leaving certificate (ie students who could go on to degree level study), a special one-year course for primary teaching could perhaps be developed.

The cycle of poorly trained teachers delivering low quality of primary teaching needs to be broken. The proposed new model of teacher training (two or two and a half years) – when combined with rigorous selection of students at entry and with training of trainers – should help to increase delivery of good quality primary education. It can produce a critical mass of well-trained new teachers who can help provide models of good classroom practice. But it should also be supported by opportunities for continuing professional development for serving teachers.

- Recommendations arising from the fieldwork evidence in this chapter are set out in chapter 10, namely recommendations D1, D2, D3, D4.

26. A 2005 listing by UNESCO in “Capacity building of teacher training institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa” (2005:28), UNESCO ED-2005/WS/26 does not show any country in the region with primary teacher training of less than two years’ duration (at that stage Mozambique, too, required two years of training).
8. Continuing professional development of teachers

8.1 The need for continuing professional development

Newly recruited teachers have all been trained with the benefit of at least one year’s teacher training (the 10+1 model). The proportion of untrained teachers in primary education has decreased markedly in recent years, but untrained teachers still represent 24 per cent of all primary teachers nationally and the rate differs significantly between the provinces. The province of Manica has the highest number of untrained teachers, with more than half of all EP1 teachers still untrained.

Untrained teachers can participate in continuing professional development (CPD) but there does not appear to be a programme specifically for them that would enable them to move from ‘untrained’ to ‘trained’ teacher status. The government had, however, planned to introduce a special distance learning programme for 10+1 teachers, as their training is not considered to be ‘proper training’ (verbal communication by General Secretary of ONP and views of some head teachers and education officials). Additionally, 10+1 graduates were meant to participate in a revised CRESCER programme. Existing provision of all types of CPD is too little to meet the need and demand and is not always well coordinated. Some of the reasons why the quantity and range of existing provision is considered inadequate are outlined from the perspective of primary stakeholders.

8.2 Types of continuing professional development

The government of Mozambique’s 2006–2010/11 Strategic Plan for Education and Culture lists among the key objectives for teacher training “providing teachers with continuous in-service training and support” and mentions as performance targets for 2010/11 “all teachers have benefited from in-service support and training”. Coverage, however, remains patchy. Classroom teachers are not necessarily aware of what opportunities exist, or how they may be able to access them. This seems to suggest that the criteria for participation in in-service training are either not clearly defined or not consistently applied.

Teachers who participated in the focus groups for this research described three main types of CPD: firstly, pedagogical days (jornadas pedagogicas) which are compulsory for teachers; secondly, short in-service training courses (capacitações); and thirdly, a range of certificated continuing education courses which can be undertaken either as supported study with a bursary or in teachers’ own time and at their own expense.

The majority of participating teachers were keen to take the opportunity for further learning but feel frustrated about what they perceive to be unclear or inconsistent criteria and possible favouritism by officials. It also appeared that some teachers were particularly interested in gaining certificates that might eventually take them away from primary teaching rather than in CPD to enhance their professional practice.

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28. Ibid.
29. CRESCER is implemented locally (through ZIPS, IFPs and schools). It includes short courses and school-based mutual support groups. Those attending the training are meant to cascade their learning to their colleagues through discussion and reflection.
8.2.1 Pedagogical days or journeys (jornadas pedagogicas)

The jornadas pedagogicas are the most regularly offered and most accessible part of the available CPD. These pedagogical days are held either at the schools themselves or at the ZIPs (Zonas de Influência Pedagógica) and teachers are required to attend them. Their main purpose had been defined by the Ministry as helping teachers to teach reading and writing effectively. From the teachers’ point of view, the pedagogical days seem to serve two functions. Firstly, they provide a forum for peer learning and support, whereby trained and untrained teachers help one another in lesson planning and in the development of pedagogic methods. Secondly, they provide the context within which teachers are informed about changes in educational policies, including education officials’ expectations about matters such as pupils’ pass rates.

The ZIPs are school clusters that bring teachers together on a regular basis under the guidance of a coordinator who is usually the school director of one of the cluster schools and who also acts as tutor or trainer. The ZIPs were founded to provide pedagogical support to the newly recruited primary school teachers who had only received short training courses. They continue to maintain this function, and participating schools also have the opportunity to organise thematic workshops through the ZIPs. But their general functions have been much reduced compared to the earlier post-independence days. For example, responsibilities of guidance, supervision, evaluation and inspection now lie with the Provincial and District Education Offices to be exercised jointly with the Regional Training Centres that are usually attached to IFPs (Ribeira, 2007). The effectiveness of ZIPs in providing CPD to teachers varies, so teachers’ opinions were divided about the value of the information and training sessions offered there.

The self-help aspect of the jornadas pedagogicas and their information-sharing function tended to be seen by many focus group participants as a duty: “Our courses nowadays are different from those we had previously…In the past we used to go there and we learnt something. We prepared lessons and we taught them and we had the opportunity to see where we went wrong. Nowadays the main issue of debate is the number of students per class who pass. We only go because it is compulsory” (female teacher, urban school in Gaza province).

But others valued the sessions, particularly when they included mutual help and support between teachers: “They help both trained and untrained teachers because we simulate a lesson; the teacher who has difficulties will present these during the group and the colleagues help” (female trained teacher, semi-urban school in Inhambane).

“In most cases we learn about teaching writing and reading. It is compulsory, especially for grades one and two. And all teachers have the same opportunity to participate in this” (male trained teacher, remote school in Niassa). So teachers expressed mixed views about the value of the pedagogical days. And some were uncertain about the difference between the pedagogical days and ‘in-service training’ or ‘updating’, possibly because both can take place at the ZIP.

The ambivalence felt by teachers about the pedagogical days at their schools or ZIPs is perhaps most clearly expressed here: “They call it training, but sometimes…they teach almost nothing…Discussing percentage passes is not training, it is a meeting” (male teacher, urban school in Gaza province).

8.2.2 In-service training/updating courses (capatições)

Information exchange and peer support provided through the ZIPs is sometimes confused with in-service training or updating courses that tend to be arranged through the District Education authorities. They also can take place at a ZIP, although increasingly a preferred venue may be the resource centre of an IFP. In-service training and updating courses tend to be taught by pedagogical, supervisory or inspection staff from the government offices, or by academic staff from the IFPs or from UP, or sometimes by external trainers appointed by a sponsoring national or international NGO. “This year there has been a change for the better in my ZIP…Inspectors from the Teacher Training Centre were invited. They came with topics and gave them to teachers and we presented them…and we like those seminars. There was another seminar last week about assessment methods” (female teacher, urban school in Gaza province).

Most teachers appeared to value in-service training (capatições) more highly than the pedagogical days – but only a minority of teachers appeared to have had the opportunity to participate. On the basis of the figures provided by MINED Teacher Training Directorate to the researchers, it appears that during the last year only about 12.6 per cent of classroom teachers...
in primary schools had the opportunity to attend such courses (the percentage figure was worked out on the basis of listings of courses and number of attendees provided). Assuming that the opportunity to attend CPD short training courses is equally available to all primary school teachers, it appears that teachers will only get the chance to participate once every seven to eight years. This is far below the targets mentioned in ESSPII and not regular enough to have a real impact in terms of updating existing knowledge and skills or learning about new developments in primary teaching. The information obtained through the focus groups suggests that in-service training should be given greater priority, as it would increase teachers’ competence and job satisfaction.

In-service training is highly valued by teachers for a variety of reasons: the topics are considered relevant and are offered by ‘experts’; the courses generally take place at a venue away from the school and give the opportunity to meet with colleagues from other schools and ZIPs; and they generally take place over several days, with food and accommodation provided or a per diem being paid to the participants.31 The difficulty of getting a place on them seems to reinforce their desirability or importance.

The updating courses that some of the teachers had attended have focused on topics such as ‘how to teach reading and writing in EP1’32 or ‘how to teach a lesson effectively’ or ‘bilingual education’, to mention just a few. Teachers consider these courses very useful for learning about new issues and for developing new skills. District education staff select the attendees for the courses, supposedly on the basis of the relevance of the topic to the teacher concerned. But, according to some teachers, the selection happens according to extraneous factors: “It is impossible to know the selection criteria for accepting teachers onto in-service training. The same teachers attend three to four in-service training courses” (male trained teacher, civil servant, rural area in Zambezia). “Opportunities are not given to us...opportunities are given to bosses’ wives” (male teacher, rural area in Niassa). “We do have opportunities, but not all of us have access to it. We do not know how they select people...When there is training that ‘involves money’ [eg a per diem], it is not everybody who has access to it, only those who have the money to pay” (female untrained contract teacher, rural school in Zambezia). We do not have access to in-service training... The selection criteria are unknown” (male teacher, rural area in Gaza).

Given the limited opportunities to attend in-service training, teachers wanted to see a fair allocation of this scarce resource. “Only school directors and pedagogical directors go to in-service training courses” said a female teacher in a remote rural school in Niassa. Other teachers also felt that opportunities were denied to those who might need them most: “In-service training should be increased for untrained teachers. Because what I see is that...it is mostly trained teachers who attend” (male untrained contract teacher, school in rural area in Zambezia).

Lack of understanding of the criteria and lack of transparency of decision-making can disappoint and demoralise teachers and lead to rumours that the government’s code of conduct may have been infringed. Whether justified or not, such rumours or allegations may tarnish the integrity and reputation of district education staff. There is a need for clear criteria and transparency in decision-making.

8.2.3 Continuing education leading to a qualification (formação em exercício)

In-service continuing education with the opportunity to gain a qualification is the most sought-after form of CPD. Most teachers aspire to participate in one or other of the courses that are available by different modes – some full-time, some part-time and some by distance learning. Because these courses lead to a qualification, there is direct financial benefit in the form of a move to a higher salary category. Most desirable are those opportunities that come with a bursary: “In 2007 I studied at UP. I got 75 per cent of my salary without working” (male trained teacher, civil servant, rural area in Zambezia). Competition for bursaries is intense: “There are opportunities for further studies but it is a long queue and I cannot see clearly where it starts” (trained male teacher, rural area in Inhambane).

As with the shorter in-service training courses discussed above, the criteria for getting a bursary or other support for studying (such as a reduced timetable of classes that was mentioned in one of the focus groups) are unclear to the teachers who participated in the focus groups: “This opportunity is given to older teachers who are far from the District Office and who are civil servants. We would like contract teachers to have that opportunity, too” (male untrained contract teacher, remote area in Nampula).

31. The practice of paying per diems has recently been abolished, at least in some parts of the country.
32. Teaching reading and writing has been a national priority for in-service courses for 2010.
Many teachers take courses in their own time and without financial assistance from their employing authority. “Some of us have access to continuing studies at UP. Some get a bursary, others have to use their personal interest and resources. For those who go to study by their personal initiative they still get moral support from the school” (male trained teacher, civil servant, urban school in Niassa).

Teachers in the lower salary grades will find it difficult to finance courses themselves. Those who may most need the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications may in practice (even if not in principle) be excluded from participation, as is suggested by this teacher: “We are the last people to be looked at. Opportunities are given to those who have a more advanced level and those who are trained...I would like to be trained.” (female untrained teacher, remote area in Nampula).

Many of Mozambique’s recent achievements in primary education would not have been possible without the contributions of many untrained teachers who have helped the country achieve significant progress towards EFA goals. It is important not to ignore these teachers’ professional development needs now that more trained teachers are available, nor to assume that untrained teachers will leave the profession and make way for better-trained colleagues. Untrained teachers’ contribution can be acknowledged through providing them with CPD to enable them to upgrade their pedagogical skills and gain qualified teacher status.

8.3 Conclusion

It should be a matter of high importance – among the many competing resource priorities in the Mozambican education system – to develop a comprehensive programme of CPD in the form of in-service training and updating for all teachers in Mozambique, including a system for upgrading the qualifications of untrained, fast-tracked and trained teachers. A coherent (possibly modular) programme could go a long way towards bringing the differently qualified teachers together in their common educational purpose and publicly acknowledging teachers’ key role in the teaching and learning process.

From the focus group discussions it appears that a substantial number of teachers have never attended any in-service training other than the jornadas pedagogicas. There is a perception that the selection criteria are not clear and that those who need the training most and/or are most eager to learn – untrained and contract teachers – have the least chance of being selected.

On the positive side, an outline framework for a potentially comprehensive system of in-service training does exist. Current provision could be built upon and extended. Some good in-service training is also provided by national and international NGOs in partnership with local IFPs, ZIPs and schools. There seems to be a strong case for systematising the process of CPD and for stronger coordination between the different organisations with responsibility for different aspects of it, without the need to return to a centralised system.

Lack of resources, and hence scarcity of places, makes CPD for teachers a privilege for the few. But it should be seen as an essential activity to ensure high quality of education for the primary school children of Mozambique. It is unclear on the basis of this study’s evidence whether the cascading system introduced by CRESCER is working and whether good practice in teaching is passed on among colleagues. As resources are scarce, it may be more appropriate to concentrate effort, perhaps within particular ZIPs, in order to get the critical mass of teachers who have been introduced to new methods to effect lasting change – a practice that appears to have been successfully introduced in some parts of the country.

Professional development opportunities do exist, but the range of provision is not currently accessible to all teachers. There may be a case for enhanced coordination between different components of CPD and for bringing them together into a coherent whole with clear progression routes. The objective should be to improve the quality of the teaching force in line with pupils’ needs and curriculum requirements by developing the capacity of individual teachers regardless of their training or employment status. The present system seems to be some way away from being able to offer the range and volume of training needed to support a professionally trained and regularly updated corps of educators.

- Recommendations arising from the fieldwork evidence in this chapter are set out in chapter 10, namely recommendations C1–8.
9. Teachers’ conditions of service, working and living conditions

9.1 Civil servants and contract teachers

Mozambique’s Ministry of Education is the government department that employs the largest number of public servants, out of the whole state apparatus (Schulz, 2003:20). Teachers have traditionally been regarded as public servants, and their conditions of service and salary categories correspond to those of other civil servants. But each government department has its own system of allowances. The salaries of temporary contract teachers are also based on public service scales, but contract teachers miss out on pension rights and some allowances as well as on opportunities for career progression.

In order to become civil servants, teachers need to submit an application to their employing authority (the district) for the papers to be checked and for a nomination by their employer to go to the Administrative Court before they can become civil servants. A teacher’s nomination becomes effective when the Administrative Court has given its stamp of approval. The teacher then enters a two-year probationary period which should lead to automatic confirmation of permanent civil service status. But an important proviso is the availability of sufficient funding for this entry process to the civil service to be implemented. Before the massive expansion of education, trained teachers were nominated for civil service status quickly on appointment to a post, while untrained teachers had to wait for three years to be able to be considered. Now there is a queue of applicants of both untrained and trained teachers. Consequently, alongside the civil service teachers a larger second tier of temporary contract teachers has grown up that now accounts for 58.5 per cent of all teachers (Ministry of Education, 2010). The increase in the proportion of contract teachers is due to insufficient funding at government level and lack of bureaucratic capacity to increase the civil service establishment in line with the increases in the teaching force.

Contract teachers are normally employed for one year at a time, and contracts are generally renewed. Some teachers reported that they simply submitted information about themselves and their qualifications to the Education Directorate in one of the Districts that had teacher shortages, and were given a temporary contract to start teaching almost immediately – but that salary payments took several months to arrive. The terms ‘untrained teacher’ and ‘contract teacher’ are often confused. Sometimes they are used interchangeably, but wrongly so. In the past, being ‘untrained’ and ‘being a contract teacher’ (or conversely being a ‘civil servant’ and a ‘trained’ teacher) may have coincided in the great majority of cases. As becomes apparent from the teachers’ stories, this is now no longer the case. Now all teachers, trained or untrained, normally start their employment as contract teachers and have to wait to become civil servants. It takes time for the requisite formal procedures to be completed (from submission of identity papers and evidence of qualifications to criminal record checks, etc) and with the large increases in the number of teachers, the system appears overloaded.
9.1.1 Advantages of being a civil servant: job security, pension rights and additional material benefits

Because teachers’ salaries depend mainly on their level of qualification, civil servants and contract teachers with the same education level get the same basic pay but trained teachers get an additional allowance. The desirability of civil service status is related mainly to job security and entitlement to some additional benefits. Contract teachers lack job security; civil servants cannot easily lose their jobs, but can be redeployed. “Contract teachers are not secure, because they can lose their job for a little mistake, while for civil servants there is a process” (male teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane). In practice this may not happen often, because “Mozambique needs every teacher. We don’t sack any serving teacher” (senior MINED official). Contract teachers can leave their jobs when they wish, rather than having to apply for a transfer to a different school or going through the lengthy process of asking for leave of absence as civil servants are obliged to do. This was seen as an advantage by a few teachers, but mostly as a disadvantage: “If they do not like a certain school contract teachers have no right to be transferred, they only have the right to discontinue their contract – while the civil servant has the right to be transferred” (male trained contract teacher, urban area in Niassa).

“So the first and main advantage of being a civil servant compared to a contract teacher is job security. There are also other advantages: civil servants get a retirement pension (equivalent to their pre-retirement salary) when they have completed 35 years of service (or when they have reached the retirement age of 60 for women or 65 for men). Teachers who are civil servants make compulsory contributions to their retirement fund (which are deducted from their monthly pay). In contrast, contract teachers neither get a teacher’s pension nor pay the contributions. Different teachers experience and rate the differences between the two teacher statuses differently, depending on their personal circumstances. In two of the focus groups, the view was expressed that contract teachers have a financial advantage because “civil servants suffer a reduction from their salary for their retirement pension” (male civil servant, semi-rural school in Inhambane) while “contract teachers do not suffer any deduction from their salary, that is why their salary can be a bit higher than civil servants who get some deductions from salary” (female trained contract teacher, remote school in Niassa). When civil servants die in service, their family get a death grant and the spouse continues to draw the late teacher’s salary for six months. An allowance continues to be paid until the youngest child reaches the age of 18. And, when a close family member dies, civil servants get a grant towards funeral expenses. Contract teachers and their families do not get financial help in such cases. According to the regulations they could apply for money for a family funeral, but it would be deducted from their salaries. Civil servants also get access to some state-funded health provision: “Contract teachers do not have some benefits. They cannot get access to state-funded health support and cannot get funeral expenses when a relative dies” (male trained civil servant, urban school in Niassa).

In addition to these material advantages, civil servants also have the opportunity to get promotion to more senior posts. Posts that attract additional allowances are by law restricted to civil servants, but in practice contract teachers also used to be promoted to senior posts (verbal communication by senior Ministry official). The government has recently reversed this practice. As a consequence, some teachers had to be demoted from their posts of responsibility — with loss of pay — when districts were reminded of the official regulations. “Civil servant teachers have lots of advantages, for example career progression. Now someone who is not a civil servant cannot take a leadership position, cannot be a school director nor a pedagogical director. There are colleagues who were demoted because they were not civil servants” (male untrained teacher, remote area in Nampula).

In one district, researchers were made aware of the fact that in order to comply and to ensure that leadership positions in all schools are filled by civil servants, 50 teachers had to be moved between posts and schools. These teachers lost out on pay and career advancement and might have felt demotivated as a consequence. Not only teachers’ careers were affected: pupils’ learning was also disrupted due to enforced changes in school leadership with knock-on effects on classroom teachers.

A further point that seems to disadvantage contract teachers – and one that was mentioned regularly in the focus groups – is contract teachers’ more limited access to in-service training and continuing education. “Opportunities for further studies are given only to civil servants,” said a female trained contract teacher, in a remote area in Niassa. According to regulations, contract teachers can participate in in-service training; in practice, they may not get the opportunity in some areas. Contract teachers are not entitled to financial support (bursaries) to attend further education and training: “only civil servants can get bursaries” (male teacher, rural school Gaza). This may make opportunities for further study unavailable to those who may need them most, and lead to the loss of experienced but untrained teachers: “I knew some untrained teachers who did not have support to go for training. They cancelled their contracts to be able to attend training” (male untrained teacher, remote school in Nampula).
9.1.2 Moving from contract status to becoming a member of the civil service

Evidence from the fieldwork for this study suggests that the process of moving from temporary contract status to civil servant has become unduly prolonged. The rules about who is eligible to join the civil service and after what period of time are often unclear. Not only the teachers themselves, but also their school directors and even district officials seem to be uncertain about the criteria to be met and the detailed processes that have to be followed.

Participating teachers were frustrated about the absence of clear criteria and the slowness with which applications for transfer from contract to civil service status are dealt with. All the contract teachers who participated in the study (both trained and untrained teachers) said that they wanted to join the civil service and many had repeatedly tried to apply to be nominated, only to be frustrated. The previous Valuing Teachers research in Mozambique had also noted teachers’ concerns about the lack of clarity about procedures, the major delays in processing paperwork and the budgetary constraints (VSO Mozambique, 2008).

Applying to join the civil service requires the submission of a number of documents which are not usually in the applicant’s possession. They need to be applied and paid for and require a recent stamp and signature by the relevant authorities. Many documents are only valid for a limited period and then need to be requested and verified afresh. Teachers often feel that the only way to be sure to get hold of the relevant documents in time is to travel to the province and city where they are issued (despite the cost and the loss of teaching time that may be entailed), because these documents sometimes get lost or take so long to arrive that the application is ‘out of time’.

The speed with which applications are processed appears to depend on the availability of budgets, on the support of the teachers’ school leaders and on the transparency, efficiency and integrity with which the application is dealt with by education officials at district level – who check the papers before forwarding them – and by officials at the Administrative Tribunal. According to verbal information provided by a senior Education Ministry official, the main cause of delays in moving contract teachers to civil service status is a lack of administrative rather than financial capacity – at least in the short term (this may change once pension payments to an increased number of civil servants are taken into account).

“It is difficult to become a civil servant because of bureaucracy”

Female teacher, rural area in Gaza

Teachers’ understanding (or misunderstanding) of the situation is recounted here: “It is difficult to become a civil servant because of bureaucracy” (female teacher, rural area in Gaza). “To become a civil servant takes a minimum of three years and after that you have to get the documents together to apply” (male teacher, semi-rural school in Inhambane). “One can remain a contract teacher for a long time, even if one is trained” (male trained contract teacher, remote district in Niassa). “I would like to be a civil servant. The steps to get there are very complicated. There was an opportunity when teachers with three to four years’ experience were asked to apply, but because at that moment I did not have a document that I should get from DNP I missed the opportunity” (male untrained contract teacher, remote district in Nampula). “I was told that the documents are outdated. I have to get them renewed. It costs a lot for that. I had to pay 720 Mts (about US$23)” (male teacher, rural area in Nampula).

Some teachers suggested how to improve the lengthy process of becoming a civil servant: “Often the papers expire and we have to go back to get the papers again. This process can take even more than 10 years... Probably because the documents have to go all the way to central level. It would be good if the papers were dealt with in the regions” (male trained contract teacher, rural area in Niassa). “The documents should be collected at school level and sent to DPC/DPE without the need for the teacher to have to go to the District. In many cases the documents are lost by the District” (male teacher, rural ZIP, Nampula). “The government should have a list with the names of the teachers who have three or more years of experience. After the call for applications they could add the documents. Instead of that a short time is given, for example five days, and we can’t have the documents ready in time” (male untrained contract teacher, remote district in Nampula). “One should be a contract teacher for a maximum of two years. During this period one should go through a probationary assessment and appraisal (like a mutual evaluation) and after the two years one should become a civil servant automatically” (female trained teacher, civil servant, urban school in Niassa).

The researchers were told of cases where contract teachers waited as many as 10, 15 or up to 18 years to get the opportunity to join the civil service. Because of these long delays, some teachers are bound to miss out altogether on the opportunity for upgrading, as there is also an age limit of 35 for entering the civil service. “My wife started applying to become a civil servant when she was 33 years old. She sent the letter and the documents and they were sent over and over again. When she tried last year, the district said that her request was out of date because she is now more than 35 years old” (head teacher, rural area in Maputo province).
The regulation concerning the nomination and appointment of civil servants may be clear on paper, but in its implementation by officials it may become confused, not least because officials have power to expedite or delay an application. While the researchers heard of a few cases of applications for civil service status that were successful within a relatively short time, many other teachers are kept waiting and have to reapply, often to be frustrated again—and nearly always for procedural rather than substantive reasons.

In the summer of 2010, districts were apparently told by the Ministry that they should not wait for individual teachers to submit their papers but should use their own databases to identify teachers who are eligible for upgrading to civil service status after two or three years of successful service (interview with a district human resource director in a northern province). General implementation of this new guidance would be very helpful and would lift the morale of many teachers who have been contract teachers for longer than three years. The bureaucratic delays and the lack of transparency were among contract teachers’ main complaints. An older teacher referred to the fact that at one point in the past all contract teachers were upgraded to civil service status, and suggested that the government may consider doing the same again: give civil service status to all contract teachers who have already been waiting for longer than the regulation minimum number of years.

It became apparent in the course of the research that there are substantial and growing differences between civil servants and contract teachers that may be undermining the cohesiveness of the teaching profession. For example, it is now difficult for contract teachers to be selected for in-service training or continuing education in order to develop their skills, nor can they take on roles of management and leadership responsibility. Restricting professional development chances to civil servants could turn, in the medium term, into a serious loss of the skills and leadership potential of capable and eager young teachers, further jeopardising the opportunities for improvements in educational quality. There is also a danger that the unequal opportunities arising from differences in conditions of service and lack of clarity about the criteria for becoming a civil servant may seriously demotivate many teachers. Demotivated teachers cannot deliver good teaching, nor can they inspire good attitudes to learning among their pupils. Although there seems to be a good awareness among teachers of the budgetary constraints within which the government is working, there is also serious disappointment—which may topple over into dissatisfaction.
9.2 Salaries

Salaries are a pressing issue for primary teachers in Mozambique. They are finding it difficult to make ends meet and feel aggrieved to see other professional groups doing comparatively better by getting more or better allowances, such as getting housing, transport or uniforms paid for, whereas teachers do not. “The salary is not sufficient. People from other institutions have better salaries” (female untrained teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

A new teacher with a medium qualification level that included teacher training would be put into pay category N3. In 2010 this amounted to a base salary of 4,970 Mts per month, around US$155. N5 is the lowest pay category for teachers. There are four pay levels and four scales that can bring someone who is paid within the N3 category up to a maximum of 8,602 Mts, about US$269. Teachers automatically go up the scale within their category every three years (and get annual cost-of-living related increases). But to be formally received into another category and paid accordingly appears to be more complicated. Many teachers complained about ‘not being paid according to their category’ and having to wait, sometimes for longer than a year, to get the increase in salary that they have earned by getting further qualifications. Salaries are generally not post-dated.

The majority of classroom teachers at primary level are paid according to categories N3 or N4. Of the teachers who participated in the focus groups, 39 per cent were paid in category N4 and 49 per cent in category N3, with two per cent paid in another (higher or lower) category. Contract teachers are paid according to the same pay categories as civil servants, as contract teachers are considered ‘civil servants in waiting’. But as was described in the last section, the ‘temporary’ contract teacher status appears to have become ‘open ended’.

A teacher’s basic salary corresponds to his or her qualification level (ie there are different salary scales and hence different basic salaries for basic, medium or higher qualification levels). On appointment, teachers normally start at the bottom of the scale in their category. Moving up the scale or into a different class within the same category (eg by taking on a leadership role) entails relatively modest increases in salary, whereas moving into a higher salary category (after having completed another qualification) makes a more significant positive difference to salary income.

Additionally there is a system of allowances (bonús) that is specific to the particular sector within which someone is working. As teachers reported repeatedly, the allowances for workers in the health sector are better than those in education. “In education we never get any other things to motivate us. In health the nurses get money for ‘chapas’34, but in education it does not happen” (female teacher, urban area in Maputo province). “The Ministry should give an allowance to teachers. One can make a comparison with the Ministry of Health” (district education official, rural area in Zambezia). For example, health sector workers get allowances to cover their transport costs and work clothes. Distances between home and school may be great and teachers are required to wear a white coat for work in the classroom, yet they do not get an allowance to help with the expense.

Taking on a leadership role also attracts an allowance. The pay uplift associated with going up a class within a category is more substantial the higher the qualifications category; and it is similar for the system of allowances. The system is thus quite complex, so that the additional allowance given to a trained (as opposed to untrained) teacher varies according to the qualifications category. In the lowest pay category for teachers there is no difference between trained and untrained teachers, while in the next category up the difference between a trained and an untrained teacher is about 2,000 Mts (US$62) per month. “Trained teachers get an allowance. It makes a big difference, about 2,000 Mts per month” (male untrained contract teacher, rural area in Zambezia). Teachers appear to have a good idea of how the salary system works, but it is difficult for them to make any direct comparisons with colleagues’ salaries. “At basic level there is no difference. But if a teacher has completed grade 12 and has training they will get 30 per cent added to salary” (male teacher, urban area in Maputo province). “The trained teacher gets an additional percentage which varies according to one’s category [qualification level]” (female untrained teacher, rural area in Zambezia). “We can all be on N3 but with different career progression” (male teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane province).

Teachers also drew attention to delays in salary payments. Teachers’ salaries are paid through bank accounts and teachers in rural areas sometimes have to spend time travelling to the nearest town to draw their pay cheques, spending money getting there and usually missing classes as a result. Head teachers and district education officials are well aware of this situation and have to allow it, of course: teachers need to eat.

There is gathering evidence that there is real poverty among some groups of teachers, particularly in rural areas: “There is no motivation because the salary is low. Often teachers will miss classes because they do not have money for transport.” Male teacher, urban area in Gaza

Required to wear a white coat for work in the classroom, yet they do not get an allowance to help with the expense.

Taking on a leadership role also attracts an allowance. The pay uplift associated with going up a class within a category is more substantial the higher the qualifications category; and it is similar for the system of allowances. The system is thus quite complex, so that the additional allowance given to a trained (as opposed to untrained) teacher varies according to the qualifications category. In the lowest pay category for teachers there is no difference between trained and untrained teachers, while in the next category up the difference between a trained and an untrained teacher is about 2,000 Mts (US$62) per month. “Trained teachers get an allowance. It makes a big difference, about 2,000 Mts per month” (male untrained contract teacher, rural area in Zambezia). Teachers appear to have a good idea of how the salary system works, but it is difficult for them to make any direct comparisons with colleagues’ salaries. “At basic level there is no difference. But if a teacher has completed grade 12 and has training they will get 30 per cent added to salary” (male teacher, urban area in Maputo province). “The trained teacher gets an additional percentage which varies according to one’s category [qualification level]” (female untrained teacher, rural area in Zambezia). “We can all be on N3 but with different career progression” (male teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane province).
### 9.3 Teachers’ working and living conditions

Most schools have to arrange teaching in two or three (and occasionally four) shifts to accommodate the number of pupils on the registers within the number of schools and classrooms available. In 2008 38.4 per cent of EP1 teachers taught two shifts (Lobo and Nheze, 2008). Primary school children’s shifts generally take place during daylight hours. A third evening shift is generally for adults who are catching up on schooling that they missed earlier in life. In spite of shift teaching, there are still schools and classes that take place under a tree. “I think if we were to collate statistics of the number of classrooms in the provinces and the country, we would find out that classrooms are poor, especially in rural areas. We still have lots of children studying under a tree” (education official, rural district in Zambézia). “...cases in rural areas where there is rain we cannot teach” (male trained teacher, civil servant, rural area in Zambézia).

And the majority of schools have only basic equipment: “Teachers should have the minimum conditions in the classroom. How can one teach the alphabet to someone who is sitting on the floor?” (female trained teacher, rural area in Zambézia).

Teaching and learning in school takes place for 175–180 days per year, spread over 35 to 36 weeks between January/February and the end of October. Pupils get between 656 and 785 hours of schooling per year, or an average of 3.5–4 hours of learning in the classroom per day (Lobo and Nheze, 2008). The official number of hours and days of teaching is low by international standards. This is in part due to the shortages of classrooms and teachers and hence the need for teaching and learning to take place in shifts. The real number of teaching days and hours may be even lower than is officially reported, due to teacher absences etc.

Primary teachers’ standard working conditions include around 24 hours of teaching during the week. These standard hours are the same for trained and untrained teachers, for civil servants and temporary contract teachers. Teachers in leadership roles (e.g. head teachers and pedagogical directors) teach fewer classes. Teachers can be required to teach more than one shift, for additional pay. The opportunity to take on extra teaching for additional pay is usually willingly or even eagerly taken up by teachers – an indication that many teachers find it hard to make ends meet on their basic salaries. Some teachers teach additional hours unofficially, usually by teaching in more than one school. There is no data on the extent to which this happens, but insofar as it does, it is a practice that occurs mainly in urban areas and in secondary rather than primary schools. Given the distances between schools in rural districts and the scarcity of transport, the majority of primary teachers have little scope for juggling jobs in different schools. To what extent they are engaged in other income-generating activities outside teaching is hard to say.

Teachers’ working conditions are not easy. Classrooms may have mud floors and may not have proper windows. Roofs may leak, and school desks may or may not be available. Children squeeze onto the available school benches or sit on the floor. As a minimum, nearly every classroom has a blackboard and some chalk. Textbooks are provided for the children, but there is often little else in terms of learning materials in the rural schools. “How can we improve reading and writing skills if a child does not know what a desk is?” (female teacher, urban school in Maputo). “Unfortunately there are lots of teachers who do not have the minimum conditions for learning. Look at this school and look at this blackboard...” (male teacher, urban school in Niassa). “The major issue is the lack of learning materials” (female teacher, rural area in Maputo).

“How can we improve reading and writing skills if a child does not know what a desk is?”

**Female teacher, urban school in Maputo**

Primary schools tend to have anything from 40 to 100 children in one class (classes tend to be larger in EP1 than EP2, but this also depends on the area where the school is located). Teachers reported that with such high numbers of children per class it is impossible to get to know all the pupils, to mark their books and monitor their progress: “You can find a class with more than 100 children. The teacher cannot support these numbers in 45 minutes” (female teacher, urban school in Niassa). “It is not possible to mark 50 exercise books in 45 minutes. This means that one has to make a general marking” (male teacher, rural area in Gaza).

Teachers’ living conditions are usually simple. In rural and remote areas, a teacher is likely to be the best-educated person around, but this does not mean a higher standard of living than the average in the area. The opposite appears to be the case: teachers are considered to be poor by other members of the community. “We don’t know how much teachers earn, but we can tell that they are not well paid. They have no proper house. As a minimum condition, teachers should be able to sleep in a good place and have proper food; because the work they do is very important” (male member of a school council in Niassa).

“It is difficult to say whether teachers have good salaries or not, but what I see is that it is not compatible with the local community. We see that some teachers have to walk from town to here – it means that they cannot afford to pay for transport. There are teachers here who are paid 3,000 Mts. This is not enough to buy food” (male member of a school council in Zambézia). “The community knows about the low salary of teachers. They do extra hours and they are not paid for that” (member of a school council in Niassa).

When teachers start their teaching career or are moved to a new post, it is particularly hard for them to find the resources for a reasonable existence. Some of the teachers spoke...
movingly of the hardships involved. There is usually no housing or equipment provided, it can take several months for their first pay cheque to arrive and the bank may be far from the teacher’s school and village. “When we conclude our training we are not given accommodation. Imagine, when your first job is in a rural area and you have to get there and find a way of living before you receive a salary. Compare the teacher with having a baby, before a baby arrives, things are prepared…” (female trained contract teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

Teachers say that what they need most is housing and money for transport. “The teacher should have a house near the school. Most of us live far from the school” (female trained teacher, rural area in Zambezia). A male teacher in a rural school in Niassa emphasised: “I want to have housing”. A senior official at MINED reported that, in order to attract teachers, a few local communities have taken the initiative to provide some basic equipment for teachers, such as bedding and cooking utensils or a small plot of land to enable the teacher to provide for his or her own subsistence by growing food. “In the health sector when recent graduates are allocated to a district they are given the minimum facilities, like somewhere to live, etc; this does not happen in the case of teachers” (male teacher, urban school in Niassa).

It is not surprising, given teachers’ low standard of living, that members of the teaching profession no longer appear to be well respected in their local communities: “What happens is that teachers are no longer respected like they used to be. Before, people looked at the teacher as someone important, now some pupils who you teach do not greet you when you meet them in the street, and it is worse with the rest of the community. The teacher is now despised in many communities” (male teacher, rural area in Gaza province). “Pupils do not understand what teachers say, they do not respect them and sometimes they insult them” (male member of a school council in rural area in Zambezia).

Difficult working and living conditions and lack of traditional forms of respect mean that teachers do not feel valued. Teachers’ poor standard of living is due to their low salaries. The low salaries appear to be largely to blame for the fact that teachers are no longer regarded as people of authority within the community.

36. The President of Mozambique announced in October 2010, on World Teachers’ Day, that the government would be providing housing for teachers. It was not clear to the union officials whether or not this had been intentional. The union is well aware of the government’s budget constraints and is steering a non-confrontational course while expanding its influence with government. It is not clear to what extent the ONP is able to take up the case of contract teachers for transfer to civil service status. Currently, the ONP gives priority to pressing the case for teachers to be paid according to their appropriate salary category as speedily as possible. The general secretary said about the ONP’s representations to government – which currently also include proposals for housing for teachers – that “the Ministry will take it into account”. The ONP is also keen to see an end to the employment of untrained teachers and would prefer to see the designation ‘teacher’ apply only to those with training.

The officials of the ONP – like everyone working in education in Mozambique – are very conscious of the limited scope for manoeuvre that the government has, given that regularly between 70 and 80 per cent of the education budget is externally funded by multilateral and bilateral donors, and given that there may be conditions attached to this funding.

It is interesting to note that the first strike of teachers – which took place in 1991, the year of the registration of the ONP as an autonomous organisation – included demands for a revision of the salary structure, increases in salary and training for teachers as well as housing and scholarships. The strikers’ demands then were similar to the concerns that teachers mentioned during the fieldwork for this study in 2010. This may indicate that the considerable progress and gains in the education sector have not sufficiently included the needs of teachers.

37. Most of the donor education funding is now provided as general budget rather than project-based support. But see also footnote 23 and ActionAid (2007).
The conditions of service of civil servants and contract teachers differ, with civil servants enjoying greater job security, pension rights and other material benefits, including opportunities for career advancement. Due to resource constraints, all teachers now have to start as contract teachers regardless of whether they are trained or untrained. How quickly trained teachers can be nominated to become civil servants appears to depend on the availability of finance and on administrative capacity. Teachers usually have to wait a minimum of three years to be nominated to the civil service. Once nominated, they need to serve a further two years’ probation after which they automatically become civil servants. Entry to the civil service must happen before the age of 35, which puts mature entrants to the profession at a disadvantage. Some trained contract teachers expressed annoyance that many teachers and officials still regard them as untrained teachers. Not only do they feel disadvantaged by having to wait to become civil servants – which puts their careers on hold as they are unable to take senior positions in the profession while they are contract teachers – but they also feel belittled for being referred to as untrained teachers. From the point of view of professional development and staff management, these are contentious issues which risk dividing the teaching profession, in spite of the government’s attempts to maintain solidarity and cohesion.

There are signs in some districts that the long delays in gaining civil servant status may now be shortening. Some of the teachers who have been relatively recently appointed now receive confirmation of their civil service status within the regulation time of three years. But the teachers who have already been waiting for many years seem to be waiting still and are overtaken by the new teachers. Clear messages all the way down the line from the Ministry to schools might help to assist clarity and ensure consistency.

9.6 Conclusion

The conditions of service of civil servants and contract teachers differ, with civil servants enjoying greater job security, pension rights and other material benefits, including opportunities for career advancement.

Due to resource constraints, all teachers now have to start as contract teachers regardless of whether they are trained or untrained. How quickly trained teachers can be nominated to become civil servants appears to depend on the availability of finance and on administrative capacity. Teachers usually have to wait a minimum of three years to be nominated to the civil service. Once nominated, they need to serve a further two years’ probation after which they automatically become civil servants. Entry to the civil service must happen before the age of 35, which puts mature entrants to the profession at a disadvantage.

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Teachers report that their salaries and allowances are less than those of other comparable professional groups. Relatively small improvements to teachers’ living conditions and work-related expenses would make a big difference to teachers’ take-home pay and their morale.

Many teachers try to improve their situation by trying to upgrade their qualifications so that they can achieve better pay. However, it appears that these efforts do not necessarily turn them into better, more competent teachers who are able to take on leadership roles in schools, as the courses they attend are often not directly relevant to their professional roles, although they help to get into a higher pay category. There is a tendency for upward attrition to secondary teaching as a result (Lobo and Nheze, 2008; Mozambican Movement for Education for All, 2007). It would help if in-service training courses were arranged in a modular format so that teachers could over time accumulate modular credits towards a qualification that is directly relevant to their teaching role, while at the same time making them eligible for a higher pay category.

• **Recommendations** arising from the fieldwork evidence in this chapter are set out in chapter 10, namely recommendations about teachers’ conditions of service and salaries A1–3; about teachers’ deployment B1–5; about teachers’ working and living conditions E1 and 2; about communication and monitoring G4.

9.5 The local community

Many communities support their local schools in a variety of material ways, such as providing labour and/or materials to maintain the school building. “This school has a good relationship with the community. This school was painted and had windows put in by the community” reported a female teacher in an urban school in Niassa. The school council of one of the schools where interviews took place had negotiated with the village authorities for a plot of land (machamba) for the school, which school council members cultivate in order to raise additional income for the school budget or to feed the children. “We help with building the classrooms. We do have a school farm and we contribute our services there. Last year the price of potatoes was low so we did not sell them but used the potatoes to make food for the children” (member of school council, rural area in Zambezia). During the fieldwork, researchers noticed that every child in a particular locality in the centre of the country was walking to school in the morning carrying or dragging a bundle of tall grasses which adults from the school council and other community members received at the school – already standing on ladders – in order to repair the school roof.

Teachers’ working and living conditions can therefore depend greatly on the initiative and resources of the local community. Community involvement in education is greatly welcomed, as long as it does not result in weakening the government’s responsibility for providing a ‘living wage’ to teachers.
10. Report conclusion and recommendations

This Valuing Teachers project puts the experiences and views of primary teachers in Mozambique at the centre of the analysis. The research findings have been illustrated with quotations from the focus group discussions with teachers that were held in different provinces and regions of Mozambique, hence the title Teachers Talking.

Questions in the focus group guides for teachers (the primary stakeholders) centred on issues around different teacher statuses – trained and untrained teachers, civil servants and contract teachers, male and female teachers – in order to explore any differences between the working conditions, salaries, career opportunities and commitment to the teaching profession between them.

The questions in the semi-structured interviews with secondary stakeholders explored the difficulties and challenges in primary education generally – particularly with respect to teacher demand and supply, teacher training and continuing professional development and recent policy changes in education. In spite of the different emphases in the questions to different types of stakeholders, there was considerable overlap in the issues that stakeholders wanted to discuss, which in itself verified the significance of the topics and the widespread concern about them in education circles.

The different stakeholders all seemed to agree that the quality of primary education in Mozambique is declining rather than improving. But there were differences between types of stakeholders in the importance attributed to the different factors involved in educational quality.

Teachers felt that inappropriate education policies or inappropriate implementation of policies in connection with the ‘new curriculum’ – particularly in relation to the semi-automatic progression – had a lot to do with declining quality. Teachers said that pupils and their parents no longer care whether the children attend school or are actually learning in the classroom because the pupils can move on to the next grade anyway.

The school council members that the research team spoke with agreed with the teachers. Other education stakeholders identified the frequent changes in teacher training and the absence of pedagogical training among a high proportion of current members of the teaching force as major contributing factors to the low quality of primary education.

All regarded the inability of many pupils to learn to read and write as evidence of declining quality. Primary and secondary stakeholders agreed that poor educational quality is also due to a shortage of learning resources, inadequate physical structures and facilities in most schools and to the high numbers of pupils per class. All the stakeholders who participated in the research also thought that there is a considerable minority of teachers who lack commitment to the teaching profession but are working as teachers because there are few alternatives. Additionally stakeholders confirmed that demotivation is fairly widespread among teachers. Teachers themselves as well as other education stakeholders whose work brings them into contact with primary teachers on a regular basis were aware of the link between teachers’ low salaries and lack of fringe benefits on the one hand and their low motivation on the other. It is not possible to say on the basis of the current research findings to what extent lack of commitment and demotivation are directly related.

Mozambique has made great strides towards universal primary education for its children. It had been expected that efforts to reach the EFA objectives by 2015 would result in serious teacher shortages. However, Mozambique has succeeded in turning the predicted teacher shortage into a small surplus of primary teachers. All recently recruited primary teachers are now trained teachers. But there are still many untrained teachers in the system who would greatly benefit from a modular system of in-service training to develop their teaching skills and, where necessary, their subject competences. Many trained teachers, too, would similarly benefit from such a system. Improving the skills of teachers must be a priority to stem the decline in quality.

A further priority must be to bring the high pupil/teacher ratios (PTRs) down to the UNESCO recommended level of 40:1, which means that more teachers need to be employed and more classrooms...
need to be built and equipped. Lower PTRs and teachers who are regularly updated will make it possible to realise the new curriculum’s pupil-centred learning approach.

Teachers’ salary categories depend on the level of the teacher’s qualification – according to broad bands of basic, medium or higher qualifications – and there are classes and ladders within each broad qualification/salary category. There are no clear demarcations in terms of salary between trained and untrained teachers or between teachers who are civil servants and those who are contract teachers.

Currently, trained and untrained teachers seem to work well alongside each other. Their working conditions are the same and there appears to be a semi-institutionalised system that sees trained teachers giving support to untrained teachers. There may be a danger, however, that the profession will split between civil servants and contract teachers. The status of contract teacher is meant to be temporary, but for many teachers it appears to have become permanent. On the one hand civil servants or contract teachers are paid according to the same salary categories, the actual salary depending on qualification level and length of service. But on the other hand, there are clear differences between civil servants and contract teachers in terms of job security, pension rights and other material benefits, in opportunities for participation in continuing professional development and, significantly, in terms of opportunities for career progression.

On paper the criteria for moving from being a contract teacher to becoming a civil servant appear to be clear, but the actual practice is less so. Insufficient budgets, paperwork that can get lost, officials who exceed their authority, or conversely officials who fail to use their authority promptly – may be among the reasons for the confusion. The lack of clarity demotivates contract teachers. Regularising the position of the large group of would-be civil servants should be considered a priority by the government.

Good quality education can happen when teachers are effective in helping pupils learn. This depends to a large extent on how committed and motivated they are. And this in turns is influenced by:

- how satisfied they are with their conditions of service;
- how well prepared they feel as the result of any training and / or professional development that they may have received;
- how well supported they feel by their school and district leaderships within the changing education policy context.

In order to ensure that pupils receive good quality schooling, teachers have to be well prepared, well trained and well motivated. Teachers who have to worry about their work and employment situations are unlikely to be effective in inspiring and mediating children’s learning.

Recommendations

The recommendations that have come out of the research combine the suggestions of teachers and other stakeholders that have emerged during the fieldwork with already existing educational strategic plans and targets. The aim of the recommendations is to help find a way of ensuring that the good progress already achieved by the Mozambican government in developing a comprehensive primary education system is consolidated through enhancing the capacities of their teaching force.

Many of the recommendations have resource implications. It is appreciated that the Mozambican government works under serious budgetary constraints and has many competing priorities. Donor organisations in turn are affected by the economic and financial downturn in the developed world. Nevertheless the arguments for some additional resources and to bring teachers together as a cohesive profession are compelling: the evidence from the fieldwork for this study suggests that there is a real danger of creating a ‘lost generation’ of both teachers and pupils: a lost generation of teachers in the sense of a demotivated workforce who are unable to give their pupils an appreciation of the importance of learning for the individual, their families and the development of the country, and a lost generation of pupils who may not even have learnt to read and write.

The recommendations are listed in terms of functional areas. The background and rationale for the recommendations are contained in earlier chapters, and the relevant recommendations are referred to at the end of each chapter. Many of the recommendations are cross-cutting in that, once implemented, they will improve the conditions of teachers in more than one area simultaneously. They are of relevance to government at all levels, as well as to civil society organisations and local communities, but most of them are directed to the Ministry of Education (MINED) in the first instance. It is hoped that the Ministry will copy them also to Provincial and District Education Offices and will discuss them with NGOs and civil society groups as well as with the donor community.
The recommendations in this section are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education, as well as to the Ministry of Public Affairs, the Ministry of Planning and Development and Cooperation Partners.

1. Coordinate human resource planning between teacher training, teacher deployment, and civil service establishment numbers.

2. Develop the existing system of performance appraisal and review (with training of appraisers) by including targets for, as well as support to, individual teachers. For example, mentoring could be used to give guidance to newer teachers while at the same time giving acknowledgement and appreciation to experienced teachers. Ensure that after their probationary period, teachers are considered fit to enter civil service status as teachers, or are counselled and supported to leave the profession.

3. Clarify the criteria and simplify the procedures for moving from the status of ‘temporary’ contract teacher to permanent civil servant. Consider giving all contract teachers who have been teaching for longer than three years the status of civil servant automatically, in order to help clear the backlog of cases and stop growing demotivation in the profession.

The recommendations in this section are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education (MINED), the Distance Learning Institute (IEDA) and Teacher Training Institutes for Primary Teachers (IFPs)

1. Ensure that every teacher has the opportunity to attend relevant in-service training at least once every two years (relevant to the grade and cycle in which they are teaching or relevant to their subject specialism).

2. Ensure that all teachers have an equal chance of being selected to attend in-service training courses.

3. Provide in-service training to all teachers within a particular school or ZIP and set up a ‘buddy’ system to ensure that the new learning points are implemented and taken forward.

4. Ensure that in-service training courses include sessions on pedagogy, curriculum content and different types of assessment.

5. Monitor the scope and range of in-service training courses in order to ensure that the Ministry’s priorities are met and to ensure at the same time that teachers have a sense that allocation of opportunities is fair.

6. Ensure that all untrained teachers are able to upgrade their skills and qualifications (through a combination of in-service training, mentoring and distance learning).

7. Develop additional mixed-mode or blended learning opportunities (a combination of distance learning with tutor-led learning) to ensure that teachers in rural areas have regular opportunities (eg twice a year) for contact with a tutor and with other students.

8. Encourage teachers (trained and untrained) to upgrade their qualifications in a way that keeps them in teaching at the primary level (possibly through a system of bursaries or allowances).

The recommendations in this section are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education.

1. Ensure that both men and women are deployed at all levels of the primary education system.

2. Ensure that any newly appointed untrained teachers receive a four-to-six-week induction training to introduce pedagogical principles and practice.

3. Appoint mentors to all new teachers (if possible, a senior and/or experienced member of the teaching profession from another school) and use this opportunity to enhance the skills of both mentor and mentee.

4. Provide a ‘subsistence and welcome’ pack for new teachers (particularly in rural areas) to include bedding and other basic household items.

5. When allocating teachers to rural schools, take into account their family situation, and in consultation with the teacher and with full regard to the needs of the school, determine a minimum and maximum length for the posting.
The recommendations in this section are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education.

1. The 10+1 teacher training model is already under review. The details of the proposed new model were not known at the time of writing this report. Based on the findings of this report, the recommendation for initial teacher training is that at least 50 per cent of the time in the proposed model should be devoted to practical pedagogical learning, including:
   - practical pedagogical exercises for pupil-centred learning;
   - practice in how to administer and assess diagnostic and formative tests and how to structure learning based on such tests;
   - ‘live’ teaching practice in schools;
   - practice in integrated subject teaching.

2. Ensure that teacher trainers have been prepared (trained) to teach in accordance with the proposed new model.

3. Review and improve the admissions system for teacher training colleges. If there are not enough candidates of the appropriate standard, implement a short access programme (four to six weeks) during the college recess period.

4. Develop a special one-year teacher training course for primary teaching for students who have a minimum of a good 12th grade school-leaving certificate.

The recommendations in this section are a strategy to ensure that information about existing policy is known and appropriately implemented. These recommendations are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education, including provincial and district education services.

1. Monitor the impact of semi-automatic progression on pupils' learning, teachers' motivation and effectiveness and if necessary review and change the policy.

2. Provide additional written information (with examples) about thematic integration of the new curriculum, different types of assessment, semi-automatic progression, etc. Senior staff at provincial and/or district level could help to reinforce this information verbally in meetings wherever possible to ensure that all relevant stakeholders (teachers, pupils and their parents or guardians, school leaders, school councils, district officials at all levels, etc) understand the aims and appreciate the means of teaching and assessment of the new curriculum.

3. In-service courses to include sessions on pedagogy, curriculum content and different types of assessment.

4. Clarify and publicise openly to all teachers the criteria and procedures for becoming a civil servant and the allocation of places in in-service training and continuing education in order to ensure consistency and transparency of decision-making.

The recommendations in this section are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education.

1. Ensure that teacher housing (as promised by the President on World Teachers’ Day in October 2010) becomes available.

2. See the recommendations under B4 and 5 above

The recommendations in this section are particularly directed to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Women and Social Action and FAWEMO

1. Each District to appoint a person with responsibility for gender issues to work with schools, to carry out outreach activities and to develop a strategic plan to get more women into leadership positions.

2. See also recommendations 1, 4 and 5 under B Teacher Deployment.
Each teacher who attended one of the focus groups was also asked to fill in a questionnaire at the end of the session. This enabled the team to check that the composition of the groups (in terms of gender and trained and untrained teachers) was in line with the project’s purposive sampling method. The research was designed to work with a purposive rather than a representative sample. Teachers were not chosen by random selection but were identified by District Education Personnel in accordance with the briefing provided by the researchers. The study did, however, achieve a sample that in many ways replicates the average (mean) profile of primary teachers in Mozambique generally, as can be seen through a comparison with the Ministry of Education’s own statistical database.

The team requested eight to twelve participants for each focus group, and specified some groups to be composed of men only or women only, trained or untrained only, civil servants or contract teachers only. In practice, many of the groups were ‘mixed’, i.e. composed of different categories of teachers and of both sexes. The size of the focus groups varied between 5 and 14 participants. Additionally there was a focus group with 72 teachers at a ZIP, where the normal focus group guide for trained/untrained teachers was used, and the discussion was recorded in the usual way. A total of 265 teachers took part in the focus groups. Questionnaires were distributed in all the regular focus groups, except, for practical reasons, in the very large discussion group with 72 trained and untrained teachers of both genders. The questionnaire analysis is therefore based on 20 of the total of 21 focus groups with teachers and on returns from the 193 teachers who participated in these 20 focus groups. There are small variations in the total number of responses per question. Not all teachers responded to each question (e.g. some teachers did not fill in the question about their age).

1. The number of men and women teachers

The purposive sampling method was used to talk to roughly equal numbers of men and women teachers in order to facilitate exploration of gender issues within the focus group discussions. Ninety male teachers (47 per cent) and 103 (53 per cent) female teachers participated in the 20 focus groups for which questionnaire profiles were obtained.

Appendix A: Profile analysis of participating teachers

Each teacher who attended one of the focus groups was also asked to fill in a questionnaire at the end of the session. This enabled the team to check that the composition of the groups (in terms of gender and trained and untrained teachers) was in line with the project’s purposive sampling method. The research was designed to work with a purposive rather than a representative sample. Teachers were not chosen by random selection but were identified by District Education Personnel in accordance with the briefing provided by the researchers. The study did, however, achieve a sample that in many ways replicates the average (mean) profile of primary teachers in Mozambique generally, as can be seen through a comparison with the Ministry of Education’s own statistical database.

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2. The profile of age and experience

A large percentage of teachers in the study (60 per cent) were relatively young, i.e., in the age group 26–35. The preponderance of young teachers reflects the historical development of education in Mozambique, with a rapid expansion of the educational system after the peace accord of 1992 and as Mozambique aims to meet the EFA targets (ESSPII 2006–2010/11). The number of teachers who have been trained more than doubled between 1998 and 2008 (MINED, Directorate of Planning and Cooperation, Education Statistics 1998–2008). The small number of teachers in the age groups over 46 (both in this study and nationally), reflect the generally low level of access to education by the population until the mid-1990s and hence the relatively small number of teachers who entered the profession before that time.

Despite the relatively young age of the majority of the focus group participants, most had considerable experience already. Many primary teachers start their teaching careers at age 18.
Among the focus group participants, 60 per cent were contract teachers and 40 per cent were civil servants. This is in line with the proportions nationally, where in 2009 58.5 per cent of teachers were contract teachers and 41.5 per cent had civil service status (MINED, 2010a : 101).

### 3. Breakdown by level of teaching and number of shifts

The majority of the teachers who participated in the study (57 per cent) taught classes at EP1 level (ie they were teachers for classes one to five) and teach all subjects for that level. Thirty-nine per cent of teachers participating in the focus groups were teaching at EP2 level and had one or more subject specialisms. The category ‘Other’ refers to a small number of teachers who also taught at secondary level (four teachers) plus three teachers who were no longer taking classes but were involved in school administration.

Most primary schools in Mozambique teach on two- or even three-shift patterns. Most schools arrange their shifts by classes and age groups (although this may be modified depending on the size of particular year groups). Consequently teachers at primary level tend to teach the shift to which their particular year group and class has been allocated. Over 80 per cent of participating teachers taught only one shift.

### 4. Civil servants and contract teachers

Among the focus group participants, 60 per cent were contract teachers and 40 per cent were civil servants. This is in line with the proportions nationally, where in 2009 58.5 per cent of teachers were contract teachers and 41.5 per cent had civil service status (MINED, 2010a : 101).
5. Teachers and training

Of the participating teachers 67 per cent were trained and 33 per cent untrained.

The graph below shows which model of teacher training the trained teachers who participated in the study had followed. There was quite a spread, but the single largest group represented 37 teachers who had been trained by the 10+2 mode (which is not currently taught), followed by 34 teachers who had been trained through the 7+3 model (also no longer taught), and 23 teachers who had followed the 10+1 course (the model current at the time of the fieldwork).

Teacher training models

6. Continuing professional development

The questionnaire also asked teachers about their participation in in-service training (capatações) and/or continuing education (formação em exercício). These topics were discussed at some length within the focus groups. The relatively high number of teachers who said they had participated in continuing education includes both those who had funded their further education themselves and some who had been supported through their further studies. It also included distance learning as well as attendance at courses.
Appendix B: Profile analysis of participating teacher trainers

The charts on this page show the profile of the 37 teacher trainers who participated in the focus groups by gender, age and qualification levels. The questionnaire also asked how long they had been working in teacher training; whether they had experience teaching in schools and if so, at what level they had taught and for how many years.

Other secondary and tertiary stakeholders had expressed the view that most teacher trainers have little or no school teaching experience. This is not true of the sample of teacher trainers who participated in the focus groups, most of whom had quite substantial teaching experience at primary or secondary level, as the charts opposite show. This small sample of 37 teacher trainers is not a representative sample. In 2009 the total number of instructors teaching in IFPs was 715 and therefore this sample represents about five per cent of the total number of teacher trainers.
Number of years in teacher training:
- > 7 yrs
- 3–6 yrs (majority)
- < 2 yrs

Number of years taught in schools:
- 7 years or more: 64%
- 3–6 yrs: 15%
- Up to 2 yrs: 21%

Teaching experience in schools:
- EP1
- EP2
- Secondary
- Other
Appendix C: The focus groups and focus group guide

Twenty-nine focus groups were conducted between July and September 2010 of which 21 were with teachers. Separate focus group guides or schedules were devised for particular groups of teachers (eg trained/untrained teachers, civil servants and contract teachers, men and women teachers) – but all had a common core of questions.

Focus group guide for teacher focus groups

The focus group guide was used flexibly by the moderator, who responded and probed on questions raised by the teachers. A core set of questions was asked in every focus group. Depending on the composition of the attending group of teachers, additional questions were asked. For example, gender issues in teaching and learning were raised in all focus groups but were discussed in greater detail in single sex focus groups. The conditions of service of permanent civil service teachers and temporary contract teachers respectively were discussed in particular detail in those teacher focus groups that included teachers exclusively from one of these two contractual statuses. The team decided which focus group guide the moderator would use once the composition of each focus group was known.

Focus groups with primary teachers (male and female; trained and untrained; contract teachers and civil servants)

(a) Introduction about objectives of the research. Recording and notes. Anonymity.
(b) Find out whether they are trained or untrained, civil servants or contract teachers and what level or subjects they teach.
(c) Tell them about the range of questions we want to ask them

1. How do you as teachers recognise good educational quality? (Preliminary notebook exercise):
   • probe using quality indicators (eg teachers’ training and experience; material resources; PTRs; appropriate curriculum; access, attendance and completion; gender equity; parental and community support)
   • How can teachers best help their pupils get a good knowledge of the ‘basics’ (reading, writing, arithmetic)

2. There appears to be concern in Mozambique that the educational achievement of children is declining rather than improving. From your experience as teachers do you think this concern is justified?
   • Why do you think this is happening? Or
   • Why then do you think there is this unjustified concern?
   If group is largely in agreement with proposition about declining quality:
   • How can teachers stem the slide into poor quality?
   • What can you as an individual teacher do?
3. What difference does it make to a teacher’s performance in the classroom whether he or she is trained or untrained?
   • Does it influence the quality of the teaching?
   • Does it make a difference to pupils’ learning?
   • Do you know who among the colleagues in your school is trained and who is untrained? (and in your ZIP?)

3A Additional questions for trained/untrained teachers
What difference does being a trained teacher or an untrained teacher make to:
   • The work they each do (eg number and types of classes, etc)?
   • Do trained and untrained teachers get the same induction when they start teaching?
   • Do untrained teachers get any additional support (eg from colleagues or from the head teacher, particularly when they first start teaching)?
   • Pay differences and any additional benefits (pay category)?
   • The teacher’s standing among pupils and their status in the community (parents and others)?
   • Teachers’ morale and self-esteem?
   • Working relationships between trained and untrained teachers?

4. Questions about any differences between teachers who are civil servants and contract teachers (try and find out at this stage – if not done earlier – who are contract teachers and who are civil servants)
   • Are all untrained teachers contract teachers?
   • It appears that the terms untrained teacher and contract teacher are sometimes used interchangeably – why would this be the case?
   • Is the work of civil servants and contract teachers any different? Eg more classes or more shifts or more difficult classes? Or do contract teachers tend to work in more than one school?
   • Is there a difference in pay between civil servants and contract teachers?
   • Do contract teachers carry out their job differently from civil service teachers?
     – Motivation
     – Absenteeism
     – Long-term vs. short term commitment to teaching
     – Conscientiousness (eg preparing lessons, marking students’ work)

4A Additional questions for groups of civil servants or contract teachers
   • What are the advantages and disadvantages of being a permanent teacher as opposed to a contract teacher?
   • Do most contract teachers want to become civil servants?
   • What is the process and how long does it take?
   • Is ‘contract teacher’ simply a temporary status (a long probationary period)?
   • Are contract teachers more likely than civil servants to be local to the area in which they teach?
   • Why do you think the government employs so many contract teachers?
     (eg shorter process of recruiting teachers; it is cheaper; there are not enough trained teachers, ensuring that remote areas get teachers at all?)

5. In recent years there has been an increase in the number of women teachers in Mozambique. What has been the effect of this?
   • On pupil enrolment (especially of girls)?
   • On teaching and learning methods? (eg do women teachers prefer different teaching styles?)
   • On the motivation and morale of teachers?
   • Have you experienced any such differences personally or directly within your school?
   • Do you think that women and men have the same opportunities to get promotion or additional allowances?

5A Additional questions for single sex focus groups
   • It has been reported that women teachers are more reluctant than men to take jobs in rural (particularly remote) areas. Why would that be the case?
   • (eg possible prompts: lack of transport; feeling vulnerable away from family; low marriage prospects; poor material conditions in rural schools such as a lack of separate toilets for women and girls)
   • Do you think it is important for the education sector to find ways of getting more women teachers to rural and remote areas?
   • (If yes) What could be done to achieve this?

6. Have you had the opportunity to participate in one or other of the following types of continuing professional development – jornadas pedagogicas, in-service training, continuing education?
   • How does one get to participate in these?
   • What are the criteria? (prompt: Are untrained teachers given priority over trained teachers? Are civil servants given priority over contract teachers?)
   • Do women and men teachers have the same level of interest in getting further training, or do you detect a gender difference?
   • Does the education authority cover fees and other costs (eg your travel and accommodation) associated with the course? Who covers your teaching while you are away?
   • Which of these different types of additional training may help you get promotion/a salary increase?
Appendix D: List of focus groups and their locations

The schools and venues where the discussions groups were held were chosen by district education offices in consultation with the researchers. Many of the focus groups included teachers from several schools in the same district and in one case teachers from several districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Guide</th>
<th>Area(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female teachers (T &amp; UT, CS &amp; contract)</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Urban, rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male teachers (T &amp; UT, CS &amp; contract)</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Urban, rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male teachers trained &amp; untrained</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Trained teachers (CS &amp; contract, male &amp; female)</td>
<td>Civil servants/contract</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Trained &amp; untrained (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>Untrained/trained</td>
<td>Urban, rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Trained teachers (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>Untrained/trained</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Untrained teachers (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>Untrained/trained</td>
<td>Rural, rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Trained &amp; untrained teachers (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>Civil servants/contract</td>
<td>Rural, rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contract teachers (male &amp; female, T &amp; UT)</td>
<td>Civil servants/contract</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female trained contract teachers</td>
<td>Civil servants/contract teachers</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male trained contract teachers</td>
<td>Trained/untrained</td>
<td>Remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Trained civil servants (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>General (mixed)</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Trained &amp; untrained teachers (male &amp; female, CS &amp; contract)</td>
<td>Untrained/trained</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Trained &amp; untrained teachers (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>General (mixed)</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Trained &amp; untrained teachers (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>General (mixed)</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>School council members</td>
<td>School councils</td>
<td>Rural, rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teacher trainers</td>
<td>Teacher trainers</td>
<td>Rural, urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trainee teachers (students)</td>
<td>Teacher trainers</td>
<td>Rural, rural, urban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T = trained    U = untrained    CS = civil service

Southern region
EPC Umbelezi, Boane, Maputo Province (1 FG)
EPC Ngungunhame, Matola, Maputo Province (1 FG)
EPC 24 Julho Xai-Xai, Gaza (2 FGs)
EPC Ndambine 2000, Gaza (2 FGs)
EPC 7 Abril, Inhambane (1 FG)
EPC Salela, Inhambane (1 FG)
EPC Josina Machel, Inhambane (1 FG)
DEJT de Xai-Xai (1 FG)
IFP Marracuene, Maputo (2 FG)

Northern region
EPC Milagre Mabote, Lago, Niassa (1 FG)
EPC Messuma, Lago, Niassa (2 FG)
EPC Amilcar Cabral, Lichinga, Niassa (1 FG)
EPC Herois Moçambicanos, Lichinga, Niassa (1 FG)
ZIP de Marrere-Teacane, Nampula (1 FG)
DEJT de Mossuril, Nampula (2 FGs)
IFP Marrere, Nampula (1 FG)
IFP Nampula, Nampula (1 FG)
IFAPA Lichinga (1 FG)

Central region
EPC Mangulamela, Mocuba, Zambezia (1 FG)
EPC Laeze, Mocuba, Zambezia (2 FGs)
EPC Edouard Mondlane, Nicoadala, Zambezia (2 FGs)
IFP Alto Molocue (1 FG)
Appendix E: Semi-structured interviews

Government offices

Ministry of Education
Deputy Director of Human Resources
Director of Planning and Cooperation
Deputy Director of Teacher Training

Provincial and district education offices

Head Pedagogical Department
Gaza Province

Head Pedagogical Department
Inhambane Province

Pedagogical Supervisor, Niassa Province

Brief meetings also with directors and pedagogical directors of the Serviços Distritais de Educação, Juventude e Tecnologia in:

SDEJT, Xai-Xai City
SDEJT, Xai-Xai District
SDEJT, Inhambane City
SDEJT, Lago District
SDEJT, Lichinga District
SDEJT, Mocuba District
SDEJT, Nampula City
SDEJT, Mossuril
SDEJT, Nicoadala

Education institutions

IFP ADDP, Director
IFP Alto Molocue, Acting Pedagogical Director
IFP Marrere, Director
IFP Marracuene, Director
IFP Matola, Head of In-service Teacher Training
INDE, Director
Universidade Edouard Mondlane (UEM), Associate Director Research

School directors and pedagogical directors

EPC Umbelezi, Boane
EPC Massaca 2, Boane
EPC Ngungunhane, Matola
EPC Josina Machel, Lichinga

NGOs and INGOs

ACTION AID, Education Officer
CIDA, Education Officer
DVV, Coordinator Mozambique & Education Officers
IBIS, Education Officer in Maputo & IBIS, Education Officers in Alto Molocue
Oxfam UK, Education Officer
ONP/SNPM, General Secretary and International Cooperation Secretary
Associação Progresso, Director and Education Officer
Associação Progresso Niassa, Provincial Coordinator and Education Officer
UNESCO, Education Officer

Appendix F: Secondary stakeholder questionnaires

In addition to the questionnaires returned during the focus groups by teachers and teacher trainers (which are summarised in Appendices A and B), information by questionnaire was also obtained from:

School directors and pedagogical directors

EPC 7 de Abril, Inhambane, Inhambane
EPC Amilcar Cabral Lichinga, Niassa (SD and PD)
EPC Hérois Moçambicanos, Lichinga, Niassa (SD and PD)
EPC Laze, Mocuba, Zambezia
EPC Messumba, Lago, Niassa
EPC Milagre Mabote, Lago, Niassa
EPC Mangulamela, Mocuba, Zambezia
EPC Teceane, Nampula

District human resource directors

Mossuril District, Nampula
Xai-Xai City, Gaza
Xai-Xai District, Gaza
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VSO is an active member of the Global Campaign for Education, an international coalition of charities, civil society organisations and education unions that mobilises public pressure on governments to provide the free education for all children they promised to deliver in 2000.

www.campaignforeducation.org

Since 2009 VSO has also been a member of the Steering Committee of the UNESCO hosted International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All

www.teachersforefa.unesco.org

Since 2000, VSO’s Valuing Teachers research has been conducted in 14 countries. Following the research, advocacy strategies are developed, which include the development of volunteer placements in civil society education coalitions, teachers’ unions and education ministries.

For more information please contact:
advocacy@vso.org.uk

If you would like to volunteer with VSO please visit:

www.vsointernational.org/volunteer

In addition to this publication, the following research may also be of interest, available from the VSO International website:

www.vsointernational.org/valuingteachers

- Gender Equality and Education (2011)
- How Much is a Good Teacher Worth? A report of the motivation and morale of teachers in Ethiopia (2009)
- Leading Learning: A report on effective school leadership and quality education in Zanzibar (forthcoming)
- Learning From Listening: A policy report on Maldivian teachers’ attitudes to their own profession (2005)
- Lessons from the Classroom: Teachers’ motivation and perceptions in Nepal (2005)
- Listening to Teachers: The motivation and morale of education workers in Mozambique (2008)
- Making Teachers Count: A policy research report on Guyanese teachers’ attitudes to their own profession (2004)
- Qualifying for Quality: Unqualified teachers and qualified teacher shortages in The Gambia (forthcoming)
- Teachers for All: What governments and donors should do (2006)
- Teachers’ Voice: A policy research report on teachers’ motivation and perceptions of their profession in Nigeria (2007)

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