

Situation Analysis of Youth and Adolescents in Mozambique

Focus on District and Rural Level

UNICEF

Ministry of Youth and Sports

Feb 2005

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Terms and Definitions

‘Localidade’ – a ‘small semi-rural settlement’.

‘Vila Sede’ – a medium sized semi-urban settlement, typically second or third largest town in a province.

‘Chapa’ – a private locally owned mini-bus or other vehicle used to transport people for a fare.

‘Machamba’ – a family owned piece of land for subsistence and minimal ‘cash-crop’ agriculture.

‘Biscato’ – a term for ‘piece’ work, helping to carry, cutting, working on a machamba, or doing any other kind of (usually irregular) tasks for money.

‘Capulana’ – This is the most traditional Mozambican form of female dress; a cloth wrapped around the waist.

‘Activistas’ – these youth are trained by a project to offer guidance and support to their peers, either within or outside of school, particularly in the area of sexual health.

Educational Terms

The national school grade system goes from 1 to 12. The last two classes (11 and 12) are called *‘Decima Primeira’* and *‘Decima segunda’* respectively (‘Tenth First’ and ‘Tenth Second’). These come after ‘Decima’ (Tenth), and are ‘Pre-University’ Levels. For consistency we will use ‘First’, up to ‘Twelfth’ in the English report.

EP 1 Lower Primary school (1-5)

EP 2 Upper Primary school (6-7)

‘Children’, ‘Adolescents’ and ‘Youth’

For the purposes of this study, the period covered by the focal age group of this study (11-18) is defined as **‘adolescence’**. However, the group (11-12) is conceived as incorporating some aspects of the ‘child’, whilst the older groups (16-18) are conceived as displaying characteristics of ‘youth’.

Abbreviations

INJAD - Study on the reproductive health and sexual behaviour of youth and adolescents (“**In**querito sobre saude reproductiva e comportamento sexual dos **J**ovens e **A**dolescentes”)

DHS – **Demographic Health Study** Mozambique “Inquerito Demografico e de Saude” (IDS 2003)

WFP – World Food Programme

MFME – ‘O Meu futuro e minha escolha’ (**‘My future is my Choice’**)

YFHS – Youth Friendly Health Service

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Commissioned to feed into a “Situation analysis of children and women in Mozambique in 2004” (UNICEF) and in partnership with the Ministry of Youth, this participatory study report aims to disseminate information on the situation of young people, advocate for and influence youth related policies of NGOs, CBOs, FBOs and government organizations, and to encourage the development of programming better responsive to the needs of youth.

Young people were interviewed for this qualitative study in age specific groups (11-12, 13-15, 16-18) in a district capital and a more rural location within each of five provinces, using focus groups, individual interviews, and a range of participatory tools. A total of 240 adolescents and 147 adults were interviewed. Due to qualitative focus of the research, the patterns of findings are rarely given through distinct statistics, though their significance is noted through the frequency and strength with which topics and issues arose, as emerging from systematic analysis of the data.

A Young people’s daily lives

Despite cases of overwork, most adolescents expressed pride in their participation in family tasks. Many work outside the home for money, usually from about 13, but sometimes younger. Some children and adolescents lamented the difficulty of some tasks, such as carrying water long distances, or making charcoal.

Children’s and adolescents’ recreational activities are limited, but most enjoy football or traditional games and studying (spoken of as something they like to do in ‘free’ time), and as they grow through adolescence, from fourteen, they enjoy socializing, either at the market, church, local football pitch, or through ‘passearing’ – walking around. Those who have access, enjoy listening to the radio.

Sexual activity begins at around 12-14, though most believe a ‘better’ age to be later, around 16. Adolescent sexual behaviour is seen negatively by the majority, particularly by adults, as a moral vice, which is further fuelled by concern about pregnancy and HIV. Many adults spoke of lack of ‘control’ and disregard for traditional ways of preparation for marriage.

Adolescent aspirations varied according to the vision of a ‘wider world’ that they were able to access outside of the home, through schooling, family contacts outside their own location, or information from the radio, and generally focussed on continuing schooling in order to seek work, certain often ‘ideal’ jobs (eg. Doctor, teacher) as well as marriage and family (particularly for girls). Desire to leave the area of birth was entirely linked to prospects for employment or to study, not because of wishing to leave, *per se*.

The lack of financial and other means, such as food and living conditions, were of particular concern to most adolescents, especially in the more rural areas. This overwhelming priority indicated that absolute poverty was affecting most aspects of life for young people in the areas researched, including health, educational possibilities, living conditions, recreation and future prospects in general. As a result

boys often sought income through piece-work, and many girls obtained money in exchange for sex.

Key findings include:

1. There does not seem to be a clear community 'standard' of tasks that are 'unacceptable' for a child or adolescent. This may well be linked to a very underdeveloped concept of 'rights' at community level.
2. Despite the high levels of participation in family tasks, there is little adolescent or youth participation in community activities due to perceptions of low capabilities, traditional notion of young people (to be instructed, rather than as autonomous, capable individuals) and lack of projects.
3. Where projects have systematically involved youth (such as in MFME) there has been demonstration of potential capacity of youth, and particularly significantly, of girls.
4. Recreational options for adolescents are very limited and youth themselves link this along with poverty and unemployment, to patterns of petty crime, drugs and alcohol, as do many adult stakeholders.
5. What adults see as a 'moral decline' - modern clothing styles, disobedience to parents, rebellious attitudes, inflation of perceived general 'needs' and disrespect of elders and older traditions - actually represents a deep 'rift' between the older generation and 'youth'. Having 'respect' was largely equated with 'obedience' amongst adults, who feel they are losing 'control' of the younger generation and this fear is seriously hindering possibility for communication and co-operation between generations.
6. Understanding of 'rights' is related very closely with educational level. An important implication of this is that many of those with the most serious rights violations remain ignorant of their rights and powerless to advocate for them. (eg out of school and economically exploited children).
7. Discrimination did not feature as a concern amongst young people, though many adolescents were aware of the exploitation of some children, such as those out of school or performing inappropriate tasks or leaving home prematurely to work in towns.

B Education and Health

School was overwhelmingly *the* key priority for youth, both giving a sense of purpose and seen as the way to secure a future. Focus group dynamics clearly showed the impact of schooling, where those who were in school and those out of school within the same age group had markedly different 'visions' and abilities to express themselves. The difference between those in school and those out of school, in terms of life experiences, can be seen most starkly in the 13-15 age group (particularly boys; girls tended to be firmly based around the house at this age or married), where those out of school miss out on this important phase of development. Many of those out of

school, particularly boys, seem withdrawn, detached or demoralized, whilst those still studying (boys and girls) have focus, and those who continue schooling due to their own money-earning have the most committed attitude of all to schooling. In general teachers confirmed that the more disadvantaged are the harder workers.

Girls displayed more consistent knowledge of and concern for health, particularly around preventative measures and the importance of hygiene, linked to a concern about litter, waste and defecation, and clean water. Although health knowledge increases with education, some (particularly girls) with low or no schooling had a sound knowledge of basic health issues, suggesting family-based learning. This method could be used for HIV information but most parents do not teach on this. Even where there was a lot of awareness of HIV, particularly via the radio, participants were not often able to talk openly of AIDS and related illness. Confusion also arises from the fact that many different diseases are the possible result of AIDS. Given this fact, and coupled with other factors such as belief in witchcraft, uneducated parents rejecting the existence of AIDS, the very slow period for the virus to take effect, and sexual taboo, perceptions of AIDS and HIV amongst youth are constructed in highly complex and sometimes inconsistent ways, given the conflicting messages they often hear. Basic general health issues were usually well understood, highlighting the problem youth still have with the issue of HIV.

Key Findings include:

1. Education was a greater factor than location and gender in defining adolescents' confidence and their capabilities to express themselves, form judgements and answer questions critically.
2. Criticisms of school revolved around conditions – lack of roof, food, distance, lack of EP2 (upper secondary school) – rather than qualitative aspects of the education, though language was identified as a problem by some (being taught in Portuguese before they understand it.)
3. By far the main reasons for being out of school were financial means, and distance to the school. For many who cannot continue to EP2 it is a combination of these two reasons.
4. Educational possibilities remain greater for boys than girls, and for those in district capitals than those in rural areas, though the first of these disparities has improved.
5. Completing up to final year of schooling (Grade 12) is far from a guarantee of employment as even at district level formal employment is scarce. Most, particularly in the district capital, are fully aware of this, but still see education as their best hope for a future.
6. Adolescents can be critical of health services: some *curandeiros* (traditional doctors) were discredited for the dishonesty of promising things they cannot achieve to gain money. Young people also complain about the distance they must walk to get to health posts, and the poor attendance they receive; they are aware of their right to health services.

7. Youth are positive about Youth Friendly Health Service and wish them to be replicated and more widely available, particularly in the rural areas. Given the difficulty of talking about HIV in general, they find it helpful to speak in a private counselling environment.

C Problems identified by adolescents

Other than problems already dealt with, such as those relating to participation, financial means, overwork, and aspects of education and health, youth identified other problems, identified here as relating to: personal life, wider social problems and problems relating to services and general living conditions.

Personal problems that some were experiencing included: being hit at home, parents breaking up, and sexually transmitted diseases. Some out of school youth talked of severe hunger and the literal problem of survival. Many went without certain meals and were hungry at school.

Wider social problems identified included early marriage (as young as 13), and lack of male responsibility after pregnancy. Early pregnancy and marriage was more prevalent in the rural centres and were certainly a greater identified concern for youth than HIV. The drinking and drug smoking of 'older youth' were seen as social problems, along with their destructive consequences of verbal abuse or violence. Crime (usually small scale, but sometimes violent) also seemed to be a constant threat and fear for many young people across the age and gender groups, particularly in Nhamathanda.

Adolescents were aware of the impact of lack of services such as transport, adequate water sources, electricity, as well as the problems arising from having no latrines, such as defecation in the open air. Particularly poignant for adolescents, though, was the lack of any facilities for youth, (except in the district capital where these usually belonged to a secondary school) and the state of public facilities such as 'children's parks' and 'clubs' that were derelict or misused, or sold to private buyers.

Key findings include:

1. Also identified at a community level was consistent social force of witchcraft and the 'jealousies' and feuds that often caused it, particularly in Sofala and Tete. This area was directly linked to HIV, as the witchcraft was often believed to be the reason for chronic terminal illness.
2. Many youth saw going out at night as dangerous, and the threat of 'bandidos' (robbers) was a constant concern, even in rural areas (although less so).
3. A major identified problem was sexual abuse at school. Two groups of girls in different locations spoke of teachers forcing them to have sex by threatening to fail them. It is not possible to draw wider conclusions of the exact extent of it, but it is not a rare occurrence. Other findings are that, according to youth, where the school Principal is involved it is endemic (almost all male teachers involved) but where the Principal is vigilant and 'strict', and where there is involvement of parents in the life

of the school, it is not a serious problem. Some teachers admitted that it was a problem. There is a severe lack of any 'reporting' mechanism.

D The place of adolescents in the wider community and society

The adults we spoke to were all to some extent gatekeepers and stakeholders and along with the adolescents, they saw a great potential and need to improve communication and shared vision between youth and adults. Adult perspectives varied according to stakeholder position in relation to youth, but certain patterns were consistent. There was widespread unease about adolescents and youth of the 'current generation', with differing levels of sympathy for the challenges faced by youth. Some religious leaders and elder community members were the most critical, whilst those with more close contact with youth and who were younger themselves tended to see the problems associated with adolescence in a much sympathetic way. The biggest issues highlighted by adults were unemployment, lack of secondary schooling for the majority, sexual risk, lack of initiative and patience, Western or 'modern' influences that undermine traditional norms and values, and the temptation to drugs and alcohol born from idleness and desperation.

Some youth activities were being undertaken by Mozambican "youth associations" and these tended to be quite strong at provincial level, weaker at district level and non-existent in the rural centres. Associations face many problems: weak capacity from the point of formation; lack of well-defined aims; minimal financial resources; lack of training in activities or in financial management; lack of transport leading to low coverage; hierarchy struggles; and a weak spirit of 'volunteerism'. Associations tend to be focussed on youth in the oldest age category (16-18) and above, but often are the only structured way, apart from churches and some sports teams, in which adolescents may be introduced to activities or to a 'group' that has grown up from within the community. Examples of existing activities were: supporting OVC, awareness-raising around alcohol/prostitution issues, HIV education and basic skills training. A popular method/activity was drama and theatre, as well as speeches.

Youth association representatives believe that they are in a good position to help address local issues but are not often funded or supported in other ways (eg training). Whilst they understand that some associations set a bad example, through mismanagement of funds or poor implementation, many call for a greater 'partnership' with donor agencies, so as to join together local and NGO priorities and objectives. Young people themselves also lament the fact that groups do not exist for their involvement and learning. Although they accept some of the traits of adolescent behaviour, they would welcome opportunities for alternative focus and lifestyle.

Key Findings include:

1. Activists in NGO peer education programmes tend to take on, formally or informally, other responsibility in the community due to their skills and capacity. The general social capital within the school or community is increased through the involvement of individuals in externally initiated projects and this capital can be harnessed in locally driven initiatives or new projects in the locations.

2. Younger adults (activists, football coaches, youth-project staff, youth association members) were a catalyst for adult-youth communication and co-operation, and their skills and role as mediators in this task could be further exploited.

E Conclusions from Findings

This report marks another step towards furthering partnerships that will respond to the growing needs of youth, not only around issues of sexual health, but in response to their desire for support and guidance, access to ongoing education, training in skills, improved security, facilities, sporting and leisure activities, and general participation in their communities and in their country's future.

It has highlighted the capacity amongst youth, enhanced always through continued education, to think about the future as well as the present, something not always easy during adolescence. Youth need much support, both to find their voice and to become proactive in the struggle today for the future tomorrow. Many perceptions of youth bear witness to the negative aspects of youth, such as a decline in morals and respect for traditional culture, but in discussion, many youth wish to remain faithful to their traditions whilst also responding to and creating change.

A 'gulf' of understanding and a communication 'block' often exist between the elders and youth, but findings point to willingness amongst youth and elders (sometimes mediated by 'maturer' younger adults such as 'activists') to listen, negotiate and collaborate, much more than at present. In this way, youth can learn from the wisdom of their elders whilst those elders begin to see the youth as members of society, active in the development of the country and their own futures.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1 UNICEF Supported Projects – Existing projects and potential for others

Youth Friendly Health Services should be scaled up and made accessible to rural areas away from the district centre - perhaps initially by health professionals visiting localidades once per fortnight, if opening of more centres is not possible. The child sanitation committees, children's radio, and the peer-education techniques are all based on solid reality of youth – children enjoy communicating to and with their peers, they are concerned for sanitation issues, they hear most of their non-school 'information' from the radio.

Those already trained in projects such as My Future is My Choice (MFME) have a capacity that can be used both for wider activities and for the training others. MFME activists, for example, are already used in national celebration days for 'presenting', for example, a drama. They are seen as responsible and 'skilled' and can be (and are already being) used as community resources.

Potential for new projects might be around **restoration and maintenance of radios**, a lifeline for adolescents' "right to information", and more often broken than functioning at rural level. A 'radio clinic' or 'battery re-charging project' may be possibilities. The first of these would involve using local skilled electricians to train others and/or mend broken radios so that rural people have access to information. The

second would use a simple but inaccessible technology (rechargeable batteries) to power radios. There exists a solar powered charger for standard AA batteries (which power most small electrical appliances).

Other projects could emerge from the recommendations below, possibly through partnerships, particularly with MJD or CNJ and their provincial and district representatives.

2 Adult-youth co-operation and demonstrating youth potential

There is a great need for promoting a ‘culture of co-operation’ at community level between youth and adults. Until the suspicion and mistrust between generations is alleviated, possibilities for much needed collaboration will be difficult. In this endeavour there is potential for youth associations, churches, school projects, initiatives by activists, and NGO-supported projects all to ‘demonstrate’ the responsibility that some youth can take on when given the opportunity. The more that responsible participation can be seen by adults, the more adults will seek ways to integrate youth.

Develop use of methodologies and project design encouraging more inter-generational (youth-adult) communication and collaboration, and youth participation, such as approaches to combating HIV, (eg ‘Stepping Stones’), rural micro-projects (such as small scale agricultural enterprise), youth association community activities (eg campaign against alcoholism), and other initiatives born out of these recommendations as well as existing projects. Improved partnership and co-operation between adults and adolescents/youth were seen as a positive possibility by a large section of adult and youth participants. A fuller “Youth Participation Strategy” (UNICEF, or MJD) would help with this objective.

3 Project planning for ‘groups’ of adolescents and youth

When working with ‘adolescents’/‘children’/‘youth’ (terms which are already not clearly defined categories) it is helpful to be clear on circumstances as well as age-group in project design. Youth are sometimes only distinguished by age groups or ‘out of school/ in school’ but there are many other distinguishing features of child and adolescent life. Identifying, locating and engaging with certain ‘groups’ will increasingly be the way to effectively provide support to the youth that most need it, otherwise strategies will largely continue to cover only ‘accessible’ youth. Some categories would be: adolescents heading households, youth caring for sick adults, children who have suffered abuse or neglect, young married girls, adolescents living with relatives after being orphaned, or adolescents that are overworked.

In order not to jeopardize the general need for an ‘inclusive’ approach aimed toward ‘ownership’ at community level, the objective of any work or project should be fully clarified with community leaders and adults.

4 District level adult capacity building

There is a need to focus on skills and capacity development at district level, and avoid a concentration only on provincial staff, where it is often failing to ‘cascade’ down to

district level and beyond. Be prepared for this to not be as easy to plan, or to administer, but it will be more effective in the long run. Logistical, motivational and capacity constraints mean that at district level there is a generally low level of capacity even amongst adults, and yet this capacity is much needed for any rural problems to be effectively addressed.

5 Education and skills development

Even if UNICEF is not in a position to implement skills training, the need for it was a major finding from this study. Adults and youth highlighted the need for further skills training and there were many positive testimonies of the outcomes of such training for any who did manage to gain a professional, income generating skill. This could form part of a partnership with government and take higher profile as an advocacy issue for non-formal skills education by a range of community level providers.

The education syllabus could be revisited with a view to incorporating more specific guidelines on 'rights' of adolescents (and all children), taken from the CRC and made accessible in a country context. Integration of HIV into the syllabus is already underway and must continue with the swiftest timescale possible.

The ministry of agriculture should consider the integration of a specific youth focus in its long-term plans. Youth are disillusioned with agriculture and see it as a something 'from the past', representing a life of subsistence from which they wish to escape. However, when presented with the option of micro-agriculture or farming, for income generation, they are far more open. Given the vast riches of Mozambique's land, coupled with the lack of possibility of significantly raising employment opportunities in the short term, this should be an area of key priority for the government.

6 Youth facilities, groups and activities

Youth 'spaces', initiatives and groups at district centre level and rural level are required, and this will need both advocacy to local administration, and financial support from NGOs in setting up small pilot centres, for recreation, learning and safe socializing, particularly for the 15-18 age group. These groupings could also be encouraged to support some income generating activities.

Rural sport, although a focus in the Chokwe declaration, has not developed generally. There are some organised football teams that would be a good place to begin support, with the provision and monitoring of 'community footballs' that could be used by a number of teams and 'owned' at the rural sports level, even at the level of the localidade.

7 Monitoring of youth associations

'Monitoring' is needed of youth associations to see which have most potential to be financially supported to provide youth-focussed support or activities. Problems faced by youth associations mean that many are too weak to be very effective, and may waste valuable resources, whilst other stronger ones may be able to provide a key role in encouraging some of the things most needed by youth – skills training, safe places, recreational activities, voluntary community activities, and awareness raising about

risks such as HIV and the destructive effects of alcohol. Reliance should not only be merely on production of 'paper credentials', such as written proposals, but on some kind of relationship with the individuals concerned and partnership between donor/NGO and association.

8 A national response to the sexual abuse of girls in school (in an age of HIV)

A national response is needed to the problem of girls abuse in schools. As an initiation of this response, UNICEF needs to pull together up to date studies on this area in Mozambique, of which Save the Children, Norway are currently completing one, and form partnerships with NGOs working in the specific areas of education and child protection, to look at possible collaborative strategies. These may include; dialogue with the Ministry of Education; campaign on sexual exploitation in schools; seeking support from professional teaching associations; strengthening parent-teacher bodies and processes of redress for parental grievances; drawing on particular provincial experience where it exists; targeting, through careful strategies, the particular schools concerned, in any initiatives. Both directives and disapproval on this issue must come from the top.

POSSIBLE FURTHER WORK

Certain interesting areas emerged which would benefit from more particular study, either in the specific geographical area, or else with certain specific groups of youth over a sustained period. These areas are: constructions of youth identity, developmental patterns (longitudinal – throughout adolescence into adulthood) of sexual practice, pathways to crime, drugs and criminality, reasons for drop out from school, and the areas of daily life and people through which stigma is most propagated, the extent to which parents talk to children about HIV. These will require a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

It would be interesting to look closely at the link the EP 1 syllabus has with the daily problems encountered by the learners, some of which emerged in this study, such as staying secure from danger, how to say no to early sex, and tasks that are inappropriate for children, and helping to keep the local environment hygienic.

I Introduction

1.1 Overall Aim of the Study

This participatory research forms part of a comprehensive “Situation analysis of children and women in Mozambique in 2004”. This document presents an overall analysis, based on the Human Rights Approach to Programming (HRAP) of “The situation of young people” within the wider situation analysis. It presents the situation of young people in all areas related to their rights, in order to allow UNICEF, Government and NGO partners to:

- Develop programming to support young people, especially those more vulnerable and out of school
- Assist communities to identify the current situation of young people and monitor their wellbeing
- Disseminate information on the situation of young people
- Advocate and influence youth related policies and programme development of NGOs, CBOs, FBOs and government organizations.

1.2 Specific research questions

The Terms of Reference refer particularly to “how to translate manifestations of violations of children’s and women’s rights into concrete claim-holder/duty-bearer relationships, in order to assess why they do not work and to reach an agreement on how to improve the situation within the context of the programme.”¹

This stands as the wider ‘research question’, but other research questions are also implicit:

- 1 What is the current situation of young people in Mozambique, particularly for the most vulnerable?
- 2 How can projects, partnerships and strategies be developed that will respond to this situation?

1.3 Overall approach of the research

1.3.1 Researching ‘Youth’

In the general body of research on youth, it is noted that researching ‘youth’ poses conceptual, methodological, and ethical challenges. As a category, ‘youth’ tend to be either ‘problematized’ or ‘idealized’. In the first paradigm, youth ‘as a social problem’ are conceived ‘within a deficit model where youth are seen as bad’² whereas the second conception is characterized by a nostalgic vision of an ‘exaggeration of virtues’³. It is important to safeguard against these extremes in

¹ “Outcome Document. Second Global Consultation on HRBAP” Quito, 21-24 September 2003, Internal document, UNICEF

² Alan France, “Young People”,

³ Adolescence in Latina America and the Carribean, 2001, UNICEF,: p10

seeking to represent the situation of young people. Crucial also to a consideration of the category of ‘youth’ or of ‘adolescence’ is that it is a *relational* category – youth or adolescents are defined ‘in relation to’ other life stages and groups of people. In this study we have accessed a range of adult participants as well as youth, to offer insights related to the various ‘constructions’ of youth.

Traditionally, research has been done *on* young people and not *with* young people. This conception of treating young people as ‘objects’ of research has more recently been challenged as researchers pay more attention to the need to listen, and see youth as ‘competent and reliable witnesses to their own lives’⁴. When we recognise children as ‘social subjects’ rather than ‘objects’ of study, they can start to give insight into the complex world of what it means to be an adolescent. In line with such a paradigm, this report is built on **participatory research** done with young people. This means that youth themselves were invited to offer responses to topics and to express thoughts and views on the areas of life that were of most relevance to them. As previously stated, a range of ‘key informant’ adults was also consulted as to their thoughts and views on various aspects of youth.

Important also to researching youth is an awareness of the *cultural and historic context* of what it means to be young⁵, and so, in Mozambique we must expect unique aspects to emerge. Furthermore, despite applying the standards of a universal and cross-cultural conception of ‘rights’, we must remember that ‘Western dominant thinking’ on the developmental stages of childhood may not always apply to ‘real-life childhood of the majority world’⁶. It is also vital to remember that the production of a ‘voice’ of youth is an interpretative process involving interaction between the researcher and the researched and it is impossible to separate out the voice from the influence of the researcher who designs questions, analyses data, and produces the report. “To see ‘giving voice’ to youth as valueless project is to deny the politics of doing research.”⁷

1.3.2 A ‘Rights-based’ Approach

The analysis of data was conducted through a ‘**rights-based**’ framework, based on “a comprehensive assessment of the rights of all children, and follows the following sequence:

1. *Causality Analysis*
2. *Role/Pattern Analysis*
3. *Capacity Analysis*
4. *Identification of actions to address the capacity gaps*
5. *Programme Formulation*

The first stage represents an analysis of the rights that are being violated (or in danger of being violated) and the causes of these possible violations. The second stage looks

⁴ France, A. ‘Young People’ in ‘Doing Research with Young People’, Open University, 2001

⁵ Pilcher. “Age and generation in Modern Britain”, Oxford University Press

⁶ Nieuwenhuys, O. “Participatory Action Research in the Majority World”, in ‘Doing Research with Young People’, Open University, 2001

⁷ Clough, 2002. “Narratives and Fictions in Educational Research”, Buckingham, Open University Press

at *who* can be seen as responsible for these violations in terms of ‘duty-bearers’, in this case specifically towards youth. The third stage analyses the key ‘gaps’ in the capacity of these actors, which render them unable to fulfil those roles as duty-bearers to youth. The process moves on to identify, in stage 4, actions that need to be taken to address these capacity gaps. These actions will vary qualitatively, but are brought together in stage 5 to form ‘project’ ideas and ‘programme formulation’. These will appear in the Recommendations of this report.

1.4 Youth and Adolescence in Mozambique

1.4.1 Recent History

Despite making significant progress in the last decade, Mozambique remains one of the poorest countries of the world, lying 171st of 177 countries in the Human Development Index. Devastated by a 16-year civil war, in 1994 the country was left with the legacy of a weak infrastructure, decimated fauna, huge dislocation of people groups and families, dangerously mined areas and a feeble economy. During this time there existed huge problems of lack of access to health care (most health posts were destroyed), very low levels of literacy and education, (especially for girls) and hugely high unemployment rates.

Within the context of this background the road to ‘rebuild’ the country during peacetime has been a major challenge and it is important not to conclude that setbacks and huge obstacles negate the progress that has been made. The proportion of the population living below the poverty line fell from 69% in 1997 to 54% in 2003, with generally higher levels of poverty in rural areas throughout this period.⁸ Although some development indicators have improved, “poverty remains deep in rural areas where the vast majority of inhabitants live” (Sitan Update), which is significant in a study focussing not on urban, but on rural experience. The situation faced in terms of access to services is still discouraging. 58% of the urban population has access to safe drinking water, whilst only 26% of rural households have this access. Only 45% of the population has sanitary means of excreta disposal.

1.4.2 Young People in Mozambique

Mozambique’s tumultuous history has affected young people in many different ways, depending both on their geographic location and socio-economic status. The years of reform and democracy from 1992 are the years that have dominated their lives, whilst the violence that consumed many parts of the country prior to that forms a major part of the memory of the adult population, as do the numerous family dislocations that ensued from it. The lack of education of large numbers of the adult population may be linked to the rift evident between youth and adults outlined as part of this study’s findings.

Though specific figures are not available, the youth in Mozambique who fall within the age range 11-18 of this study make up around 20% of the population. There is not a large amount of systematic research specifically on adolescents and youth in Mozambique. Existing data relating to youth tends to be focused on sexual health and

⁸ Summary update of the Situation of Children and Women, Feb 2005

is usually quantitative in nature. There is no study that attempts to look at this particular age group of 11-18. Statistics and information, however, do exist of direct relevance to the issues emerging in the study.

A net increase in school attendance has been welcome, but is now stretching classroom and teacher capacity (larger classes and more unqualified Primary teachers). Although gains have been made in the area of girls' education, girls remain disadvantaged with regard to education. Despite a closing of the gender gap in enrolment, most recent statistics show that 15% of girls do not enrol in school, compared with boys' 10% and EP1 completion rate as 32% compared with 48% for boys. There is a further sharpening of the division in poorer families where boys are chosen over girls to attend school (Sitan update). Despite an increase in completion of EP1 from 22% to 40% over 1997-2003, the goal of EFA by 2015 still seems a long way off with 60% of children leaving education before grade 5 and net attendance in rural areas 20% lower than in urban areas. Reasons for leaving school are principally costs (30%), followed by lack of perceived 'need' for schooling (28%) and then distance (11%), whilst pregnancy accounts for only 2%, all according the QUIBB study. Dissatisfaction with school was noted by about half the participants in the same study, and related almost entirely to physical conditions and books. Physical conditions were also the most evident in this current study in terms of 'negative' aspects of schooling.

Given the huge current risk posed to youth by HIV, a great many studies and projects have attempted to combat the spread of the disease amongst youth. However, despite basic knowledge that HIV exists, important knowledge of how to avoid infection still continues to be illusive, particularly in rural areas. Over half of all women, according to the DHS, do not know two ways to protect themselves from HIV infection, despite almost universal knowledge that the disease AIDS exists, and the figures are higher for rural areas. This ignorance persists in a context of fast increasing infection rates. Furthermore, in our study's upper age group (15-19) the prevalence of HIV in girls is three times higher than it is for boys, demonstrating the acute gender differential in adolescent infections. Also relevant to our study, half of the people living with HIV in the country, live in Manica, Sofala, Tete and Zambezia (4 of the 5 provinces in our study).

The evaluation of the UNICEF programme, My Future is My Choice (MFME), offers as its key hypothesis, that behaviour change cannot easily be affected because of incongruent perceptions and messages around sexual health, with the strongest ones coming from the home and local community that largely contradict the educational messages. This notion of 'swimming against the tide' in HIV education, and the importance of conscientizing *adults* who surround the youth – parents, teachers, and local leaders – is one backed up by findings in this current study also. A number of aspects of youth sexuality were usefully identified in the INJAD study, which confirms the interest young people have in learning about HIV, particularly in school, and noting that most of them originally hear about it through the radio, also supported by this study's findings.

Linked to the onset of HIV, though not entirely caused by it, is the increased number of orphaned children. Due to the over-stretching of coping mechanisms, the extended

family 'safety net' is often reaching breaking point, and particularly maternal orphans are becoming increasingly vulnerable.⁹

Nationally, approximately one quarter of all women represented in the older age group of our study (15-18) have had a child (DHS), with rural and poorer women giving birth at an earlier age than twenty years previously. The current study adds qualitative data that offers greater understanding on this increased pattern of early childbirth and marriage in some poorer geographical areas.

The UNESCO study, "Activities, Aspirations and Perceptions of Mozambican Youth" offers interesting perspectives on the views of youth across a range of topics, through the use of a questionnaire. Investigating one urban site, one peri-urban site (bairro) and one rural site (district), it highlights the enormous difference in informal sector activity between the urban area (10%) and the rural district (83%, mainly agriculture) and shows a much higher proportion of young people contributing to household income in rural areas. The perception of unemployment as both a 'priority' area and a 'problem' for youth across all areas, and the desire for training in important skills, are both echoed by the youth in this current UNICEF study. General pastimes, as also supported in the current study's findings, revolve around 'passear'ing, listening to the radio and 'reading school books'. The current study takes the urban-rural investigation one step further, however, by differentiating between the a rural 'Vila Sede' (small town at the centre of a district) and the life in 'localidades' (small villages centres of more rural areas).

In recent years the issue of 'youth' has become a subject of higher priority at the level of both government and partners, with two landmarks that bear testimony to this being the Chokwe Declaration and two 'Children's Parliaments'. In 2002 a "National Meeting of Youth" in Chokwe 'marked a new era of force from our youth in finding effective mechanisms from their ideas and initiative for the consolidation of peace, democracy and development.'¹⁰ The "**Chokwe Declaration**" that emerged from this national meeting, though not used to strictly define any operational plan, can be seen as a broad framework for action around youth (defined as aged 15-35). The declaration highlights, amongst a great many other things, the need for a focus on rural sport (section 9), small-scale agricultural or fishing production through youth co-operatives (section 5), development of low cost social activities and social integration of out of school youth (section 6). All of these are objectives come out strongly in this report. The declaration represents a continued challenge for all those seeking to prioritise the difficulties faced by youth in the country. The children's parliament, whilst limited in its scope and representation of the whole country, highlighted the need to listen to the views of young people at national level, though its ongoing place in the country's democratic processes is still developing.

Despite information on youth in the country, there are still gaps in the systematic study of this age group (11-18) of Mozambique's population, particularly in the rural areas, and particularly through qualitative means. Whilst from many sources there is growing insight into the area of 'HIV, sexuality and youth', these do not situate

⁹ Refer also to two recent UNICEF studies OVC and on 'coping mechanisms'

¹⁰ Foreword to Chokwe declaration, 2002. Ministry of Youth and Sport

findings about the *sexual* aspect of their lives within a framework of *more general* life experience, perceptions and aspirations.

It is therefore into this space that the current study is placed, seeking to focus in a qualitative way on adolescents in Mozambique, from the basis of young people's own experience and views on their own lives and wider society in Mozambique.

II Methodology

2.1 Development of Research Design

2.1.1 Sites

The five provincial locations were: Xai Xai, Manica, Gondola, Nicoadala and Nhamathanda. In order to give a fuller picture of life for young people it was decided that ‘localidades’ accessible from these locations, would also be sites of the study. A ‘localidade’ about 45 minutes drive from each of these towns was thus chosen for each province. It was important that this localidade was not on the major road but into the *interior* so as to have rural attributes. Collectively the sites chosen reflect the reality of youth in Mozambique for the majority of young people.

The project fieldwork took place in *two Phases*. In the first Phase a ‘localidade’ was used as a research site for half of the week in each location and the Vila sede for the other half. Hence, **Phase I** of the research took place in six locations. **Phase II** took place in **two** further locations, but this time spending *one full week* in a Vila Sede (Changara) and one full week in a Localidade (Pindanganga).

2.1.2 Qualitative Tools

The main qualitative tools that were used are often seen as the bedrock of qualitative research – *focus groups* and *individual interviews* - and these were supported by *participatory methods and tools*.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were conducted in places familiar to the participants. To have girls and boys together in a group was seen as a potential problem in that girls may not be given the chance to speak as much. Hence to a large extent they were separated, allowing us to draw out more clearly gender differences in the analysis. It was not possible to maintain a completely controlled or uniform sample type within the focus groups, outside of gender and age categories. Local adults selecting the adolescents were asked to make sure they were not all ‘connected’ through being in the same class/ a project/ one neighbourhood. Each focus group lasted between one and two hours. Noted in the following grid are the numbers of groups (4-8 participants in each group). In each site an almost identical number of boys and girls were interviewed. **Total sample: 240 adolescents.**

	<i>(Province)</i>	<i>Vila Sede</i>	<i>No. of groups</i>	<i>Localidade</i>	<i>No. of groups</i>
Pre-tests	Maputo	Moamba	6	Pessene	6
Phase I	Gaza	Marien Gwabi	6	Vladimir Lenin	6
	Zambezia	Nicoadala	6	Mucelo Novo	8
	Sofala	Nhamathanda	7	Metuchire	7
Phase II	Manica	(Gondola)	3	Pindanganga	6
	Tete	Changara	6	-	-

The following were the primary areas of discussion developed through the field tests:

Areas of focus in Phase I	Areas of focus in Phase II
A) General – Priorities and problems B) Places C) Activities D) Living conditions/ environment E) Services (general) F) Education G) Health H) Rights I) Participation J) Communication K) Organizations L) Aspirations M) Gender relations/ friendship N) Culture/ society O) Possible Solutions	- Effect of immediate environment on youth - Importance of culture and identity - Associations/ volunteerism - Religion - Causes and solutions - Generational transitions and relationships - Reasons for aspirations - The vision for future/change - Potential of youth -The ‘structures’ at community level and their capacity to empower Also in this phase, more personal interviews (adult and youth), and focus on adults’ perspectives .

In addition to the adolescent focus groups, in each location different adult stakeholders were interviewed, both in small focus groups and in individual interviews. These included project implementers, district administrators, teachers, health professionals and nurses, adult community members, community leaders, curandeiros, religious leaders, activists, young adults, a school boarding house matron and police chief. The total number of adults was 147, of which 48 were in individual or paired interview.

Individual Interviews

Individual interviews provide potential for rich data, including accounts of personal experiences and cross-referencing with other data collected. They were used with adults and with young people, particularly in Phase II, to further develop themes taken up in the focus group discussions. With adult key informants, individual interviews also allowed the researchers to cover a range of relevant topics in a limited time, whilst with young people they enabled us to investigate personal circumstances and experiences.

Participatory Methods

In seeking to listen to children’s own views, perspectives, priorities and experiences, it was important to seek methods through which “children’s ideas and perceptions could be expressed in their own terms without being blocked or misrepresented by the ways adults think and talk.”¹¹ This meant that techniques varied across different groups, according to school level, gender, age, and written or spoken language preferences. Sometimes this meant using techniques that were less dependent on words, for example mapping and drawing, which are termed ‘participatory tools’.

The participatory tools for this work came mainly from ‘PRA methods’¹², but were adapted for use with the age groups concerned in a research context. They included:

¹¹ Boyden and Ennew, 1997, p45

¹² Participatory Rural Appraisal

- ranking activities and collective flipchart 'lists'
- causality analysis using pictures (eg 'problem tree')
- matrices – for analysis of factors/elements/variables and group opinions
- drawing of pictures/diagrams which participants answer questions about
- 'mapping' exercises with a 'key' developed for particular emphases
- a 'walk and talk' in the locality
- post-it note drawings

In the groups, power relations were reduced by using first names, talking informally at times, avoiding sitting in very 'different' positions to them (such as on a chair with the participants sitting on the floor) and working in a space familiar to them.

Other qualitative tools

Observation was used to supplement the information gathered in groups.

Informal/unscheduled interviews and conversations can offer useful insights, and valuable data sometimes arose in this manner.

A *questionnaire* was used to assess the background of the adolescent participants.

2.2 Data Analysis

There came certain moments in discussions around more personal areas such as sex, or around illness and death, where either embarrassment or emotional and moral content influenced and sometimes inhibited discussion. This had to be taken into account in the analysis of 'irregularities' in data as did presence or absence of adults or members of the opposite gender when an adolescent was speaking, for example.

The types of data: observation notes, complete flip charts, transcriptions from group and individual interviews (actual quotations and group dynamics), notes made during the sessions, and discussions with other facilitators. Much data related to the same sessions: notes, observation, flipchart and recordings, increasing validity of findings.

Process of data analysis:

A) The researcher **collated** all the data from these sources in 'phases', and placed it into a large summarised grid

B) The summary grid and original transcripts were '**coded**' in order to develop the key categories, which were developed into findings, differentiated by age, gender and location.

C) HRAP **analysis** was begun leading to the most important issues relating to rights of children. This HRBAP analysis led to the recommendations for programming, advocacy and partnerships.

Assessing the 'issues' for youth during the analysis

In a research project, which seeks to investigate youth 'issues', it is important to find ways to access those 'issues'. Most young people in rural areas in Mozambique are not used to having their concerns and perspectives considered. The priorities of the children, adolescents and youth were assessed in several ways:

- i) group interviews began 'openly' by asking youth about positive and negative aspects of youth, so they could begin talking about their main worries, problems and priorities
- ii) many groups were asked to 'rank' issues
- iii) some topics emerged within more than once
- iv) issues that young people *couldn't* talk about also relevant
- vi) attention was paid to tone of voice, repetitions, silences and contradictions of other group members to re-assess the major themes and concerns.

III Findings

3.1 Site Profiles

These site profiles display firstly statistical data available (DHS) on the five sites, followed by general findings and observations from the research fieldwork.

<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Nicoadala (Zambezia)</i>	<i>Changara (Tete)</i>	<i>Gondola (Manica)</i>	<i>Nhamatanda (Sofala)</i>	<i>Xai-Xai (Gaza)</i>
Percentage of households with access to electricity	0.1%	1.5%	2.4%	2.9%	4.6%
Percentage of households owning a radio	36%	39%	68%	71%	46%
Percentage of households using safe drinking water	17%	51%	30%	20%	51%
Percentage of households spending more than 30 minutes to fetch water at the nearest water source	52%	65%	23%	60%	57%
Percentage of households using sanitary means of excreta disposal	0.4%	5%	7%	2%	10%
Net primary school attendance rate (EP1 and EP2) among 6-12 years old	63% (Girls: 61%; Boys: 66%)	73% (Girls: 70%; Boys: 78%)	75% (Girls: 74%; Boys: 78%)	70% (Girls: 62%; Boys: 76%)	86% (Girls: 86%; Boys: 86%)
Illiteracy rate among total population 12 years old and above	61%	55%	45%	61%	44%
Childbirth care (percentage of birth attended by skilled health personnel)	60%	34%	52%	43%	53%
Percentage of women who had sex before reaching 15 years of age	26%	17%	33%	24%	13%
Percentage of women 12-24 years of age who used a condom during the first sexual relation	2%	6%	1%	1%	2%
Percentage of children under 18 years of age who own a poverty certificate	0.1%	0.1%	0%	0.2%	0.6%
Percentage of children under 18 years of age who are orphaned of mother	5%	4%	6%	7%	5%
Percentage of children under 18 years of age who are orphaned of father	9%	11%	11%	13%	13%
Percentage of children under 18 years of age who are orphaned of both parents	2%	2%	3%	3%	2%

Marien Gwabi (bairro of Xai Xai city)

Marien Gwabi is one of the poorer bairros of Xai Xai district. It has a health post, and local administration, and a small prison. There is little industry there, but during our visit construction was going on next to the administration building, and participants spoke of this as work that many men wanted. This site was unique in its proximity to

the provincial capital. Interestingly, this seemed to make adults and older youth more dissatisfied with life there, as they compared themselves to others with better prospects. Of the Vila Sede sites this one seemed to exhibit most deprivation.

Vladimir Lenin (45 minutes drive from Xai Xai)

A significant mark of Vladimir Lenin was its well-organised and welcoming local representatives, who organised the groups well and showed interest throughout. Significant, demographically, was the work in the mines of South Africa. When they return in December, this changes the daily pattern of the town. There is more activity, more money around, less security for young people (particularly girls) and sadly many commented on disappearances of young people at this time.

Nicoadala District (Zambezia province)

Nicoadala is on a main transport route from Quelimane, ensuring constant trade possibilities but bringing increased vulnerability, especially for girls. There was also a very severe problem of abuse of girls by teachers. (see Findings 3.5.2) Some youth spoke of breakdown of traditional values as important. Here girls and boys mentioned the practice of organ trafficking, which carried with it a great deal of fear. Nicoadala is one of the poorest of the 5 districts considered in the study, by indicators such as

Mucelo Novo (half an hour's drive from Nicoadala)

The primary school in this location had been receiving food from the WFP for some time which meant that a higher proportion of girls were at school than previously. Agricultural work was key to family life but for some the machambas were up to four hours walk away. One of the most evident factors in the rural poverty here was transport, as there was no 'chapa' service from the Vila Sede.

Nhamathanda (Sofala)

Nhamathanda is a large town on the Beira corridor that has historically grown up around very little commercial activity, and is one of the more deprived of Mozambique's middle sized towns. Nhamathanda has a similar characteristic to Nicoadala and Xai Xai in terms of being on a very main transport route. People in Nhamathanda have a particularly strong traditional belief system. 'The town also suffers from relatively high crime, and was one of the only site where the issue of community police was discussed – used as a way of supplementing local police, but without convincing success. In terms of services there is a well-equipped hospital, which has to serve a very wide rural range outside of Nhamathanda, a number of primary schools and one secondary school up to 10th class. There are also a number of social projects such as orphanages, and a very large open football pitch/area.

Metuchire (half an hour by car from Nhamathanda)

Metuchire is a larger localidade connected to Nhamathanda by an unsealed secondary road, which has local transport in the form of trucks (rather than minibus taxis). It is in very poor condition in the rainy season but in general is accessible. There is no formal employment beyond the few jobs within administration of local services.

There used to be extensive agricultural production but the last remaining large company closed 2 years ago when it. In recent months another has begun, but this is struggling and paying very low wages. There is a lot of maize grown, and a number of small mills in the locality providing some small business for a few, along with some small market trading. There are some social organisations linked to the State, but these find difficulty with limited resources in covering what is actually quite a large geographical area.

Pindanganga (45 minutes from Gondola)

Pindanganga is a localidade pertaining to Amatonga administrative post, within the district of Gondola in Manica province. It has two EP1 schools but no EP 2 school, the nearest of which is in Chipindaume, some 30 minutes away by car, and children from Pindanganga can only study there if they live there during the week, because of limitations of transport. The area has a lot of agricultural production and there are two examples of agricultural initiatives in the area. There are no youth 'associations' but some informal football teams. One activist from MFME resides there. He has Grade 8 (first year of Secondary), which was the most advanced level of schooling we found, but no longer studies. The president of the localidade is 35 and has just begun grade 8 night school in Gondola. He cycles there (2-3 hours) and has to stay overnight. His office is a small wooden table inside a derelict colonial concrete structure. The centre of the localidade is marked by a small board displaying two official documents from the localidade. There is also a traditional 'regalo' (chief) and an informal market selling fresh produce, very basic 'traded' food such as cooking oil, and capulanas. Gondola, the district Vila Sede is on the 'Beira Corridor' and has a higher level of early sexual activity than other districts.

Changara

Changara is a town one hour from Tete capital and is in the heart of fertile producing land. The main problem in terms of agricultural production is the inconsistency of rains and dry periods, but the land supports a range of produce including the more marketable peanut. It is on a main national road and contains a junction that is the hub of the 'Tete corridor', going off to Malawi, Zimbabwe and to the north and south of Mozambique. This area of the town is very busy, with many sellers, and according to several informants a centre for sex work in the evenings. Changara has a secondary school and a hospital. The secondary school also caters for people from outside the province, and some adults complain that there are not the places for those from Changara. A second students' accommodation has been built by the Catholic Church to support the State ones. The aim, according to the priest, was to give more opportunity to those with fewer means, to study at secondary level.

Site Considerations

It is worth noting, that in relative terms the Vilas Sede we researched in are likely to have *more possibilities* for trade ('negocio'/'business') than others, given that they are all on 'corridors' and main transport routes. Also important is that many of the aspects of deep rural poverty, (such as children who cannot study because of extreme distance from any school), were not accessible directly. Many such areas are not even accessible by vehicle.

Our **access** to the sites and participants was achieved through collaboration with Ministry of Youth at provincial and district level, as well as through UNICEF or other projects, where these existed. MFME was present in Nicoadala, Nhamthanda and Gondola. The project Geracao Biz (UNFPA) is run in Changara.

3.2 Daily Routine and activities

The daily routine varies across gender, age, location and school attendance. What is consistent is that young people and adolescents in all locations help with daily **family and household tasks**. Outside of school time, young people clean the house, help to cook, fetch water, look after siblings, help when someone is sick. Many use what time and skills they have to try to add to household income in money or in food production. **Boys** and **girls** are assigned different tasks with tendency for boys to do more physical tasks like cutting wood and girls more home-based tasks around cooking and cleaning, though boys and girls both help carry water. *Age* and *number of healthy siblings and parents* are also big factors in who does which tasks. If there is no older male for example, and the father has died, a boy may engage in some very tough tasks. Those who are out of school normally have a wider array of tasks to do, and this is sometimes the reason why they are out of school.

Out of school Girls 16-18
Vladimir Lenin
(Localidade)
Daily Routine
 5:00 Go to the machamba
 11:00 Prepare refreshment
 12:00 Eat lunch
 13:00 Rest
 14:00 Grind maize
 14:45 Fetch water
 15:30 Cook for meal
 18:00 Wash
 19:00 Eat meal
 20:00 Sleep
In free time: talk with friends, skip, style their hair

In the localidade boys and girls help in the machamba from about age 14. In the *Vila Sede* the machamba features less in family life, though many still helped.

The actual sequence of tasks and activities in a day depends a great deal on school timetable and whether a child studies at all. Some complain saying the tasks are too many, long or hard, or that the distances to fetch water or to the machamba are too great. However, helping the family is also a source of pride. **Girls** are required from a young age to be child carers, with even children from 3 or 5 caring for younger toddlers. It is normal in a *localidade* for all the young children to be left with a child of around 7 or 8, while the older members, including adolescents, work in the *machamba*,

which can be for up to half a day. One 15 year-old girl in Changara was left for 2 weeks at a time with her younger siblings while her parents went to the machamba which was very distant.

For boys, activities get more physically demanding as they get older. Boys in Pindanganga referred to building of houses or stalls, and cutting wood as ‘older boys’ tasks, whereas making a trap for rats, for example, is for younger boys. In Changara it is far more common than in other places for children to herd cattle, and this is a common cause for not attending school.

Many of the **older age group** of boys do some kind of **work for money** (*‘biscato’*) so many of the household chores are done by younger siblings or girls. Girls do this to a lesser degree but many reported that most girls gain some money at times through sexual encounters. A significant proportion of older boys and girls help carry the burden of working in order to get money to keep themselves or siblings at school,

This ties in with other findings such as the huge stated importance of school for young people, and the fact that by far the largest reason for having to leave school is lack of money (see also QUIBB). It is common, particularly from EP 2, for children to have to contribute or even pay entirely for their own schooling expenses. Here the right to education can become dependent on the violation of other rights - the right to freedom from economic and sexual exploitation.

As well as girls exchanging sex for money, boys in two rural locations spoke of doing work that was supposed to be paid, “...*but then it never comes...always he says, ‘ah, next week’, or ‘soon you will get it’, but, agh...he just never gives it...he is just deceiving you.*”

Many spoke of their *‘favourite activity’* as doing homework or studying. This may be because of the high number of physically active tasks in their lives, coupled with the high desire to learn and go to school. When adolescents were not doing school or doing home-linked tasks they generally enjoyed traditional games – “necca” (‘hopscotch’), ‘salta corda’ (skipping over a string) ‘ladrao e policia’ (‘cops and robbers’) and football (girls as well as boys, but to a lesser degree). Some cannot play football because of lack of a ball, but in general balls are made by wrapping plastic bags in string. The time for leisure, play and rest decreases in places of more extreme poverty.

Younger children, especially in rural areas, spend a lot of time in small or large groups, just sitting or standing. [photo] Older children (around 13) like to sit talking. The adolescent group and the older group spoke a lot of ‘passear’ing¹³. Many would ‘like’ to do theatre or sports like basketball, but there are no groups or facilities. In fact, there are very few other ‘sports’ available to the majority of young people apart from football and really none at all in localidades. In general, more organised sports activities revolve around use of school facilities and apart from an area for football these are usually only at secondary schools. Listening to radio was popular but the majority in localidades had radios that were broken or no radio.

Preference of *place* tended to revolve around school, home, and areas where youth relax and socialize, such as the market, football pitch, or church. Girls like to go to the market for pleasure (to see the clothes and items for sale there) and most boys spend time at the football pitch. Many of both sexes go to church. Those who attend church talk about it as helping them in life, particularly in knowing ‘how to behave’. Places that youth did *not* want to go were generally linked to security and darkness - places where ‘bandidos’ (petty criminals) or sexually threatening men. Many would like to leave their location to go to the beach (Xai Xai and Nicoadala both have beaches quite near) or to visit the Vila Sede (from the localidade) but most cannot because of money for transport. Mostly they leave only for family visits. A popular ‘idea’ of a place they would like is a ‘garden’ – somewhere they can relax that has a nice atmosphere.

¹³ It is difficult to translate the sense of the verb to ‘passear’ as it incorporates walking for leisure, but also very much the social aspect of meeting people

3.3 Key aspects of adolescent life

3.3.1 Sexual activity and HIV

The area of adolescent sexuality was hugely problematized by participants, with early initiation of sexual activity, unwanted pregnancy and risk of HIV key elements of the discourse at the level of both youth and adults. Sexual pleasure did not feature as a motivating factor in the way children related their sexual experience, suggesting a certain ‘shame’, culturally, of seeking sexual pleasure as an adolescent, though the older groups and even older youth were able to talk about ‘o sange combine’ (‘the blood combines’) - physical connection of two people - as a key factor in choice of partner.

Girls spoke about the material benefits of certain partners, whilst *boys* talked of ‘aesthetics’ and a ‘nice body’ as important, though there were some characteristics such as ‘faithful’ that both wished for, though boys did not see this as something they needed to be themselves. Some girls talked about sexual behaviour in terms of boys’ conquest over them, and also of sex with teachers to avoid unfair dismissal from school, but did not talk in terms of violence so much as coercion.

In both locations, inhibited groups spoke of 16 as the age that adolescents start to have sex, whereas many more ‘open’ discussions revealed 13 or even earlier as common for first sexual activity, suggesting most first sexual encounters are between these ages. In one adults meeting a woman from the community spoke of ‘pre-pubescent sex’¹⁴ as common, and in another quite remote rural location, curandeiros talked of “sex between all ages, from young ones to old ones”. In many meetings church leaders spoke of sexual behaviour as a major part of the ‘moral’ breakdown they lamented.

Those in the localidade have less access to both knowledge (through activities of MFME) and services (free condoms in the YFHS) in relation to **HIV and AIDS**. Knowledge varied across all sites, partly according to the access they had to information such as MFME programme and a Youth Friendly Health Service.

Even where there was a lot of awareness of HIV, participants were not always able to talk openly of AIDS and related illness. Confusion also arises from the fact that many different diseases are the possible result of AIDS. Given this fact, and coupled with other factors such as belief in witchcraft, uneducated parents rejecting the existence of AIDS, the very slow period for the virus to take effect, and the areas of sexual taboo, perceptions of AIDS and HIV amongst youth are constructed in highly complex and sometimes even contradictory ways. Information from projects cannot completely overcome the contradictory messages at community level.

In one of the discussions in the Vila Sede with the older age group of girls, after offering good knowledge on illnesses in general, one girl continued in her responses on HIV, giving knowledge that she thought that she had received from education.

¹⁴ See also Pattman and Chege, “Finding our voices”, UNICEF, 2003 for discussion on children’s experiences of sexual experimentation

F (Facilitator): Have you heard of HIV or SIDA?
 G (Girl): Yes
 F: Have you had any organizations that work with you about this?
 G: Only in school
 G2 (Girl 2): Geraçao Biz
 F: Ok. There, in that organisation, do they have booklets...to read?
 G2: Yes
 F: So, what is the difference between HIV and AIDS?
 G: We know that...HIV can be cured but SIDA..[pause]..eii, that, that is an illness that..[pause]..ei
 F: HIV can be cured?
 G: It can be cured, yes. It will disappear. But that AIDS...with HIV you can go to hospital its just that AIDS has already affected a lot and the illness can grow..

This level of misunderstanding was not uncommon. In general the dynamics of many groups showed that there is still much ‘debate’ around HIV and that people carry contradictory patterns of thought in their heads at the same time. True *conviction* on the topic is rare and much more evident in ‘activistas’, and hence many seem to take the easiest path of denying the threat. In summary, obstacles to youth response include:

- lack of belief in HIV at community level
- belief that sex with a condom is not pleasurable/ natural
- humour and laughter around ‘eating bananas with skin on’, which psychologically allow one to belittle the threat
- some belief that it has a cure
- adolescent tendency to not think about the future
- not knowing where it comes from leading to skepticism
- invisibility of the virus – the partner doesn’t ‘seem’ to have an infection
- the long period in which the infection takes no effect. (With malaria and other infections, illness quickly follows infection)

In conclusion, sexual activity is a ‘morally charged’ but hugely important area of adolescent experience, with ‘good’ behaviour being defined by adults and youth alike as waiting to have sex later (around 16), having fewer partners and developing ‘serious’ relationships leading to marriage. The growing awareness of the HIV problem formed part of the justification for these perspectives, though actual knowledge about HIV/AIDS varies considerably with little discernable ‘overall’ pattern, given the huge number of variable factors.¹⁵

3.3.2 Relationships and Communication

Young people said that they communicate with their parents, but on more personal matters the majority communicate with their friends. Some have particularly close relationships with an uncle, aunt or grandparent. Girls talk more to mothers and men to fathers, particularly on personal subjects. Amongst friends their peer communication crosses gender more in school than in the community where gender roles are even more entrenched. One of the reasons some girls gave for talking to boys, other than for ‘love’, was schoolwork, the other being to hear ‘news’. Some boys also talked of having friends who are girls, but this was not the majority.

¹⁵ These include: support of parents to the knowledge, proactivity of particular teachers, possession of a radio, direct experience of AIDS, link to an HIV awareness programme, personal friendship groups

Communication between adults and youth has positive and negative aspects. In general, although children and adolescents did speak to parents, there were *strong 'generational differences'* and a limitation in the cooperation and common understanding that was possible between adults and their children. (Also see "Culture", 3.3.3)

"...you can ask, oh dad I need money for this or that, and he'll say, oh yeah, ok 'tomorrow' or, 'when you do that test' or something...and then he will never give it..." (Xai Xai city)

Some adults discussing this problem believed 'today's' young people to have very different expectations than young people 'in their day':

"...in our time we were satisfied with normal life, with small things...but now, these young ones just seem to want everything...they are never satisfied and cannot understand that we cannot just provide all these things..." (Marien Gwabi, Xai Xai)

This sentiment was expressed more in the Vila Sede and the city (Xai Xai) where youth are more exposed to people 'displaying' wealth, existence of lifestyle items (mobile phones, clothes etc) and media advertising, all of which enhance expectations and aspirations of youth.

Two key terms in relation to adolescent-adults relationships are 'behaviour' and 'respect'. Closely linked, these terms are used by both groups when talking about this 'blockage' between the generations.

"...they are ['viciosos': corrupt, impure, depraved, 'with vices'], they want always to follow fashion, they want to have their own private house [in the homestead] and to watch these telenovellas..." (Adult, Changara)

Adults tended to problematize adolescence without suggesting any model of adults "helping them through the transition." The behaviour is constructed as 'incontrollable' and full of 'vice', rather than 'part of growing up'. Another strong aspect of the adult discourse on youth is that of 'lamenting' a lost generation. One very articulate NGO director (in his 40s) spoke of the Brazilian telenovellas presenting an 'alien' culture to youth who are 'not ready for it'. Although this may be more relevant to urban culture, the fashions that come from it carry well into the Vila sede. Adult women and 'well behaved' young girls (such as 'activists') saw the kinds of fashions such as high cut tops and short skirts as totally 'inappropriate' and 'inviting to men' and undermining of traditional values and customs (such as wearing a 'capulana').

In terms of *communication skills*, there was a marked difference between rural and Vila sede and between those with a higher or lower level of education. A stark example of this was groups of 11/12 year olds (both genders) in the Vila Sede and already in Grade 7 (advanced for this age). They displayed an ability to understand, respond, think critically and offer opinions in a way quite different from those out of school or at a lower level of schooling, *even if older*. One adult from Zambezia spoke of the difference education and location makes:

'...you see you cannot generalize, you take this one who is 12 and in school, here in town, he will be much more developed even than someone of 18, or even older, with no education, out *there*...in the interior...they have nothing there...it's like two different worlds...'

At the level of the community, communication is generally limited to friends, family and perhaps teachers or traders. Communication directly between youth and those with decision-making power is rare. (see ‘Participation’).

In terms of *receiving information* and forms of media communication, radio is popular with young people and they like to get information from the radio. Very few (and then only in the Vila Sede) have television and so the influence of television was not explored in detail. **Radio** is by far the most accessible form of media and most people have ‘heard of HIV’ “from the radio”.

3.3.3 Culture

Young people expressed both a *respect for culture and at the same time a critical position on some of the aspects* they felt were negative about culture. These included the lack of communication between adults and children about HIV (also thought to be unhelpful by some adults as well). Children who were in the Vila Sede and children who had a higher level of education were more likely to question some norms of ‘traditional’ culture. In some senses a ‘dichotomy’ was set up between ‘old’ and ‘new’.

‘Old’ Culture/ times	‘New’ Culture/ times
Lower sexual promiscuity	Promiscuity
Respect for traditions that control behaviour	Lack of belief in such traditions
Being able to wait until a later marriage	Marrying earlier, adults involved in choosing
Respect for adults	Lack of respect for adults
Satisfaction with family agriculture	Need for more immediate ‘funds’
Initiation rituals	Less initiation ritual
Reserve in dress style (capulana)	‘Western’/ Brazilian styles, particularly girls
Belief in curandeiros	Scepticism about curandeiros
Stability of lifestyle in relying on the land and subsistence	Agitation and dissatisfaction in relying on subsistence agriculture

However, the difficulty in getting any group to develop discussion around ‘culture’ suggests it is not something often ‘discussed’ openly in daily life.

An interesting dynamic is the relationship between cultural change and poverty. Although many commented on the ‘moral’ decline, aspects such as girls seeking money for sex and families seeking early marriage are also part of a cycle that is linked to poverty. Families, particularly in the localidades, seek to benefit financially from the ‘virgin’ bride by seeking a marriage before the girl loses her virginity. One younger boy commented that this was ‘selling your daughter’, an interesting indication of these generational perspectives.

In one localidade with two much ‘older’ adults in the community, *the dying out of certain older traditions* was lamented. These were all traditions that ‘controlled’ certain behaviours, which suggests that for them, without some kind of ‘repercussion’ for certain acts, young people or even societies may lack a moral framework for behaviour. When ‘culture’ was developed as a theme with adolescents, the ‘loss’ of such traditions as ‘initiation rites’ (boys to prove to be men by fending for

“Controlling” traditions

- Do not burn certain kinds of wood
- Do not take wood from another zone or area
- Do not have sex in the bush
- The result will be family feuding or a wild animal appearing from the bush

themselves in the bush) or ‘madrinha’ (godmother to inform girls on sexual aspects) had clearly not been ‘replaced’, and many lamented the current lack of ‘parental guidance’ on growing up. Lacking a great deal as an area coming from the young people themselves was the place of cultural traditions such as songs or dances. A few groups did exist a Vila Sede level but at localidade level most groups denied their existence. In the Vila Sede locations enthusiasm for cultural activities was dampened both by lack of facilities such as costumes, and places in which to perform, whilst in the localidades the problem was more the lack of knowledge of such activities.

3.3.4 Participation

Children ‘participate’ in home life actively and many are *proud of the part they play in the family* (see 3.2), shown by the fact that when responding to questions about ‘rights’ many talk of ‘the right to help in the home’ and other examples of family activities. *Participation of youth in terms of community life and activities is largely absent*. Some of the older age group of boys participate both in community events or meetings and on a decision-making level at home, but they do so *as adults*, because at that stage of life they are seen as ‘men’ and men participate. This is even more the case when the father has died and the eldest boy takes on a more responsible role. The point is emphasized by the fact that when girl’s reach the age of being ‘women’, they do not participate, because women, in general participate much less at the leadership level of a community and are more confined to affairs of the home.

Participation of youth in *community projects and activities* was also low. In the localidade this was a combination of the fact that there were few projects that focussed on youth, and the fact that those projects that did exist were agricultural/family subsistence based and did not involve youth. In the Vila Sede participation is not as low, but there is still a lack of co-ordinated, well-managed activities for them to participate in. *Youth themselves do not show the initiative or capability to organise activities* without assistance or an unusually strong ‘leader’, and when these form they suffer lack of ‘funds’, leadership and planning capacity. Some boys in Xai Xai were discussing the issue of co-operation:

F: ...so as young people you don't really do anything together...?
B: No
F: Why not?
B: We don't think of it
A: And also people don't trust each other, they do their own thing
F: Ok...so, imagine that there is a famine, and you have to, for example share out food amongst yourselves, do you think you would be able to do that...
A: Ah, no....

Some football games are organised by youth, but other than this, gatherings are social and informal, or created as part of an NGO programme (UNICEF, World Vision, Red Cross) or church. It is not that youth are not sociable or prefer to be isolated but their *socialization is informal and unstructured*. However, there is a big gap between what young people see as their ‘potential’ for participation (the potential activities they *could* be undertaking), and the activities actually being done. It is not that they do not wish to have more of a variety of activities in which to take part, but that they lack the means to get there. In terms of having initiative to make decisions, adolescents and youth *can* make these, as demonstrated by boys in Vladamir Lenin

(localidade) where one boy spoke of making the decision to change his 'biscato' activity to improve income. It seems that they require help – guidance, encouragement, moral support and perhaps experience.

In some of the locations **projects** are being implemented which had given the possibility of participation to a number of 'activists'. *Girls participate less than boys*, though the gap is less than the gap within other local district associations and groups, generally because projects 'plan in' gender balance even if this cannot always last throughout.

One of the problems is that '*participation*' to a certain extent rests on existing *activities* – if there are not activities to participate in then participation is low. Participants highlighted the main problem - that people 'don't have anything to occupy them', and that this leads to a whole host of other ills such as heightened sexual activity and destructive social behaviour. We might call this the 'vicious circle of non-participation'.

Another problem is that participation of youth in the community is not seen as a priority issue for most of those in leadership positions, be they local leaders or teachers or other key adults. In general they were not concerned to 'involve' any group more than were already involved or change the way decision-making power is allocated and problems are dealt with. Amongst youth themselves there is also a lack of youth who possess what we may term 'leadership' qualities, are able to mobilize and co-ordinate.

3.3.5 Aspirations

The aspirations of youth are limited by widespread frustration and pessimism about the lack of employment and income available to most of the population. Some are very focussed, continuing with a resilient determination, others avoid thinking about the future, and still another group find that they cannot maintain any positive outlook on life.

In the localidades there was often a hopefulness, which took the form of wanting to leave the localidade for better prospects elsewhere, and this was a strong motivating force for those still in education. Those who had finished were far more pessimistic.

...I want to go to the EP 2 but have no money...I am trapped here...there is nothing that I can do...(Boy, Pindanganga)

In the Vila Sede the aspirations were often stunted by the fact that after finishing school there was no prospect of employment, and in Changara, where they had grades 11 and 12 in the secondary school this was more stark than in any other location: "...there are people with Grade 12 just sitting around in their houses".

Many aspirations tended to be linked to 'dreams' of being 'doctors, teachers, lawyers', and often there was an idealistic reason for this : "to teach people", "to help those that are sick". For some who wanted to be teachers there was greater realism, for example the knowledge of school level needed (Gr 10), and of the challenges that it would involve (financial struggle to finish).

Boys were more able to discuss practical issues about the future than girls, confirming the greater passivity of girls, and the fact that securing an income is generally seen as more of a male duty than female. Many girls did speak of marrying and having families, but girls who wanted to use education to build a career and could speak about it showed a high level of determination. Girls of 11/12 also have more aspirations than girls of 15-18, suggesting these aspirations other than family and marriage are suppressed unless the girl continues with determination. The aspirations of adolescents are gained through their life experience and within the boundaries of the world they know, and so in many ways it is not surprising that possibilities are not always 'seen' for the development of plans and aspirations for the future. The influence of the immediate world was shown by the significant number of youth (about half of those who responded) who said they wanted to be teachers.

Closely related to aspirations is '**identity**' and this is constructed across many factors, but 'image' is a key aspect of identity for teenagers. Some try to maintain a positive identity from: being a good student; modernity; being mothers; being a Christian; being 'good'; being an 'activist'; being a 'respectful' youth/son/daughter; being Mozambican. The strongest element of youth identity was being a student, and for those out of school there was little that could replace it.

One of the areas that adolescents do not generally like to identify with is with agriculture. Agriculture is strongly associated with 'machambas' and a life they wish to escape. However, *when the possibility was brought up and discussed*, agriculture seemed a viable and practical area of work for youth.

3.3.6 Discrimination and equal opportunities

Discrimination was not generally seen as a problem by adults or by youth. One context in which discrimination *was* specifically referred to was in relation to those not attending school for economic reasons, or those in school who clearly have problems economically (lacking a pen, with poor clothing). In this regard, **children and adolescents had empathy for others**. Teachers confirmed this. One reason for lack of discrimination was the perceived similar situation of most children; according to one participant in Vladamir Lenin, when asked if people are treated differently by youth or adults because of background or means: "...here we are all more or less the same..." When asked if different 'groups' form when children and adolescents and youth, for example, play or socialize on a weekend, they say no.

A form of **gender discrimination** occurs where parents choose for boys to study and not girls, but it is not as clear as has sometimes been portrayed, in that the decision is made not only on the basis of 'preference' for a particular gender, but on a basis of 'protection'. Given the fact that abuse occurs in schools, that older men routinely approach and coerce young girls into sex, and that HIV exists, 'protection' must be taken into consideration when talking about 'discrimination' against adolescent girls who do not continue to study.

Young people also did not highlight discrimination in the context of living with relatives after the death of a parent¹⁶. In terms of discrimination against a person ill with AIDS, or discrimination of a child who has been orphaned by AIDS, there is, as yet, little discrimination because *recognition of AIDS in relation to specific people who have died or who are chronically ill is low*, even if there is some general acceptance that AIDS has begun to have an effect.

F: Is there discrimination because of AIDS?

P: No, there is not discrimination of those ill...but when a person says 'oh so and so has SIDA'...then there is discrimination

It is not that AIDS does not cause any discrimination, but that AIDS itself is not acknowledged, thus setting up a kind of cycle of denial driven by fear of stigma and discrimination.

3.3.7 Understanding and perceptions of 'rights'

Particularly salient to our study is an understanding of how children perceive of their rights and the rights of other children, whether they understand rights violations, who they believe is responsible for upholding those rights and the way in which they seek to claim them.

Given that the concept of 'rights' is not one that is well known at the level of rural communities (discovered clearly in the field tests and early in the field work), it was necessary to term things slightly differently and sometimes 'explain' rights in order to answer some of the subsequent questions about them. To a large extent 'rights' were at first interpreted as things that young people themselves 'have to do' – help in the house, respect parents. However, most children did not have a problem subsequently grasping the idea of rights in terms of things that they are entitled to, and 'education' was identified as the one most relevant to them. Some groups could list a number of key important rights. In general order, rights listed by children were the right: to education, to health, to adequate housing, to play to a name. A few groups only, talked of liberty of speech, opinion, or beliefs and these were secondary school boys in the Vila sede, and a group of mixed gender secondary school children in Xai Xai city. Interestingly, though differences occurred across groups, there was no general gender difference in understanding of rights. Once again, those in the Vila sede and those at higher levels of schooling had greater understanding.

3.4 Key priorities identified by adolescents

3.4.1 Education

Education was cited consistently as the key priority for children and youth. For those in school, the priority was to continue, for those who had dropped out it was to find a way back in and for the majority school was generally seen as a way of improving their chances of a 'future'.

¹⁶ For more on this see UNICEF Moz "OVC Study" 2004

Focus group dynamics clearly showed the impact of schooling. Those who are in school and those out of school within the same age group had markedly different ‘visions’ and abilities to express themselves, (which relate directly to articles 12 concerning expression of views, and article 29, concerning the qualitative effects of education, of the CRC.) Education was a greater factor than location and gender in defining capabilities of children to express themselves, form judgements and answer questions to a certain extent ‘critically’. In fact, education was a far greater indicator of ‘power’ in a group than was gender. In the field tests, two boys in an 11/12 group literally ‘fled’ a group, surrounded by a number of girls who were in a higher level of school and showed confidence.

Many readily spoke about children denied schooling, and were concerned for them.

Boy 14 (Gondola Sede)“...there are some children who carry goods at the market to get 1 mil (5 US cents)...they are not to blame...their mothers...they don't enter them into school they just stay at home...sometimes they think to just leave the house...to run away from home...they see that there is no money...there is nothing at home...so they go to the market to carry these goods. So we see a lot of these children at the market and people think they are orphans, that they have no mother...but they are not orphans its just that they have run away from home...why?...because the way they live at home...they are suffering...so they go because at least they can get something to eat, even if the way they eat is tough as well...these are the ones you see there all dirty, sleeping on the market stalls...”

Some had to convince parents of the value of schooling, and others had to ‘disobey’ a parent who told them to miss school in order to do some other task. **In the localidade many lamented the lack of an EP 2** school and basic facilities, such as windows and a roof or classroom, whilst in the vila sede, some lamented the lack of a secondary school up to Grade 12, or difficulty gaining a place due to competition.

The difference between those in school and those out of school, in terms of life experiences, can be seen most starkly in the 13-15 age group. This may be partly demographic – the majority of 11-12 aged children go to school, and of the 16-18 age-group many are already in positions of heading households, married, or taking financial family responsibilities. **Boys** out of school feel estranged and express their lack of ‘contact’ with society both through responses, body language and tone of response. Some are more withdrawn and some visibly ‘bitter’ with life. In contrast those boys in this age group and the older age group who continue schooling due to their own capacity to earn money in the hours outside school, are the ones that have the most positive attitude to schooling. This seems to be linked to a sense of ‘purpose’ in that what they are physically doing in their paid work will support the ‘future’ they believe is more hopeful through education. With little financial reward in the short term, and very tiring daily routines, they are at least allowed to ‘dream’ of possible futures brought about by schooling. It was very confidently confirmed by the teachers in Changara that children who have to make sacrifices, or whose families have to make sacrifices, are the best students. Meanwhile those of a similar age out of school, walking 4 hours each way to work for the owner of a field for 30c a day are merely sustaining themselves, which comes out in, for example, detached attitudes to HIV. The difference between ‘surviving’ and ‘being a student’ in terms of identity and hope is a huge differentiating factor within this age group.

For girls a similar difference existed in terms of their determination to continue schooling. In general those girls at secondary school wanted to fight to stay there and had decided that schooling took the main priority in their life. Whereas boys use 'negocios' to continue schooling in situations of hardship, girls in a similar positions run the risk of resorting to sex for money. In some extreme cases, they are forced to sleep with teachers to keep going, but nevertheless remain determined.

3.4.2 Health and Hygiene

There was a stronger knowledge and interest in health issues from girls than from boys, particularly in terms of the link between hygiene and illness. Most groups of both genders listed TB, Malaria, Diarrhoea and Cholera as problem illnesses, recognising that outbreaks of cholera were sporadic and linked to rain periods of water source problems.

Differences existed in expressed satisfaction with health services, and many showed an ability to assess the quality of services, with poor attendance and low training of staff common problems, along with lack of adequate materials. Health services are more of a problem in localidades, where in most cases they have to walk to the Vila Sede or rely on curandeiros, hence use of curandeiros is higher in localidades. Some mentioned the problem of emergencies. Many said they went to curandiero first and then if treatment didn't work, to the doctor. However, partly since the health post is cheaper (often 500 or 1000 Mt) than the curandeiro, some did it the other way round. Many said it 'depends on the illness'. One older boy in Pindanganga (localidade) said "...if the illness is spiritual you go the curandeiro, but if it is medical, like you lose a limb or something...then you have to go to the hospital". Greater lack of trust in curandeiros exists in Vila sede and it also depends on people's experiences of success. Few disbelieve the effectiveness of the curandeiros to cure some illnesses, but in the Vila Sede sites many mentioned curandeiros who 'lie' to make money as well as illnesses that the curandeiros failed to cure. Such situations were the closest most discussions came to 'the effects' of AIDS (see 3.2) Some groups of both sexes spoke openly that AIDS has taken a number of adults in their communities but in general only about 10% of groups were able to open any discussion about this topic even when raised by the facilitator.

Youth Friendly Health Services (YFHS) were popular. A number of youth had used them or heard of people using them and they were seen a helpful way to reach adolescents in the area of STDs. Where they did not exist youth felt they would be a welcome service. The problem of access to this service was brought out strongly through comparison of the two geographical locations. One of the older boys from the localidade had walked two hours to get to the YFHS but many just do not go.

3.4.3 Lack of financial means / work

All participants in the localidades spoke of the effects of not having basic means - missed years of schooling, lack of adequate food, lack of access to healthcare, lack of possibility to leave the area and limitations in recreational activity (eg. no football). The phrase 'não tem condicoes' ('don't have the means') was probably the most common phrase heard throughout the research. Problems associated with this poverty

form part of the main body of these findings (particularly 3.5), and it is still important to remember that many see this poverty as the root cause of a lot of their difficulties.

Lack of means links very closely to the frustrations at not having possibilities for work and earning money. One adult informant spoke of this as a difficult period particularly for 16-18 year old boys:

“...perhaps he has done middle level of education, and it’s difficult to access a higher level or difficult to find something else to occupy him or that will improve his skills...to find work. Sometimes a youth of today is forced a bit to find something to bring back to the home, for the family, but he can’t yet do it...it’s the moment when this young man wants to enter professional life but its hard to find work, with or without education, but its difficult to find something to satisfy his needs....”

Despite the context of overall decreasing poverty (Sitan Update), when asked about changes at the local level, in localidades participants claimed their situation had become *worse*. The Sitan states that “poverty remains deep in the rural areas where most of the population lives” indicating that some of our sites were indeed from this much forgotten but huge section of the population.

Closely linked to the above concern is the issue of means to earn money. Boys often have some daily ‘business’ from their teens upwards, as no ‘money’ will be given many of them to use independently, only food. Girls also see money as a priority and hence earn money from men in exchange for sex. Many groups spoke of this ‘transactional sex’ as being between girls and older men. In Vila Sede locations the tendency was for girls to hear about the prospect and copy others to gain goods: “...she asks, where did you get those new trousers, and the other one answers, oh it was from so and so...” For girls from very poor families, the practice tended to be more for ‘survival’ money, though of course this is a continuum dependent not just on poverty, but on individual aspirations and influences. The main overriding theme here that earning money is of key importance to boys and girls due to the threatening of their basic rights by the effects of poverty.

3.4.4 Conditions at home / school

Living conditions are of key concern to several of children’s rights and were among the ‘top’ of the list in terms of priorities for the youth. They are covered in 3.5.3.

3.5 Problems identified by adults and adolescents

3.5.1 Individual and Family Environment

Serious illness/ death

The younger age group were very concerned about death of a caregiver and hence serious illness was for them a primary concern. For older participants it was often harder for them to talk about personal experiences of death and chronic illness and in some cases not appropriate for us to ask them to (in one group, some girls became very upset).

There was a difficulty *amongst boys* of facing the fact of increased terminal illness and death. In some places older boys stated that there was no more illness than there had been previously but further analysis points to the fact that they may be referring to the presence of the *same* illnesses as before – Malaria, cholera, TB, diarrhoea. In summary, if people with HIV die of a well-known disease it perpetuates the belief that there is no ‘new’ terminal illness (AIDS).

Being orphaned

Though the DHS averages single orphans at 15-20% in our sites, we had a higher proportion in some places and lower in others. It was not uncommon to have a group made up entirely or almost entirely of single orphans and given the likely transmission route of HIV it is likely that the majority of these did not die of AIDS.¹⁷ As noted elsewhere (Discrimination) there is little discrimination attached to losing a parent. One 15-year-old double-orphan head of household who works in the centre of Changara to feed his two siblings, commented that he is able to have friends and to go to church, despite his very difficult situation.

Sexual Abuse

A number of groups of girls talked about **sexual abuse by teachers**. They reported that there was a choice – “either sex, payment of money or expulsion from school.” In one case a teacher put on a ‘surprise test’, failed a number of girls, and then used this as his ‘coercion’ for sex. Sexual exploitation did not lead these girls to want to leave; in fact they were determined to remain.

Teachers in schools did not respond very openly to the issue. In one school where many girls confirmed that sex with teachers happened (sometimes coerced and sometimes ‘willingly’), a teacher began to confirm it with justifications that ‘..it is a complicated cultural issue...every one will have his own different opinion...’.

- This problem was only revealed in the Vila Sede locations through it may happen elsewhere
- Sometimes families hear of this and go to the school. The matter is settled ‘out of public view’ usually by a ‘fine’ paid by teacher to family
- It is endemic where the principal and deputy principal are involved and it is greatly reduced when the principal is actively against the practice
- It is reduced where the school holds parent/ teacher meetings and when parents actively come to the school to complain on hearing about such abuse
- Teachers tend to target the vulnerable who are less likely to refuse
- Although only talked about in about 20% of the girl focus groups, in about 20% more groups where it was raised implicitly or directly there was a silence suggesting great reticence to talk about it. And there were only 10% of girls’ groups where it was confidently denied to be happening.
- Boys groups confirmed that it was a problem, but always avoiding going into any detail and never raised it as a problem themselves under the subject of ‘school’ or issues of violations of rights

¹⁷ The likely proportion of AIDS orphans from orphans is considered at length in the “OVC report”

Outside of school the main sexual vulnerabilities seemed to be in Vila Sede where there are ‘clubs’ or bars, which are a site of men looking for girls to have sex with, and of girls seeking financial means. This was less evident in the localidade.

Being overworked

Many children who are out of school work very hard and the extreme poverty that keeps them out of school is usually the cause for overwork., jobs include making charcoal cutting ‘estaca’ (local material for rural houses), selling petrol or carrying heavy things either in the market or for house owners , or else working on other people’s machambas No children actively questioned their involvement in the home tasks, or that they should be doing tasks within their capabilities. The main problems were related to tasks too difficult for them or particularly tiring tasks that affected schooling.

3.5.2 Social and Cultural Environment

Pregnancy / Early Marriage /Lack of male responsibility

Interestingly, pregnancy was much bigger issue than HIV, supporting the programming strategy of many HIV programmes to use threat of pregnancy also to promote condom use. For some girls early pregnancy was seen as desirable. *The main problem for girls, certainly, was lack of responsibility assumed by boys, not the pregnancy itself.* Indeed one participant commented, when asked how these girls who get pregnant feel, “...some of them, they say they were born to be mothers...”

Early pregnancy and marriage were more prevalent in places of most poverty, as supported by the DHS survey. Marriage in the localidades was common by 15, sometimes earlier and would often be the result of a pregnancy. The couple, married or not, might remain ‘together’ as a couple yet living with their respective families because of lack of money. The girl ‘waits’ until the boy has something to offer for the marriage to actually take place, though even then it is usually not formal in the ‘civil’ sense (of registering it). One of the main concerns of adults was that marriage was no longer well organised, but had a ‘randomness’ about it. People got married ‘in whatever way’, out of desperation or promiscuity. It was from this standpoint that one older member of Pindanganga suggested it were better for adults to help organise it.

It was seen as a way of ‘uniting’ families and encouraging the couple to take on their own responsibilities where they could. “It might be better for both families in the end.” *Boys and girls alike saw early marriage as negative,* suggesting that marriage should be later (‘ideally’ on average 20 for girls, 23 for boys.)

Drink/ drugs and violent behaviour

A highlighted social problem was the behaviour of many ‘older’ youth. Adolescents both feared the behaviour and its possible bad influence on them, recognizing that they might ‘go down that path’, particularly in the context of lack of employment. Behaviour linked to **being drunk** was seen as completely destructive and very prevalent both amongst these ‘older youth’ and adult men in general. *Verbal abuse, misuse of money, physical violence and general conflict were seen to be caused*

largely by drunkenness. People drink sometimes to give them extra ‘courage’ to confront another person, and in such a context this is obviously a recipe for **violence**. Others, it was said, drank to ‘forget’ problems or because of hunger, though this latter reason usually led to taking a stronger and cheaper local drug. Sadly few saw a way out from this. One boy simply said, ‘No, there is no solution’. Drugs were also a problem though less widespread than alcohol. Sadly, in some poorer areas, the most ‘dangerous’ substances are the cheapest, and this means the most abused and vulnerable are potentially most at risk. What was most surprising was not that problems attached to drunkenness exist but the sheer extent of the problem as perceived by youth. Sadly, in one location where we returned during a weekend, some of the adults who were ‘key’ figures in the context of youth were already drunk when we arrived on the Saturday afternoon.

Jealousy (‘inveja’) and witchcraft (‘feitisaria’)

This is a very big issue, which *causes conflicts and also fear*. ‘Fetisaria’ (bewitching of people through curandeiros) is a key aspect of community life and jealousy is one of the main reasons for creating such a ‘spell’. Older youth were much more aware of the issue, and able to see the problems going on at family level that often led to ‘feitisaria’. In discussions, youth claimed that from about 14 they became aware of this aspect of community life a lot more closely and often it caused great anxiety. Adults are more reluctant to speak about this. It carries with it a lot of fear at community level, but according to many youth is a very big factor in refusing to acknowledge the existence of HIV/AIDS.

3.5.3 Living conditions and Access to services

Housing, sanitation and the immediate environment

Housing was of a low standard throughout with many talking of roofs that let in water during rains, and lack of a latrine. In contrast when asked about their houses younger children were quite positive (perhaps because of attachment to ‘home’) whilst older youth mentioned homes that had fallen down due to bad workmanship. In general the housing conditions were more basic in the localidades due to weaker materials, but sanitation problems slightly greater in the Vila Sede, often due to density of housing. Other problems investigated through the questionnaire, such as defecating in the open air, and cutting down of trees, were more problematic in the semi-urban situation, where people are living closer together and there are fewer trees in general.

It is more likely that young people both identify and want to be part of the solution to an environmental problem than other problems. They identified that market stall sellers need to clear up their mess, that uncleanliness was a collective problem and waste should be dealt with properly. Similarly, although without latrines it is difficult to ‘solve’ the defecation problem (less than 5% have adequate latrine), they were more aware of causes such as lack of correct latrine materials, than they were the causes of other problems.

Youth Facilities

The ‘needs’ for youth facilities varies across age (refer to ‘favourite activities’ in Daily activities), but in general there are very few. Most younger children (11/12) base their play around the home, the adolescents ‘passear’ (walk around, socializing) when allowed to and the older ones tend to have to frequent ‘adult’ locations such as the ‘clubs’ or houses/’baracas’ where people drink, listen to music and where many look for sex. This means that ***adolescents and older teenagers do not have a safe place to go socially***. In Gondola the children’s playground was being used by ‘lovers’, meaning children who played there were exposed to inappropriate sexual activities. In Nhamathanda where there is also a ‘children’s playground’, participants said that older ‘bandido’ youth had ‘taken it over’.

There was usually no place for ‘events’ or performances to take place and this was a cause of great disappointment. In Gondola for example, the old cinema, which young people thought would make a great youth and cultural centre, has been sold to a private owner by the municipality and hence cannot be renovated for use. In terms of ‘rights’, many older youth were very angered at this, and the sense of it not being ‘just’ was strong.

Sports Facilities

The general lack of sports facilities, outside of cities is a great frustration to youth. Football pitches are well used, but there is usually a problem of obtaining a ball to play with, even amongst organised teams, and all the footballs we saw were of the bag and string type.

Lack of transport (localidades) – there are usually very few chapas and these may charge a high fare as the roads are poor and distances long

Lack of electricity/water – as confirmed in the DHS survey, a very low percentage of our sample had electricity (1-2%) or running water (1%). One main problem from the localidade is that without electricity they cannot have night school.

Summary of Differences between the Localidade and the Vila Sede

Vila Sede	Localidade
Schools closer – most attend to EP2	Walk far to school – most only to EP 1
Some families have some other options for income other than the machamba	Machamba almost always centre of household survival
More vulnerable to crime	More vulnerable to poverty
Poor housing conditions – hygiene	Poor housing conditions – weak materials
Gender socialization can be challenged sometimes	Gender socialisation stronger. More girls marry younger and family help to or choose partner
Vulnerability and violation of rights increased by: - more opportunity for economic and sexual exploitation - heightened differences in economic levels (tempted to leave school and search for money/work)	Vulnerability and violation of rights increased by: - extreme poverty - cultural practices and taboos - overly difficult field tasks in poor or uneducated families

3.6 Adult perspectives and ‘youth’ partnerships

The adults we spoke to were all to some degree ‘stakeholders’ and ‘gatekeepers’ in the area of youth. They had different perspectives, but as the focus of the study was youth centred the report does not focus on these perspectives as its main priority. However, an interesting finding was that when the problems of youth and adults arose (see section 3.3.2 and 3.3.3), *both* adults and youth were able to see the possibility of greater understanding and cooperation between adults and youth and wanted this to improve. This positive attitude was particularly shared by younger adults (activists, youth association representatives, sports coaches) and those that work with them (CBOs working with youth, church leaders working with youth); in other words, by those who could *see* that partnership sometimes happening. To what extent it was shared by teachers, parents, and community leaders greatly depended on individuals.

3.6.1 Youth ‘Associations’

Both experiences of youth, and the future possibilities for positive engagement with youth, rest heavily on the ability to ‘form’ groups or initiatives collectively, be they youth-only initiatives or collaborations across people of different generations.

‘Associativism’ is a term often used for the process of forming groups, particularly around youth issues. It is a term that is well used and known in Mozambique, and which carries a strong sense of possibility in partnerships and cooperation at different levels, though it is acknowledged to have problems in practice.

When associations do continue with their activities and overcome some of these obstacles they encounter there can be some good success. Advantages of such groups are: the way in which they can respond directly to community needs and monitor successes, can build sustainable relationships around their activities and can help develop community ownership of the activities more than groups from outside. Some association representatives described activities such as working with orphans, visiting people who are ill, and performing educational plays, and at community level these were also identified as helpful, if short-lived. Another claimed to have impacted in both the issue of prostitution, and in drug abuse (Gondola). Many organisations are rallying around the HIV problem, but it is difficult to know if this is because it is their greatest chance of attracting funding or because of perceived need.

The issue of funding was identified as being out of the control of the associations. One longer interview with representatives from a Theatre for Development group in Changara, told of how the group has struggled to continue since funding from Red Cross, and then from World Vision, finished. This group is continuing, but albeit at a greatly reduced level of possibility. It has been able to sustain itself largely because of several ‘founder members’ and their driving enthusiasm, the capacity already built in the group over several years of funded activities, and a clear structure and objective to what they do.

Identified problems of and for Associations

- Form but remain weak through lack of capacity or initiative
- Lack of patience
- Lack of clear objectives and clear ‘target group’
- Have a lack of funds to implement any good ideas
- Lack of training
- Despondency over inaction and lack of funds
- Bureaucracy in ‘registration’ issues
- Coverage of activities severely weakened by lack of transport
- Hierarchy and power struggle, and lack of trust amongst members
- Weak cases of voluntarism to

'...we want them to walk with us, to strengthen us in the areas where we are weak, but to help us to do the activities that we know are needed in the community...'

There is a problem perceived particularly at Provincial level that projects linked to national bodies, implement their own activities but do not offer the chance of to implement them by providing funding, materials, training and moral or ongoing support.

Many lamented that there are CBOs and associations with ideas ready and willing to work with youth but they are not given the opportunity to implement their locally devised projects or initiatives because the larger NGOs (UNICEF, Save the Children, etc) want to implement their *own* projects. Indeed at the level of 'ideas' for projects, many of them cover areas that have come up in the study as important to youth, such as: local environment, early first sexual activity, orphans, prostitution, child rights.

3.6.2 Development Projects

Many of the funded projects we encountered were UN based ones, largely because of the choice of sites (four of the five sites had Geracao Biz or MFME). This gave us the opportunity to see the effect of these projects at district level and beyond, but within the framework of our general 'youth led' investigation rather than within a project evaluation framework. Consequently we were able to identify other advantages besides the main stated project objectives that the presence of these projects had given. One key element of this is the role of 'activists', the youth who implement peer education.

In addition to their role within a project, '*activists*' *tend to take on responsibility in the community*, for example to help in special events on 'national days', as they have experience in organising events and activities such as theatre. The capacity building that has been invested in the activists has increased the 'human capital' of that location offering greater potential for success for future activities

3.6.3 Need for skills training

One of the main areas of real 'collective' vision across adults and youth was in the area of the need for *skills training*. The context for this area is sustained high level of unemployment and the lack of alternative 'occupation' for youth, apart from very piecemeal informal 'trading' of small goods. There was also a good level of interest from youth, ready support from some Provincial level NGOs (eg APROS in Quelimane) and positive experiences at local level of informal skills training, some of which have remained sustainable for some time, for example:

- Training fishing and equipping of boats (Nicoadala)
- Training in mending shoes (Marien Gwabi, Xai Xai)
- Informal training according to interest (English language, cooking, management, administration)
- Informal school for vulnerable children in Metuchire
- Training in sewing/tailoring in Changara

With youth themselves some skills are more popular than others. In Pindanganga the community co-operative had attempted to teach youth carpentry, but they said that with the poor tools and the very exerting work they soon lost interest. However, one

youth had been trained as a ‘tailor’ and this had sustained him now, for many years. Those with a skill they had learned, maintained and used, were very proud. Girls seemed less enthusiastic about the possibilities offered them by professional skill training. Another area related to this is that of *agricultural capacity building and cooperation*. The image of work in the field does not attract youth. Many youth said that if agriculture could be made into something that yielded an income (most are used to only subsistence involvement) then they would be interested.

3.6.4 Adult perspectives

Local community leaders

In one of the three localidades the local leader spoke openly about some of his scepticism of the way projects ‘come and go’; in his experience they come to assess situations but don’t act *with* the community to change them. He spoke of the way the ‘data’ is owned by the visiting NGO and not shared with the community, contrary, of course, to the rhetoric on Community Capacity Development. One ‘children’s school’ in Metuchire, for example, was working well and then when they suddenly left the children were very disappointed. Community figures were pleased at the activities undertaken by activists and the example shown by them. The extent to which they fully understood the role of activists varied considerably.

Health professionals

The perspectives of nurses were helpful. The Vila Sede nurses spoke of difficulties in getting services to the localidades and to train people adequately in those locations. They also said that adolescents *do* come and they appreciate the privacy of the counselling, finding it one space where they can ‘air’ problems that they don’t speak about elsewhere, particularly at home, where often the problems reside in any case.

Talking to the director of Nhamathanda hospital also gave some insights into the challenges of AIDS from an overview perspective. He has seen many cases and says that the change is beginning to come but is very slow, commenting on cultural resistance as well. One of the main problems is communication, which has not been traditionally ‘open’ on matters of sex. There are also high levels of denial.

Activists

Activists had a *healthy ability for constructive criticism of projects*, having seen them develop and been part of their implementation at a local level. One of the main criticisms of project activities was that there was not enough help with transport issues given the practical logistics of organising trips into the interior. This issue has been looked at and bicycles have been provided, but this is not seen as a sufficient response, given the geographical complexity of the districts. Another related to age groups:

Activist:there is a problem on the part of youth of 16-18, because MFME, the project, only deals with 12-15 years, so 16-19, can't join, they aren't included...so what happens mostly is that these are the ones that want information the most...this is a serious problem, they are excluded, practically, from the information they want and that they need, even though their sexual activity is greater and their prevention is less because they don't have information...

F: so when they come you tell them they have to go

A: yes, they go, and they go very angry, and they try to stop the younger ones from coming again.

F: so in your opinion it should be mixed...?

A: Yes from 12 up to 19 years....because from 16, they are young people as well

It was found that many activists were capable of a good level of interaction with young people and children and had empathy for them given their closer age group. They were keen to discuss, and had more to say in general on topics relating to their life and world. They seemed to have greater awareness in general, not just around HIV. The term 'formados' ('trained') helped add to the strong level identity and pride attached to being an activist. One female activist commented that key for her was an activist's motivation:

"some of the activists join for the wrong reason and when it comes to it they cannot do it...they cannot talk to people or give speeches...or they are not bothered..."

Other Stakeholders also offered perspectives, *religious leaders* were generally at the forefront of focus group debates about declining morality, though church members and 'pastors' did offer some suggestions and represent some concrete initiatives particularly in work with the more vulnerable. *Curandeiros* echoed religious leaders sadness at behaviour change, albeit from the perspective of 'lost tradition' rather than 'wrongdoing'. *Sports coaches* called for further harnessing of the energies of youth and lamented time and again lack of facilities for youth, even in cities, but particularly from the district level and beyond. Many youth played football for sheer love of the sport despite not having a kit, or ball to play with.

IV Rights Based Analysis

This analysis is based on a Human Rights Based Approach to Programming (HRBAP), as outlined in theory in Chapter 1. The HRBAP analysis goes through several stages related directly to rights that children, adolescents and youth fail to enjoy, and the develops a strategy to respond to capacity gaps that are the root causes of these infringements. The first three stages are Causality Analysis, Role Analysis and Capacity Analysis. When the capacity gaps of the various duty-bearers are identified, strategies can be devised to fill these, and these strategies developed into programming and projects.

Rights-holders and **duty-bearers** do not stay static over time, but change according to the age of a young person. (Appendix). For the purposes of our consideration here, the *main rights holders are children, adolescents and youth*, and the main *duty bearers are the state (and its representation at each level) and parents*. The state can be broken down in terms of health and education professionals, police professionals and district administrators etc and these are referred to where relevant. It is important to note that churches, NGOs and community groups may see themselves as duty bearers also.

4.1 Framework of Rights – the CRC

This document focuses on the major rights areas *as identified by youth*, as per the aims of the participatory study. A large proportion of infringements of the basic rights as enshrined in the CRC have emerged directly as a result of this research with adults and youth at many levels of society and community in Mozambique. Hence a summary of fundamental children’s rights¹⁸ considered in this study is given as an Annex. In a separate document, using an abbreviated phrase for each right, the violation of rights of adolescents in Mozambique are summarized in grid form.

This document is entitled “HRBAP Rights Grid”

Here is a list of the main violations of rights:

- The right to go to school (still many children, and particularly girls, do not attend)
- The right to protection from hard labour and economic exploitation (out of school boys, some boys funding own education)
- The right to freedom from sexual exploitation (girls needing financial means through sex)
- The right to access to information (particularly localidade, and out of school)
- The right to play/leisure (lacking ‘safe’ areas, lack of facilities)
- The right to express and be heard
- The right to the highest standards of health
- The right to living conditions conducive to development

¹⁸ There are certain areas of children’s rights that were beyond the limitations of this study, such as ethnic differences, those seeking refugee status, children awaiting penal trial and relative well-being of mentally or physically disabled child. These did not emerge in the study and several of them would need a very specific research focus.

- The right to artistic, cultural, recreational and leisure activities

The **HRBAP approach** accepts that capacity gaps exist amongst the duty bearers. These are drawn out in the aforementioned HRBAP Grid.

4.2 Rights based analysis – main category distinctions

Within the analysis above there are a number of areas that we need to outline as *specific* areas of violation relating to age, gender or geographical area, and these are drawn out below.

Violation of girls’ rights increases across age from 11-18. Task related violations include not only walking to get water (on average half of households in the 5 sites have to walk over 30 minutes to get water) but also lack of drinking water (only in Changara and Marien Gwabi/Xai Xai do most people have access to safe water) and immense queues to get the water, often starting in the early hours to eventually get water around midday (Nhamathanda). Other rights violations include: the very specific violation of adolescent girls in school, and the violation of their right to go to school in the first place, the violation of their right to views on matters concerning them by forced arranged marriages and their lack of participation in decision making.

Children under 12 in this study do not have as many rights violated. Children are generally cared for in that they do tasks that are easier (older siblings can normally take on other tasks) and generally attend school (many of those not attending would generally be for reasons of distance and therefore a long way from the centre of the localidades). Also some of the rights violations pertain to issues that particularly become more critical in adolescence – right to association, expression, critical thought, information from a range of sources, freedom from sexual and economic exploitation. Whilst it is true that these rights are necessary at 11/12, many of them affect more an older age group, whereas the more universally infringed rights – access to health posts, living conditions and cultural and sporting activities, apply across all ages.

Many rights pertain to **proximity to the infrastructure of the sede of a district.** Transport provides more ‘business’ – prospects for older boys and parents. Girls in the Vila sede are not required to marry as early through poverty and by choice of their parents. Parents themselves are generally more educated in the Vila Sede thereby having more chance of nourishing their children properly (MTR Update) and of making them aware of the importance of their own education. Access to health posts and to schools is much lower in the localidades, as is access to any information. Few projects and associations exist in the interior. Fewer activities mean that children in the localidades have less occupation and possibility for participation. The only aspects in which those in the localidade have an advantage in terms of rights include: use of drugs, hazardous work, crime, and certain aspects of physical environment.

4.3 Discussion of Rights-holder Duty-bearer Relationships

The basic research question at the beginning of this study, asked why the RH – DB relationship does ‘not in itself guarantee the rights of young people?’ In order to conclude by returning to this question, we firstly consider the duty bearers.

Parents as the prime care-giver to the adolescents in Mozambique, show great resilience, particularly women, in providing care to young people and managing to support the very basic rights of survival in the face of what is often extreme poverty. The fact that they lack the capacity to uphold the rights of adolescents is so often, though not always, linked to the fact that they lack basic rights themselves, be it to information, or to clean water, or to the opportunity for employment. Many are products of an era when rights were very low down the agenda of a country at war.

The state acknowledges its role and commitment to young people (Chokwe) and to children (signing the declaration on the Rights of the Child and developing a ‘Children’s Act’), but also needs support in seeking to implement strategies to improve these rights.

IN the Mozambican context, there are a number of other bodies with ‘responsibility’ for children and young people, such as the churches, NGOs, and bodies such as UNICEF. Children see their parents and the state as prime duty bearers (when asked who should be responsible for assuring a certain right), and can act as partners in the pursuit of rights. However, in many cases young people are have to bear a considerable burden due to the failure of their prime duty bearers – parents, other adults, and the State.

The key reasons “why the relationship ‘rights holder/ duty bearer’ does not ensure the rights of young people” can be summarized:

- Children are not empowered to claim their rights and there are few processes through which they can do such
- Education, whilst emphasizing certain positive values, such as culture and patriotism, does not emphasize rights of children at a fundamental level
- Many of the abuses of rights already going on, in themselves erode any opportunity to claim rights (lack of schooling, lack of information, child labour, sexual exploitation)
- Active abuses of some rights (such as abuse of girls) are left unchecked and unpunished
- There is a weak conception and understanding of rights in Mozambican society beyond the cities
- The history of war has eroded a conception of rights at the level of civil society
- The country’s power structures are not set up to protect the vulnerable
- Lack of the capacity to reduce the main underlying cause of violation of rights - poverty

Continued commitment to address these capacity gaps is what is needed, and these are considered more fully in the Annexed ‘HRBAP Grid’ and in the Recommendations.

V Recommendations

5.1 *General Principles of working with youth*

Below are outlined some principles for developing work with youth in Mozambique. The following, then, are identified as general ‘capacity gaps’ that need addressing,

5.1.1 **Differentiating / targeting**

Different ‘groups’ or categories within ‘youth’ are well recognised but sometimes are only distinguished by ‘out of school/in school’ or by age groups. There are many other distinguishing features of child and adolescent life. Increasingly, both identifying, **locating and engaging with certain ‘groups’ will be the way to effectively support the youth that are most in need of support**, otherwise strategies will largely continue to cover only ‘accessible’ youth, as per the findings in this report. Some categories would be those heading households, youth caring for sick adults, children who have suffered abuse or neglect, or adolescents that are overworked.

5.1.2 **Inclusion**

At the same time it must be remembered that at community level the ‘categories’ that exist at level of proposals and programming do not exist, and offence or confusion can be caused by ‘choosing only some’, for whatever valid reason. Although many projects may need to target specific groups (egg. girls, out of school), **careful thought is needed on how to prevent the dynamics of exclusion** (jealousy, alienation, or even negative reaction to aims of projects). Ideally when working within a community (see ‘Differentiation’ above), make aims clear including *reasons* for working with particular sections of the community, and where possible, doing different activities with different sections of the community concurrently.

5.1.3 **Response and adaptation to community issues in implementation**

Projects should be designed with the possibility for adaptation and change once implementation has begun, according to response of those involved at local level. For youth-focussed projects, this means particularly **listening to youth responses to the project**. From this research, young people offer their responses willingly, though sometimes skill is needed in eliciting these responses. Where a project has planned ‘meetings’ of those involved, these should be used for such review/feedback, even if the primary objective is something else (such as further training).

5.1.4 **Utilizing and developing community level partnerships and capacity**

Much of the discussion in the findings section ‘Adult perspectives and Youth partnership’ relates to the need to build better partnerships with those working at the district level, many of whom lack capacity and means, but are in a good position to

implement and identify (with the participation of youth) the needs of youth in the community.

5.2 UNICEF Programming Focus

5.2.1 Education and Youth

Direct support to associations

As well as a recommended general principle in the above section, this is also a specific recommendation to UNICEF in its endeavour to support actions for youth.

Developing concrete strategies for helping small associations working with youth is one of the key recommendations of this report. The ‘capacity gaps’ of associations are many and yet their importance is key. Participants in the study, old and young, expressed frustration that groups form and then disappear. However, some groups do have clear ideas of the things youth can be involved in, and a vision as to how to achieve their aims. They lack partners and so those with time, enthusiasm and perhaps good ideas are not offered help.

- The general orientation should change from a focus on bureaucracy and administration to dynamic activities of groups. A ‘directory of youth associations’ (as is currently being produced by the National Youth Council) is perhaps useful but the main problem is actually maintaining sustainable groups that fulfil the needs of young people and support their rights.
- Produce a booklet to be available in district capitals around forming groups – with different ideas for various aspects of forming an association: what you need to think about, what you will need, who will support it, clarifying your aims, pitfalls to avoid.
- Some kind of district level procedure to **‘monitor’ for groups with ‘potential’**. Those associations that meet certain criteria and show promise will be supported. Importantly this must *not* be assessed merely on their ability to produce something convincing on paper. Personnel at provincial level who have responsibility for certain districts (as happens in within the Provincial MJD) could use their field experience in this regard or through Provincial Youth Councils, where they exist and are strong enough.

There is a lot of energy to be harnessed in young people. Some of this does go into activities that are community focussed and are helping others, as well as themselves, but this could be developed. One problem is that youth who help are not financially supported. Some go on hospital visits for example, but it is hot and they have no refreshment and so lose enthusiasm. Volunteers need to be appreciated.

Youth Clubs

Given the lack of activities for older teenage youth, clubs should be supported and formed at a local level. These clubs should:

- be part of a ‘strategy’ for ‘children’ and youth not ‘youth’ (refer Chokwe)
- be run by those with experience and genuine interest in working with youth, identified by local NGOs, project field staff (eg ministry of MJD staff with regular district contact) and youth themselves
- utilize any resources available outside the country in terms of ‘guides’ to running youth centres. These could be translated.
- use buildings offered by ‘partner’ organisations such as churches, or local disused halls
- be used to actively link with youth friendly health service
- be open to those over 15 or 16 and have an upper age limit

Timing – is the event at a time that is convenient. It will be necessary with some age groups and in some locations to have two ‘identical’ sessions as some go to school in the morning and some in the afternoon. The emphasis should not be on ‘events’ or ‘one-off’ things, but on developing a sustainable routine that is youth ‘owned’.

‘Openness’ of a venue – Mozambican children like to just ‘hang around’ / (‘ficar’). They will be drawn to a place where they can meet, play and be safe even if there is not always a specific programme to engage them. (Refer to ‘clubs’ below)

5.2.2 Health

- SSAJ are appreciated by youth and should be ‘scaled up’ (there is not a great coverage of these centres). This could be begun through simply having an ‘adolescent’ session time in the clinic, and availability of free condoms.
- Develop more effective ways of supporting activists to reach out of school mid-teenage boys (often working) and girls 16-18 (married or mostly at home).

5.2.3 Sanitation

Youth are acutely aware of the dangers of poor sanitation but lack the power to do anything about it. The environment is already a part of the school curriculum, but

- Community level ‘environmental education’ events or awareness campaigns could be run by youth and adolescents, possibly with support of relevant government department.
- UNICEF could provide training.
- There is potential for pursuing the cross cutting theme of ‘children’s participation’ in programming in the area of sanitation and ‘Child Sanitation Committees’ are an example of this. This study would support continuation of such approaches.

5.2.4 Communication

Learning can take place, and information can be shared more widely through **radio** than other forms of media. Radios are cheaper and easier to maintain than TV, and in rural areas more practical than paper forms of information. In the context of this

study, radio helps to protect at least 4 of the rights violations (information, education, health, leisure)

The DHS 2004 tells us that on average half the households in the our site districts have radios (with slight variation). In this research, the number of children who had radios **that worked** in the localidade was less than half the number who said they had a radio. That is to say only about one in three radios was working.

- The recommendation is for a **project in which radios are mended and maintained**. This could be either through a technical service funded by UNICEF and offered locally through those with the skills, or else part of a wider ‘skills’ and ‘training’ initiative. (See 5.3 Informal sector skills Training)

5.2.5 Girls Education

The two areas of HIV and Girls Education combine in the issues of sexual abuse in schools.

- UNICEF should become fully aware of the work already being done in this area and devise a strategy with other partners to assess the extent of the problem and consider a further investigation into how abuse takes place (eg. possible marginalizing of victims attempting to ‘speak out’, ignorance or lack of relevant school policy and clear procedure, fear of ‘getting involved’, weak reporting mechanisms, shielding of perpetrators, concealing abuse).
 - needs huge professional experience in the area.
 - any initiative of UNICEF needs to begin with dialogue with the Ministry of Education.
 - strong partnerships needed with NGOs based specifically around child rights and abuse issues.
- Encouraging a “National response” should include
 - guidelines on HIV in school in collaboration with teaching societies
 - a national campaign on school violence and exploitation – including advocacy on the negative effects on girls – emotions, health, continuing education
 - national initiative on gender equity – such as a ‘gender equity task team’ to monitor the developments in gender equity within education
 - support and input from professional teachers associations
 - provincial initiatives with NGOs to support

5.2.6 HIV/ MFME

The UNICEF programme MFME has been evaluated elsewhere but the main recommendation coming out of this report is to form further partnerships at district level *using* the skills and contacts of the activists to implement other suggestions covered in these recommendations. (see ‘Youth Clubs’)

Further investigation is recommended into the level of stigma and discrimination at community level in general.

5.3 National Youth sector Advocacy Issues

5.3.1 Non formal Skills Training

Even if UNICEF is not in a position to implement skills training, it was a major finding from this study and it should form part of their partnership with government and take higher profile as an advocacy issue.

5.3.2 Agricultural Priority

Although this varies by region, and UNICEF does not have agricultural programming, it is a crucial area for the country and one that seems very under-resourced and under-valued.

Due to the high level of 'rejection' amongst youth, the field needs some attention in terms of promotion at country level.

5.3.3 Supporting sport at district level

Sport at district level is under-supported. The only sport really available is football, and this is even more so in localidades. However, a repeated theme amongst general youth was that they 'have no ball'. The locally made balls are used because it is the only option. Ball generally cost about 10-15\$ in the nearest city, a prohibitive amount even for a group of individuals with no employment.

The recommendation is to support community football by providing footballs to clubs (or even groups of clubs).

Given the weak level of collective spirit and 'trust' amongst youth in general it will be necessary to have a monitoring system in place and the initiative could start by making footballs available only to teams, who have to fill in a team list to obtain, and pay a small sum (perhaps 50,000 per team) which they could collectively raise.

Ownership will undoubtedly be the difficulty (perhaps even with this collective recognition) and the process would be well worth monitoring for future study. Even if it didn't work out - finding the reason why would possibly be instructive for future initiatives. Those involved may learn something about the value of collective ownership and there are cases where such collective ownership can work

Annexes

Annex 1: Focus group discussion guide for use with young people

The following was used a general guide in focus group discussions:

A) General priorities and problems	<p>1. What are the problems and difficulties for young people in your town/ village? Identify the priorities.</p> <p>2. What are the positive and negative aspects of being a young person in your town/ village?</p> <p>Tool: Diamond Prioritization</p> <p>Variation</p> <p>If you had a chance to go on the radio on a programme for young people what would you talk about?</p>
B) Places	<p>Tool: Mapping</p> <p>1. Which are the places you prefer to go? Why?</p> <p>2. Are there any places you cannot go? Which? Why not?</p> <p>Tool (16-18) Community/town walk</p>
C) Activities	<p>Tool: Day Line</p> <p>1. What do you like to do in your free time?</p> <p>2. What do you like to do but you cannot? Why can't you?</p> <p>3. Which activities do you do which you do not like?</p>
D) Living conditions/ local environment	<p>1. Are there aspects of the environment in this town that are bad for young people? Which? Why?</p> <p>2. What are the problems in your area (near the house, neighbours..)?</p> <p>Who treats these problems (no one, neighbours, you, your parents, local administration?) How do they treat these problems?</p> <p>3. Have there been any changes in your living conditions in the last two years? Which?</p> <p>4. Which are the places that are most dirty here? Do you think this might provoke health problems?</p> <p>(11/12) Is your living condition good or bad? Why?</p>
E) Services	<p>1. Which services exist in your localidad/VS?</p> <p>2. Which services are specifically for youth?</p> <p>Tool: Venn Diagram of services</p> <p>Tool: Matrix – quality of services</p>
F) Education	<p>1. What is education like here?</p> <p>2. Who has access to school? Who doesn't?</p>
G) Health	<p>1. What illnesses are greatest problems here?</p> <p>2. What experience do you have of a family member being ill? Did you help? How? What did other people do?</p> <p>3. What can you do to avoid illness?</p> <p>E fácil fazer isso?</p> <p>4. Do you use curandeiros? Why? Why not?</p> <p>5. HIV / AIDS /DTS</p>

	<p>a) What do you know about HIV/AIDS? b) What can young people do to avoid infection? c) Do you think you know enough about HIV/AIDS or do you want to know more?</p>
H) Rights	<p>1. What are the rights of youth? Try to list them? 2. Who is responsible for upholding these rights? 3. Are some of them violated?</p> <p>Tool 1: After listing them, sequence the rights Tool 2. Matrix: Rights (education, to live, be heard, participate..) vs responsibility (state, parents..)</p>
I) Participation	<p>1. Do you take part in the decisions of the community? 2. Are you heard or consulted about things to do with youth? 3. What role can youth have in contributing to solving problems of the community? 4. Do you participate in any sports or cultural activities?</p>
J) Communication	<p>1. Who do you speak to when you have a problem? 2. Who do you speak to when you have an idea to do something, such as a youth project or activity?</p>
K) Organisations	<p>1. Are there any NGOs working with youth here? What 2. What is your experience of these or other associations that work with youth here? 3. Do other people ever come in from 'outside' the community to do activities?</p>
L) Aspirations	<p>1. What are the best professions? Why? 2. Do you have any hope for change in the town? 3. What are your main hopes for the town?</p>
M) Gender relations and friendships	<p>1. Do you have friendships with members of the opposite sex? 2. Do you talk to them (boys/girls) about different things? 3. What is a 'good' boy/girl for you?</p>
N) Culture and society	<p>1. Which aspects of your culture are dying out? 2. Which of these do you think need to be preserved? 3. Which do you think should disappear? 4. Is there any discrimination shown to any people or groups of people, either by adults or by young people?</p>
O) Solutions	<p>1. Do any of the problems we've spoken about have solutions? Which?</p>

Annex 2: Participatory Tools

Here is a summary of the main participatory tools, with a note on the data produced and a relevant way the tool may be used.

Tool	Type of Data	Example of use
Role play – facilitator/researcher or participants will set up scenario for role play then young people take on roles. participants analyse the outcomes through questioning	Highly ‘interpretatable’ data. some quantitative in terms of number of times certain scenarios or solutions emerge, but mostly highly qualitative data,	Looking at different ways young people see of avoiding a ‘risky’ sexual situation or looking at youth’s attitudes to sexual corruption in schools, or to crime
‘Simulation’ – an imaginary scenario is given, and small groups/pairs discuss possible solutions/ actions/ reactions	Qualitative data about possible views of what responses to take to certain problems. Scenarios should be realistic within the context	A girl moves to the city to live with her uncle. what might she encounter and how can she protect her well-being
Spidergram – draw a circle around a focus (eg. themselves) and connect related items with a line to each. Thickness can indicate importance and length indicate distance	Mostly qualitative in being able to draw out a group/ individual comment on the elements in the drawing	Used to look at the support structures available to young people - which are most important and which are most accessible? (school, community groups, church, family, clinic)
‘Ranking’ exercises – participants either place cards in order or groups of importance, or else they use an allocation of beans to ‘vote’ for a number of items. They can vote how they wish (eg. put all three in one, one in each etc)	Quantitative data about relative importance of particular issues or themes, sometimes in relation to a decision that needs to be made, or the relative importance or quality of different items	A school committee wants to prioritize three issues to take to a school council. They list all ideas suggested and give each participant three beads. OR ‘these are all important life areas’ (study, sex, sport, earning money..) put them into ‘very important’ and ‘less important’
Matrix: This tool allows researchers to assess aspects of something. One axis carries one variable, the other another variable	Qualitative and quantitative. Aspects can be assessed in terms of strength of comment and in terms of numbers prioritising certain aspects	On one side we can put, for example, services, and on the other axis aspects of quality of those services
Day line: participants draw what they do during a day along a line representing the hours of a day.	Quantitative: if many individuals have the same routine. Qualitative: Discussion can arise around activities, and can also lead to places, people, priorities or problems.	The priorities of someone’s day can be seen through the way things are drawn and spoken about.
Mapping –participants ‘map’ an area, such as their school, or their local community, and label items. A ‘key’ can be developed according to gender, age etc.	Qualitative - can be good for looking at different perceptions of the same community according to older/younger, men/women, duty-bearers/rights holders. What do people draw first?	Draw your area and anything on it to do with ‘having fun’ – a part where young people play football, assemble to talk/socialize, play games, buy/look at shops...

Annex 3: Rights of the Child – The CRC

The abbreviated right in the right hand column is subsequently used in Annex 6: The Human Rights Grid

Article	Rights of the Child	Abbreviated right
2	Respect and ensure rights.... without discrimination	Non-discrimination
3	The best interests of child primary consideration Protection and care as necessary for well-being , taking into account the rights and duties of parents or guardians	Protection as necessary for well-being
5	Respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents or members of the extended family or community as provided by local custom	Role of extended family
12	Right to express views freely in all matters affecting the child , the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child	Express views on matters affecting him/her
13	Freedom of expression ; including the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers	Impart and receive information and ideas
14	Freedom of thought , conscience and religion...rights and duties of parents to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right	Freedom of thought, parent to encourage
15	Freedom of association and to peaceful assembly	Freedom of association
17	Access to information and material from a diversity of...sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well being, and physical and mental health	Access to information from variety of sources
18	Both parents have common...and primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interests of the child will be their basic concern.	Both parents to act in best interest of child
19	Measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse , neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation	Freedom from physical violence, maltreatment or exploitation
24	Right of the child to the highest attainable standards of health and facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health	Highest attainable standards of health
27	Standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development. Parents or guardians have primary responsibility to secure, within their abilities and financial capacities, the conditions of living necessary for the child's development.	Living conditions necessary for development
28	Access to education Right of the child to education and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity... primary education free and compulsory for all , and encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education ...offering financial assistance in case of need. Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop out rates.	Access to education, Free education. Financial assistance if necessary
29	Quality and aims of education Education to be directed to: the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities Development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms Development of respect for parents, his or her own cultural	Education that enhances: personality, respect for adults and environment, culture, values, responsibility.

	identity, language and values , for the national values of the country in which the child is living Preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society Respect for the natural environment	
31	Right to rest and leisure ...and to participate fully in cultural and artistic life...equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity	Rest and leisure
32	Right to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with the child's education , or be harmful to the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development.	Protected from economic exploitation and hazardous work
33	Take all appropriate measures to protect children from the illicit use of narcotic drugs	Illicit use of drugs
34	Protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse...in particular...the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity...the exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices	Sexual exploitation
35	Appropriate measures to prevent abduction of, sale of, or traffic of children for any purpose or in any form	Trafficking of children
37	No child should be subjected...to degrading treatment or punishment .	Degrading treatment or punishment

Annex 4: Adolescent LIFE STAGES

- many youth entered already the 'adult world'
- duty bearers as well as rights holders
- concern with employment (particularly boys) and marriage (particularly girls)
- able to make own decisions depending on family context
- parents – may be tension or even equilibrium over who are the 'duty-bearers', financially or in tasks
- those having to leave education usually have nothing to 'follow' this, hence their individual capacities are not stretched or developed
- more responsibility on 'me' to 'claim' my rights
- may form 'groups' which informally or formally support them, socially or economically

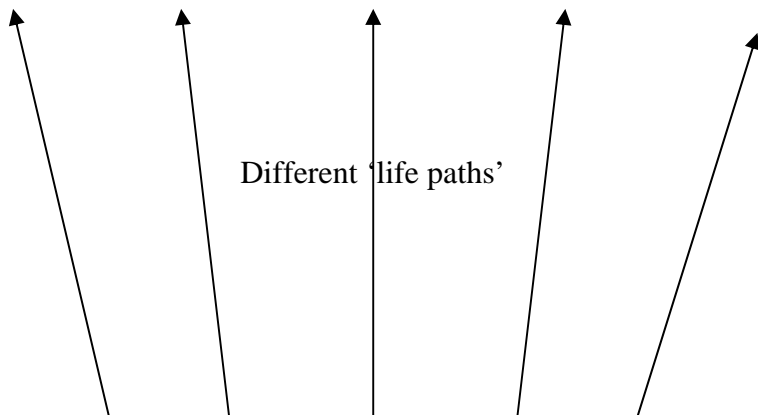
16-18 Years

DUTY BEARERS

associations/ clubs
church
school teachers
elders in the community
NGOs/ projects

Some duty bearers fall in importance and others increase in importance

Annex 4: Duty Bearers and Adolescent Life stages



- teenagers 'experimental'
- developing own 'identity'
- gendered relations changing
- accessing services alone (eg SAAJ)
- possibility for participation in projects where they exist
- more control over own lives
- relationships with adults increasingly important
- views on important decisions may not be heard (eg whether to go to school)

13-15 Years

State
Teachers
Parents
Extended family members
Friends
Police
curandeiros
NGOs/ projects
Elders

Duty bearer roles evolve as individual takes greater place in wider society

In general similar life experiences across gender and world revolves around family.

11-12 Years

- close to home
- family and school important
- awareness of outside world limited, though increases with schooling
- 'Safety' underneath adults is key.
- rely on family for information, unlikely to challenge this
- 'play' more naturally across gender

Parents
Teacher
Extended family (Elders)

Duty Bearers focussed on family

Annex 5: Map of Sites



Annex 6: Human Rights Based Analysis

FINDINGS

Area	CRC	Violation Sede	Violation localidade	Causes	Duty Bearers	Capacity Gaps	Actions
EDUCATION	Free access to Primary education Equal Access for Girls Financial assistance if necessary	11/12 Low	11/12 Medium	Immediate Causes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overburdening of home tasks/ 'biscato' Enforced early marriage (girls) Distances too long for young children to walk (11/12) Costs of pens, clothes and notebook Understanding of role of school undeveloped (very rural)¹⁹ Security for girl 'boarders' for EP 2 Major underlying Cause: extreme poverty	Parents/ guardians State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many families not able to provide for educational necessities Some see immediate use in the home as priority over schooling Marriage seen as immediate 'income' over long term use of education Education seen as only something valuable in terms of those seeking employment Officially there is support for OVC but only 0.1% with poverty certificate and process of support unsystematic and locally politicized 	Advocate for: Systematization of resources for COV (system exists but in practice erratic) Continued campaign for girls education
		13-15 Medium G High	13-15 High				
	Education that enhances: personality, respect for adults and environment, culture, values, responsibility	Medium G High	High	Lack of trained teachers Poor conditions Abuse by teachers (see below) (Secondary schooling) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pressures to help at home increases as age increase Lack of funds and cost of lodgings Necessity to earn money – cannot combine with secondary Education 	State Teachers Partners (training and interventions, eg MFME)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of Pedagogic Training Lack of facilities (eg science/ language) Weak legal structures or redress for abuse 	Increased security of classrooms and boarder lodgings

¹⁹ [Quibb – after 'costs' came 'não serve' as reasons for OOS]

EXPLOITATION	Freedom from physical violence, maltreatment or exploitation	Medium	Low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alcohol 'Feitisaria' and community disharmony Gender and power 	Police Parents State Community	Patterns of behaviour not challenged Exploitation of children not seen as such	Anti – alcohol
	Protected from economic exploitation and hazardous work	Low	Low	Poverty means children have to work for family, for schooling, and even for survival	Parents State		
	Sexual exploitation	G High	G High	Immediate causes: Poverty of girls Lack of ability to 'report' Lack of response on reporting 'Cultural' excuses Abuse of teacher - student power	Teachers State Parents	No system of reporting No accountability for 'teacher behaviour' in this area Lack of 'professionalism' amongst such teachers Loose professional boundaries accepted	School sensibilization and action on abuse Anti-abuse advocacy campaign Strengthened 'educational' focus of current HIV awareness campaign
	Protection as necessary for well-being	Medium	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Darkness No safe places for young children outside of home High rate of petty crime 	State (Local administration) Police Parents Community leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community does not function as a collective unit for security of children. Young people still 'problematized' – they 'get into trouble' rather than need protection Lack of repercussions for attacks and abuse in the community Lack of lighting/ electricity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Better training for community police (many behave erratically) Creation of youth 'spaces' Community monitoring

PARTICIPATION	Freedom of thought (parent to encourage)	Medium	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinions that contradict adults not accepted 	Parent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adults do not see the relevance of young people's views. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community training in youth participation
	Impart and receive information and ideas	Medium	High	Not all relevant information shared	State	<p>No channels to impart information</p> <p>Receive information only through radio and school</p>	<p>Improve access to radio</p> <p>Use school for imparting of important information, such about services or sexual health information</p>
	Freedom of association	Medium	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Possibility of 'bad influence' creates fear in guardians who restrict association Few groups exist outside of the city, and of schools and churches 	State Parents	<p>Lack of initiative</p> <p>Associations without funding and skills</p> <p>Enthusiasm low</p>	Use those already 'trained' in youth events, eg activists, to train youth
	Access to information from variety of sources	High	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information from outside does not reach 	State at local level (NGOs)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Keep radios working Utilize the structure of localidade/ Sede in terms of local power/ communication structures
	Rest and leisure	Medium	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of facilities Children taken up in 'home tasks' and 'machamba' work State does not fund sport 	Parents Churches CNJ MJD Youth	<p>Financial means</p> <p>State without money for sports Facilities (eg parks, sport)</p> <p>Lack of co-ordination</p> <p>Funding</p>	<p>Support rural sport</p> <p>Places of leisure for youth</p>

					Associations		
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HEALTH/ ENVIRONMENT	Highest attainable standards of health	Medium	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conditions, such as impure water • Distance from good water supply • Dirty conditions around the home 	State	Parental ignorance in hygiene Lack of knowledge about hygiene and health issues Lack of health posts in localidades	Increase SAAJ into rural areas
	Living conditions necessary for development	High	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No building materials • No funds to build adequate housing 	Parents	Lack of building knowledge Lack of materials	Greater education of adults around hygiene
	Illicit use of drugs	Low	Low	Depression, despair	Parents Police	Lack of strategy for combat of drugs	Awareness raising through peer education