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. In doing so, they invest in local people, so the impact they make endures long after their placement ends. We’re also focused on gender equality and, increasingly, climate change. And we help poor people to get their messages heard, gathering public support and advising influential decision-makers.

VSO has education programmes in 15 countries. Volunteers support improvements in education by working in teacher training colleges, with groups of schools on developing teaching methods and within the mainstream education system to overcome the barriers facing marginalised groups: in areas such as assessment, strategic planning, national curriculum development, monitoring and evaluation and national quality standards. VSO also undertakes national-level advocacy research through its Valuing Teachers campaign (see inside back cover for more details) and is an active member of both the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), and the Steering Committee of the UNESCO hosted International Taskforce on Teachers for Education for All. For more information visit www.vsointernational.org

NUT

The National Union of Teachers 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 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

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Monika Beutel, March 2011

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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, GMAPPMW, International taskforce on Teachers for EFA, VSO Mozambique, VSO International, and the NUT UK.
Teachers Talking

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Acronyms and glossary

ADPP (Ajuda de desenvolvimento de povo para povo) Humana People to People
CFPP (Centros de Formação de Professores Primárias) Former primary teacher training institutions now merged with IFPs
CPD Continuing Professional Development
CRES CER (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)
CSO Civil Society Organisation
EFA Education for All
EP1 (Ensino Primário do 1 Grau) Primary Education First Level (grades 1 – 5)
EP2 (Ensino Primário do 2 Grau) Primary Education Second Level (grades 6 – 7)
EPC (Escola primária completa) Primary school that offers both EP1 and EP2, ie that can teach pupils for the complete cycles from grade 1 to grade 7
ESSPII Education Sector Strategic Plan 2006 – 2011
FRELIMO (Frente de Liberação de Moçambique) Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (the majority ruling party since independence)
GCE Global Campaign for Education
IFP (Instituto de Formação dos Professores) Teacher Training Institution for Primary Education
IMF International Monetary Fund
INSET (Capaticões) In Service Training
MDG Millennium Development Goal
MEC (Ministério da Educação e Cultura) The Government Department responsible for Education and Culture up to 2009. Education and Culture are now separate Ministries
MINED (Ministério da Educação) Ministry of Education (formerly pre-2009 Ministry of Education and Culture or MEC)
MEPT (Movimento de Educação Para Todos) Mozambican Movement for Education for All
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
NUT National Union of Teachers, UK
ONP/SNPM (Organização Nacional dos Professores/Syndicato Nacional de Professores de Moçambique) National Organisation of Teachers of Mozambique
PTR Ratio of Pupils per Teacher
PCR Ratio of Pupils per Class
RENA MO (Resistência Nacional de Moçambique) 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.
SACMEQ Southern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
TTISSA Teacher Training Initiative for Sub-Saharan Africa
UEM (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane) The first and major public sector university in Mozambique with branches in several cities
UPE Universal Primary Education
VSO Voluntary Service Overseas
ZIP (Zona da Influência Pedagógica) School clusters for the purpose of mutual learning and support and in-service training
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 field work.

The fieldwork also explored some factors involved in educational quality – and how the absence of these factors can affect teaching and learning adversely, drawing on the teachers’ own views of educational quality in Mozambique.

Teachers’ opinions and explanations for the apparent decline in the quality of teaching and learning and in student attainment include concerns over 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 which 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 female teachers are a minority in the profession, a greater proportion of female than male teachers are trained. It is crucial for female teachers to 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 considerable worries about 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 OMP/ONPM all have clear and pertinent views about its limitations.

The evidence from teachers themselves stresses the need for continuing professional development. 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 models 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 status of primary teaching as a profession is a 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 that of improving 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 from 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. 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 get funding to implement the main findings and recommendations. VSO staff have also been working with the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), UNESCO’s International Taskforce for Teachers for EFA and through the Informal Network on Para, Untrained and Contract teachers (INPUT) to get teachers’ views heard in debates about education and development. VSO staff have also talked directly to major funders of education in low-income countries, such as the World Bank, the IMF and UNESCO.

1.2 Context and Terms of Reference of the Research

More than ten years have passed since the international community adopted the six Education for All (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, 2010).

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 third grade students in sub-Saharan Africa could subtract single digit numbers (UNESCO, 2010).

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 (e.g. in the application of methods and approaches learnt and practised in training) or indirectly (e.g. by affecting teachers’ morale and well-being). The study 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. The recommendations concern aspects of teachers’ initial and in-service training, their conditions of service and remuneration, as well as issues of gender equality. The aim 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 as 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 Education for All 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 and views of Mozambican primary teachers – and of other key education stakeholders – about the quality of education in Mozambique. It investigates the effect that untrained and differently trained teachers – as well 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 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 left their influence on 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 the planning of the research and in the validation of 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 from non-governmental organisations and civil society groups who work in the education sector.

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

- Focus groups with teachers, teacher trainers and students training to become teachers, as well as with members of school councils (see Appendix C). The focus groups provided the main source of primary data. Twenty-nine focus groups were conducted between July and September 2010. Twenty-one of these focus groups were with teachers (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 members). All focus group participants were assured of anonymity and it was explained to them 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 any people of direct authority over the teachers present.

- Semi-structured interviews were used to tap into the expertise 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 that is not readily available through published data. 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” (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.

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 Dissen, 1999). In 1983 the National System of Education (Sistema Nacional de Educacao) was introduced, which following some changes is still the current system (see flow chart p.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 infrastructure of the country 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 1990–1992 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 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 2006–2011 – 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. Around 90 per cent of all students are in General Primary Education; the remaining 10 per cent represent students in vocational, secondary and higher education. The flow chart also shows 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).
National System of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications and pay levels</th>
<th>General Education</th>
<th>Vocational Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>Bachelor Degree &amp; Licenciado</td>
<td>Superior operating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Teacher training after 12th grade</td>
<td>Medium level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>Teacher training after 10th grade (IFP)</td>
<td>Basic level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher training (CFPP) (discontinued); eg 4+4, 6+1, 7+3.</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ESG1 Grades 8 &amp; 10</td>
<td>Secondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ESG2 Grades 11–12</td>
<td>Third cycle primary grades 6 &amp; 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EP2 Third cycle primary grades 6 &amp; 7</td>
<td>First cycle primary grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EP1 First cycle primary grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>Second cycle primary grades 3–5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The flow chart shows different elements of the education system. The school system separates after the first stage of primary education into General Education and Vocational Education. Over 90 per cent of all pupils are in general primary education.

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 (Aldercuccio, 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 (Venspoor, 2008) (Ogardho and Moletewo, 1998). But bi-lingual education of 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 was 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 1 of primary schools (ie enrolment of pupils who start school at the age of 6) is now virtually at 100 per cent and there is gender parity on enrolment (Ministry of Education, 2010). As more children start school at the appropriate age, the difference between gross and net enrolment rates 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 (ie after Grade 5). 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 (Ministry of Education, 2010). 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 primariíssimas completas) which means that they do not offer the complete cycle of primary education.

In this turn means that pupils may have to walk long distances to one of the schools that offer primary education up to Grade 7, 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 (Ministry of Education, 2010). 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 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009). These proportions have decreased to 26 per cent in EP1 and more modestly to 19.2 per cent in EP2 (Ministry of Education, 2010). 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 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 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 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008). In terms of teachers’ working conditions and pupils’ learning experience, it is the pupil/classroom ratio 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 (Ministry of Education, 2010). 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.
4. Teacher demand and supply

Efforts to achieve universal primary education (UPE) have led to 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 get lower pay 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. The characteristics are not necessarily linked together. Pay is determined by qualification level but contractual conditions vary independently. Teachers’ status and pay is differentiated by qualification levels but the qualification levels 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.

In many countries the terms ‘contract teacher’ and ‘para teacher’ tend to be 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 months 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 of time (see chapter 9).

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 different schools. In other words, the underlying reasons are related to their substantially lower salaries and less secure conditions of service (Fyfe, 2007).

In order to keep pace 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 get lower pay 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.

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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 also the case in Mozambique, where in 2009 contract teachers represented 58.5 per cent of all teachers (Ministry of Education, 2010).
Against the backdrop of a rising population of young people in Mozambique, like many other low-income countries, teachers had experienced difficulties training sufficient numbers of teachers to meet the needs of the expanding education system. Various projections were undertaken without their findings being widely publicized, and no additional teachers were required. For example, Mulkeen and Chen (2008) had already achieved training requirements for EP1 teachers in Mozambique by 2009, with 61,242 EP1 teachers employed. However, the Ministry of Education and Culture (2008) suggests that this achievement is not sustainable, and other research suggests that teachers' skills in ways that develop their competences and professional commitment of teachers, which in turn affect the quality of learning that takes place. The importance of educational quality has been recognized in the Education for All Agenda, which states that "no educational system can rise above the level of its teachers" (UNESCO, 2000). To ensure quality in primary education, attention now needs to be directed to teachers. Obanya (2010) states that "no educational system can rise above the level of its teachers" because teachers more than 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 are the only 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. The capacity of learners to learn and teachers’ conditions of service during 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 school 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 pupil 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) and the reduction in pupil-teacher ratios and pupil-classroom-ratios. The 2006 UNESCO Project 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, 2006). More recent calculations presented by UNESCO’s Institute of Statistics projects that the number of teachers in Mozambique would have to increase by around 3 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).

4.3 Mozambique’s response to teacher shortages

The semi-automatic progression is an important aspect of the ‘new curriculum’ and has cut the duration 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). The fact 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 reported a 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.

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 trained primary teacher appointments are now of trained teachers and, although PTRs remain high, some trained teachers are finding themselves without 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-trained’ 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 more 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 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 we consider 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 (Flye, 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 stake-holders 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). The fact 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 reported a 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.

5. Educational quality

Educational quality is difficult to measure directly; instead indicators are commonly used. The main quality indicators that are used in this report are: the training of teachers; pupil-teacher-ratios (PTR); 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.

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 minimizing costs. There are two main implications of this situation. First, 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 are the only 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.

• ‘Quality’ is often conceptualised in terms of ‘input – process – output – context’ models (see the discussions about such models in Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2005; Heneveld and Craig, 1996; Verspoor, 2008). When applied to education, such models typically list among input factors the quality of teachers (in terms of their training, qualifications and vocational commitment) and the capacity of learners and teachers to access and use 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 get 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. This study reports quality factors from the point of view of the research participants.

The measures taken by the Ministry include employment of ‘fast-trained’ 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 more 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 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 we consider 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 (Flye, 2007; Verspoor, 2008).

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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 due both to the high rates of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique and because contract teachers are getting 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 (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).
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 centred around six main factors that were considered to be necessary for good educational quality to be achieved:

- 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 (eg 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 Box 1 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 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 in Box 1 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 that are 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.21 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 6 and 7 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 in Box 2 on p.18. Their points are illustrated with quotations below and are developed in subsequent chapters.

Box 1

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

Box 2

Views expressed in focus groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Community involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education policy ('stop the semi-automatic progression')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Children must have minimum conditions at home (food, clothes, support)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers Talking
Box 2

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

“Why is educational quality declining in Mozambique’s primary schools?”

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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).

“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” (untrained male teacher in rural area in Inhambane).

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).

Teaching 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 1” (female teacher, rural school in Inhambane); “the curriculum content is difficult to teach. In grade 1 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. Unfortunately 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’17 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 re-interpreted 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 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 through which the introduction of the new curriculum appear to have been passsed 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 (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.
When accompanied by diagnostic tests and feedback to pupils, semi-automatic progression to the next grade is seen as an important aspect of power and authority in Mozambican education. 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, they do not 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 Inhambane).

Others made similar comments: “In the past... even if only 35 per cent passed the Head teacher accepted responsibility as a result of 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 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).

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 well-awarded 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 argued that it has made teachers’ job 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 in 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’ (Ministry of Education, 2010).

The number of children completing primary school is increasing, but the failure and drop out rates are still high among children in rural areas, particularly girls (Ministry of Education, 2010). 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 dropout rate and to premature marriages” (male untrained teacher, remote school in Nampula).

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).

More than one quarter of primary teachers are still untrained (Ministry of Education, 2010). 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 trainees 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.

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 fail to complete their schooling, particularly girls (see also chapter 6).

“Materials are indispensable” (female teacher, rural school in Inhambane).
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 Boxes 1 and 2 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 proportions 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) (Ministry of Education, 2010). The sharpest drop in the number of girls attending school occurs between the ages of 10–12 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).

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Girls’ net enrolment rates in primary schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numbers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls as % age of pupils at that level</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 female 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) (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008). Nevertheless, women teachers are still a minority in the 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 percentage 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>EP1</th>
<th>EP2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>7,351</td>
<td>20,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>5040</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female teachers as % of all teachers at that level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


6.2.1 Why are more women going into teaching now?

Most teachers replied in terms of women’s increasing desire to have a more prominent 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).

“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).

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).

“Women teachers are now role models. Parents send their girls to school to be like them” (male trained teacher, rural area in Zambezia).

### 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 in 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 in 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 in rural area in Zambezia), and also that “female teachers are best for the initial grades” (male teacher in 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 1 class to men – the men have no patience” (female teacher in urban area in Gaza province).

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

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 pro-active. This is nicely expressed through this image: “School issues that should be solved by men do no longer take long to be solved; 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 in 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 in rural area in Nampula). “There are lots of changes. Women used not to have the ambition to be like us and this will reduce poverty” (female teacher in rural area in Nampula).

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, remote area in Nampula).

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).

“you are not given transport and food... you are not given a place to live. How can one survive?”

Female teacher in remote area in Niassa

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 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 Zambézia). Often children have been 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 unless when we are not given the support that we should have” (female teacher in remote 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 in rural area in Zambézia).

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.

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

Teachers were also asked whether they thought that female and male teachers get 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, there was a tendency among teachers of both sexes 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 did I see a woman who managed to go for further studies” (female teacher in rural 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 in 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 in rural area in Zambézia) and: “women get more opportunities to get promotion, as a way of motivating other women” (male teacher, rural area in Zambézia). 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 in rural area in Zambézia).

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. Vocational committed female teachers stimulate girls to attend school” (female untrained contract teacher in rural area in Zambézia).

6.3 Conclusion

The female and male teachers who have been 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, south, or centre 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 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 well-being of the individual, family and community and to develop a strategic plan to get more women into leadership positions in schools.

• Recommendations arising from the fieldwork evidence in this chapter are set out in chapter 10. See also recommendations B.3, B.4, B.5 and F.1.
7. Mozambican primary teachers’ qualifications and training

In Mozambique everyone 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 at 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 (cf. the flow chart in section 3.2). Qualification levels determine at which grade(s) a teacher is deployed. Normally teachers teach at the level that is at least one step below their own qualifications. So teachers who have attended primary education 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 the lower level of secondary schools (ESG1) and higher education graduates 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. In relation to untrained teachers, the other hand have completed a recognised programme of psycho-pedagogical training, usually in the form of 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 values 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 their 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 in colleges. Qualification levels also determine the level of pay teachers receive (see also 9.2 below).

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.6” Encroachment on the knowledge base of a good pupil with completed 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.

Most 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 correspond to the internationally recommended minimum level that an aspiring teaching should have before entering pre-service teacher training (UNESCO, 2006).
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 Formacao dos Professores). There are 24 IFPs that train students to become primary school teachers, whereas secondary school teachers are trained mostly at UP (Universidade Pedagogica) and some at UEM (Universidade Eduardo 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 ague 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 benefitted 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 was less expensive, but more importantly, it kept the salary level of these fast-tracked 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 went up to 7,717 in 2008 and to 9,800 in 2010. The substantial increase in the number of teachers, trained and ready to be employed, helped to reduce the Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) from 75.4 in 2006 to 65.8 in 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010).

The introduction of the 10+1 scheme led to comments in some circles that the increased number of primary teachers has meant 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+2%) 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 the new graduates’.

The best students get employed first and the others are reserved to replace teachers who retire and so on.” (Senior teacher training official at the Ministry of Education).

Teacher unemployment appears to be a phenomenon 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 lies in inadequate funding (the education budget is funded predominantly by bi-lateral and multi-lateral donor organisations). The overall size of the budget, the number of teaching posts to be filled, the amount of money available for teacher salaries, are all incommensurate with the substantial increase in the number of teachers trained and employed in the primary sector. 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 de Formacao dos Professores – CRFP) which are organised jointly with District Education staff and ZIPs (zonas de influencia pedagogia) 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 have potentially a wide range of duties which require a broad set of skills.

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 2 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 (IFP not in service 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—both male and female—seemed to have quite a close mentorial relationship with the serving teachers whose classes the students observe and with whom the students engage in 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 de Formacao dos Professores – CRFP) which are organised jointly with District Education staff and ZIPs (zonas de influencia pedagogia) 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 have potentially 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).

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 also shared by some of the students: “How can a teacher teach a student to read when he or she is unable to read themselves? They should have been helped at the schools that they attended.”

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 6 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 how the focus groups to what extent the teacher trainers at IFPs provided examples of integrated subject teaching to their students (cf. Guru and Webber, 2010).

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
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)24 were from three different IFPs and were all at least half way 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 teaching careers are; and – for the benefit of future student intakes – what (if anything) they would like to see changed in

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 teacher trainer). “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 nor 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 is that the practical time 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 from one of the countries with a severe teacher shortage within a short space of time into one with an oversupply of trained teachers. 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 to be too short because teacher training continues to have the dual function of upgrading students’ general knowledge and developing their practical teaching skills. Critical aspects of upgrading students’ general knowledge and developing teachers’ practical teaching skills in 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 tenth grade is short by international standards, but for students who have a minimum of a good twelfth 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 provide 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

1. Teacher training 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).
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 still untrained.

Untrained teachers can participate in continuing professional development 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 continuing professional development is too little to meet the need and demand and is not always well co-ordinated. 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 either that the criteria for participation in in-service training are not clearly defined or not consistently applied.

Teachers who participated in the focus groups for this research described three main types of continuing professional development (CPD). Firstly, Pedagogical Days (Jornadas Pedagógicas) which are compulsory for teachers; secondly, short in-service training courses (capacidades) 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 get 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.

8.2.1 Pedagogical Days or Journeys (Jornadas Pedagógicas)

The Jornadas Pedagógicas 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 Influencia 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 co-ordinator 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 (Ribeiro, 2007). The effectiveness of ZIPs in providing continuing professional development 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 pedagógicas’ 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).

8.2.2 In-service training/updating courses (capacidades)

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 (capacidades) 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 listing 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 suggests that teachers will only get the chance to participate once every seven to eight years. This is far below the targets mentioned in ESPP1 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, the courses generally take place over several days with food and accommodation provided, or a per diem being paid to the participants14. 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 EP1’15 or ‘how to teach a lesson effectively’ or ‘bilingual education’, to mention just a few. Teachers consider these courses as very useful for learning about new issues and for developing new skills. District education staff, like 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 extraordinary factors: “It is impossible to know the selection criteria for accepting teachers onto in-service training. The same teachers attend 3 to 4 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 in 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 teachers’ (e.g. 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 not given 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 lead to disappointment and demoralisation among teachers and to rumours that suggest 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.

8.3 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) approach could go a long way towards bringing the differently qualified teachers together in their common educational purpose and of giving public acknowledgment of 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 pedagógicas’. 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 IFIs, ZIPs and schools. There seems to be a strong case for systematising the process of CPD and for stronger co-ordination between the different organisations with responsibility for different aspects of it, without the need to return to a centralised system.

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 time-table 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” (untrained male contract teacher, remote area in Nampula).

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 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 need the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications most 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. For me it would be a great opportunity to go for training, gain experience and acquire more knowledge” (female untrained teacher, remote area in Nampula).

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 to 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 co-ordination 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 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 C 1–8.
9 Teachers’ conditions of service, working and living conditions

9.1 Civil servants and contract teachers

Moçambique’s Ministry of Education is the government department that employs the largest number of public servants, out of the whole state apparatus (Schulz, 2003). 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 established in line with the increases in the teaching force.

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 of 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.

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 job, but can be re-deployed. “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 “Moçambique 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 discontinuance their contract – while the civil servant has the right to be transferred” (trained male contract teacher in urban area in Niassa).

Contract teachers are not secure, because they can lose their job for a little mistake

male teacher, semi-rural area in Inhambane

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’ 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 categories differently, depending on their personal circumstances. In two 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 continue 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 to get 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 services and cannot get funeral expenses when a relative dies” (trained male civil servant, urban school in Niassa). In addition to these material advantages, civil servants also have the opportunity to make opportunities for further study, in-service training, in practice they may not get the opportunity in some areas. Contract teachers are not entitled to get 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 may 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” (untrained male teacher, remote school in Nampula).

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 leadership position, cannot be a school director nor a pedagogical director. There are colleagues who were demoted because they were not civil servants” (untrained male teacher in 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 get 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 may 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” (untrained male 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, after what period of time and on 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 problem about the 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).

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 the central level. It would be good if the papers were dealt with in the regions” (trained male 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, a rural ZIP Nampula). “The government should have a list with the names of the teachers who have 3 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 5 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 2 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” (trained female 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 on the opportunity for upgrading altogether, 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 papers 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” (Headteacher, rural area in Maputo Province).

The speed with which applications are processed appears to depend on 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 problem about the 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).

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 the central level. It would be good if the papers were dealt with in the regions” (trained male 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, a rural ZIP Nampula). “The government should have a list with the names of the teachers who have 3 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 5 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 2 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” (trained female 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 on the opportunity for upgrading altogether, 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 papers 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” (Headteacher, 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 to civil service status that were successful within a relatively short time period, 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 data bases 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 be selected for in-service training or continuing education in order 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 jeopardizing 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 de-motivate many teachers. De-motivated teachers are not able to deliver good teaching, nor are they able to 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.

“IT IS DIFFICULT TO BECOME A CIVIL SERVANT BECAUSE OF BUREAUCRACY”

Female teacher in rural area in Gaza

Teachers undertaking (or misunderstanding) of the situation are recounted here: “It is difficult to become a civil servant because of bureaucracy” (female teacher in 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 Gaza). “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 Nampula I missed the opportunity” (untrained male contract teacher, remote district in Nampula). “I was told that the documents are out-dated. I have to get them renewed. It costs a lot for that. I had to pay 720 Mts” (male teacher in rural area in Nampula).
9.2 Salaries
Salaries are a pressing issue for primary teachers in Mozambique. The finding is 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, whereas teachers do not. “This salary is not sufficient. People from other institutions have better salaries” (female trained teacher, rural area in Zambézia). 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 Mts 4,970, around 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, whereas 2 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 her qualification level (i.e. 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 (e.g. 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 paid for.

Additionally there is a system of allowances (bonuses) 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. “We get any of Mts 4,970 to motivate us. In health the nurses get money for ‘chapas’ but in education it does not happen” (female teacher, urban area in Maputo province). “The Ministry should give an allowance to teachers. The community knows about the low salary of teachers. They do extra hours and they are not paid for that” (female teacher, rural area in Niassa). “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).

9.3 Teachers’ working and living conditions
Most schools have teachers in two or three (and occasionally four) classes 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 Nhæe, 2008). Primary school children 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 classrooms 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). “There are cases in rural areas where if 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 to 180 days per year, spread over 35 or 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 Nhæe, 2008). The official number of hours and days of teaching are 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 those officially reported due to teacher absences etc.

Primary teachers’ standard working conditions include around 24 hours of teaching during the week. These standard hours cannot be planned in advance and untrained, or even trained, civil servants and temporary contract teachers. Teachers in leadership roles (eg head teachers and pedagogical directors) teach fewer classes. Teachers can be required to teach more than one shift for additional pay. The opportunity for taking on extra teaching for additional pay is usually willingly or even eagerly taken up by teachers – an indication that many teachers are finding 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 in so far 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 several 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). 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
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 they often have to travel 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 housing44 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 in their own community. “In 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.

9.4 The role of the teachers’ union

The National Teachers’ Organisation (ONP/SNPM) may appear relatively fragile in its function compared to the strength of teacher unions in many other countries. However, it is gaining strength through increases in membership, inter- national links and representation on consultative committees with government officials, donor organisations and civil society organisations. The current position of the ONP/SNPM is partly historically determined and partly circumscribed by current legislation. The ONP was originally founded in 1981 during the single party state system. The organisation has undergone major changes since then, particularly in the 1990s when it became an autonomous institution but with the consequence it lost its former state funding. As a result ONP lost many members and had to cut back on its activities; it has not yet fully recovered from the effects of this.

One difficulty for the ONP is that teachers are public servants and legislation that would allow civil servants to join unions with negotiation rights has not yet been approved. The membership of the ONP is at present open to all education workers (including administrative and other support staff) and there are meetings of the organisation at national, provincial, district and school level. In May 2010 the ONP had about 17,000 members but there were indications that teachers are now joining in larger numbers. “200 new membership cards were issued recently across different provinces,” the General Secretary told the researchers. Individual casework is taken up at local level by some activists.

The ONP is now consulted regularly on policy changes involving teachers. Apparently this had not always been the case and it was not clear to the union officials whether or not this had changed recently. It is not clear to what extent the ONP is prepared to take up the case of contract teachers for transfer to civil service status. The union is well aware of the government’s budget constraints and is steering a non-confrontational course while expanding its influence with government. Currently, ONP gives priority to pressing the case of teachers to be paid according to their appropriate salary category as speedily as possible. The ONP has contributed to 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’ applied only to those with training.

The officials of the ONP union – like everyone working in education in Mozambique – is very conscious of the limited scope for manoeuvre that the government has, given that regularly between 70 per cent to 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 funding45. 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.

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 schools officials had to purchase in order to generate an additional income for the school budget or to feed the children. “We help with building the class rooms. We do 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.

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 get nominated to become civil servants appears to depend on availability of finance and 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 their annoyance that in many teachers’ and officials’ minds the notion of being a contract teacher is still considered to be another name for an untrained teacher. 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 denuding 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 to gain civil servant status may now be shortening. Some of the teachers who have been relatively recently appointed now receive confirmation of their civil servant 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.

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 attraction to secondary teaching as a route out of a low paid primary teaching career, as teachers often feel they 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.

Recommendations arising from the fieldwork evidence in this chapter are set out in chapter 10, namely recommendations about teachers’ conditions of service and salaries A1–6; about teachers’ deployment B 1–5; about teachers’ working and living conditions E 1–4; about communication and monitoring G3.
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 (such as the school council members) centred on issues around different teacher statuses. 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 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.

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 de-motivation 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.

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. So 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 a temporary status, but for many teachers it appears to have become a permanent situation. 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 exercise power that is not actually within their authority, or conversely officials who fail to use their authority promptly – may be among the reasons for the confusion. The lack of clarity results in de-motivation among contract teachers. To regularise 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 de-motivated 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. Co-ordinate 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 acknowledgment and appreciation to experienced teachers. Ensure that after their two-year 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 de-motivation in the profession.

4. 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).

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

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

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

8. 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.

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

10. 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.

11. 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).

12. 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.

13. 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.

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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’ ie composed of different categories of teachers and of both sexes. The size of the focus groups varied between five 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.

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.

2. The profile of age and experience

A large percentage of teachers in the study (60 per cent) were relatively young, ie 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 (ESSP2 2006–2010/11). The number of teachers that 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 young 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 behind them already. Many primary teachers start their teaching careers at age 18.

### Breakdown of participants by age groups

- **< 2 yrs**: 1% (1 teacher)
- **2–6 yrs**: 3% (4 teachers)
- **7–15 yrs**: 14% (14 teachers)
- **16–25 yrs**: 18% (34 teachers)
- **> 65 yrs**: 1% (1 teacher)
- **< 26 yrs**: 7% (14 teachers)
- **26–35 yrs**: 60% (113 teachers)
- **36–45 yrs**: 18% (34 teachers)
- **46–55 yrs**: 14% (26 teachers)
- **> 65 yrs**: 1% (1 teacher)

### How many years teaching?

- **< 2 yrs**: 3% (1 teacher)
- **2–6 yrs**: 42% (72 teachers)
- **7–15 yrs**: 41% (69 teachers)
- **16–25 yrs**: 14% (23 teachers)
- **> 25 yrs**: 2% (3 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).

The questionnaire also asked teachers about their participation in inset training (capacitações) 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 funded their further education themselves as well as some who had been supported through their further studies. It also included distance learning as well as attendance at courses.

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.

The majority of the teachers who participated in the study (57 per cent) taught classes at EP1 level (ie they were teachers for classes 1 to 5) 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 specialism. 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.

Of the participating teachers 67 per cent were trained and 33 per cent untrained, which corresponds roughly to the proportions nationally (MINED, 2009: 25, 29).

The chart below shows under 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), closely 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).

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Appendix B: Profile analysis of participating teacher trainers

The graphs below 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 below 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 5 per cent of the total number of teacher trainers.

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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 focus group moderator would use once the composition of 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 teacher’s 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 Headteacher, 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?

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 service status?
   • 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?

6. Have you had the opportunity to participate in one or other of the following types continuing professional development – ‘formandas 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?

• 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 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?
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.

### Appendix D: List of focus groups and their locations

**Focus groups (FG) with teachers – 29 in total**

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>
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<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>
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<td>Urban, Rural</td>
</tr>
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<td>Male teachers trained &amp; untrained</td>
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<td>Urban</td>
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<td>Untrained/trained</td>
<td>Urban, Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Untrained/trained</td>
<td>Rural</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Untrained/trained</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<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>

### Appendix E: Semi-structured interviews

**Government Offices**
- Ministry of Education
  - Deputy Director of Human Resources Directorate
  - Director of Planning and Cooperation
  - Deputy Director of Teacher Training

**Provincial and District Education Offices**
- Head Pedagogical Department
  - Gaza Province
  - 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, Niocala

**School directors and pedagogical directors**
- EPC Umbeluzi, Boane
- EPC Massaca 2, Boane
- EPC Ngungunhane, Matola
- EPC Josina Machel, Lichinga

### NGOS and INGOS
- ACTION AID, Education Officer
- CIDA, Education Officer
- DVI, Coordinator Mozambique & Education Officers
- IBIS, Education Officer in Maputo & IBIS, Education Officers in Alto Molocue
- Oxfam UK, Education Officer
- ONP, 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 Appendix 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 Héros Moçambicanos, Lichinga, Niassa (SD and PD)
- EPC Laze, Mocuba, Zambezia
- EPC Messunda, 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
Teachers Talking

Endnotes

1. For a summary of issues arising from VSO’s Valuing Teachers research see Managing Teachers: The centrality of teacher management to quality education. Lessons from developing countries, 2008, VSO International.

2. In 2000 world leaders agreed to tackle extreme poverty in its different dimensions through working towards implementing the following eight Millennium Development goals by 2015:
   1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
   2. Achieve universal primary education;
   3. Promote gender equality and empower women;
   4. Combat HIV and Aids, malaria and other diseases;
   5. Ensure environmental sustainability;
   6. Develop a Global Partnership for Education.

3. The six key EFA goals, also to be achieved by 2015, are: 1. Expand early childhood care and education; 2. Provide free and compulsory primary education for all; 3. Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults; 4. Increase adult literacy by 50 per cent; 5. Achieve gender parity by 2050; 6. Improve the quality of education.

4. The reports can be found at: http://www.violeternational.org/what-we-do/advocacy/campaigns/valuing-teachers.asp

5. 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).

6. 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.

7. The gross enrolment includes all children (in this case: all girls) 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. In 2010 29 per cent of primary schools were EPPCs (MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO (Novembro 2010a) Reforma do Currículo do Ensino Primário (Estudo Específico). Avaliação do Plano Estratégico para a Educação e Cultura 2006-2010/11. Maputo: MINED) Verbal communication by a senior human resource official at MINED.

9. Verbal communication by senior human resource official at the Ministry of Education.

10. Young people under 14 make up almost 50 per cent of Mozambique’s population. 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’.

11. Its GDP per capita is estimated to be equivalent to about $900 which ranks the country only 14 places from the bottom, and its Human Development Index (HDI) rank puts it in place 172 out of 187 (UNDP 2009). The HDI brings together data on life expectancy, education and per capita GDP.

12. Endnotes

1. Teachers Talking

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

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

4. The course was organised by ONP (Organização Nacional dos Professores) and delivered through their partner organisation, the Canadian Teachers Federation.

5. 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.

6. 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. 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.


10. The practice of paying per diems has recently been abolished, at least in some parts of the country.

11. Teaching reading and writing has been a national priority for in-service courses for 2010.

12. These comments may reflect the fact that the teaching profession in Mozambique is predominantly young and retirement may therefore seem too distant to make the salary deduction for the eventual pension appear worthwhile. Some people may not expect to live long enough to think that a pension would be useful, as mortality rates are high and average life expectancy is low with 42 years for men and 49 for women (infant mortality, malaria and HIV and AIDS are among the main mortality risks). 

13. Calculations based on Ministério das Finanças, Circular No.01/GAB(DNP)/2010.

14. ‘A’cha’ is a form of public transport, usually a minibus.

15. The President of Mozambique announced in October 2010, on World Teachers’ Day, that the government would be providing housing for teachers.

16. Most of the donor education funding is now provided as general budget rather than project based support. But see also footnote 77/6977 and ActionAid (2007).

Please note that there are small variations in the total number of responses per question, as not all 193 teachers responded to each question (eg some teachers did not fill in the question about their age).