Sexual Harassment in Schools
Descriptions, Explanations and Solutions among Participants

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Abstract

Sexual harassments in schools have been identified as one of the factors preventing girls from attending education. Moreover, both female and male students who attend education and witness male teachers harassing female students may perpetuate this behaviour. In Mozambique, research addressing sexual abuse and harassments in school focus on the fact that decrees and policies on zero-tolerance against sexual abuse are not followed up properly. There is little research addressing how students perceive the issue, and even less on male students’ understanding of the phenomenon in relations to female students’ understanding.

This study took place at two schools in Maputo, Mozambique, and examines what approach students in secondary school and university, as well as adults working around these students have upon sexual harassments and abuse in school. Furthermore, officials and informants at NGOs addressing gender issues and sexual harassments in schools were interviewed. The purpose was to find out how the informants described the phenomenon, what they believed were the reasons behind it and how they thought it could be prevented.

The result has been analysed through a gender and power analysis. The study uses the social constructionist theory of gender, recognising that gender is constructed through interaction and expectations of people (Francis & Skelton 2005:28), and Collen’s (1996) theory of hegemonic masculinity, which explains how the patriarchy is legitimised. Further, in order to analyse the result, Allen’s (1998) theories of power-over, power-to and power-with as well as Lukes’ (2005) theories of different dimensions of power have been used.

The informants described sexual harassments as occurring between male teachers and female students at the schools. However, there was a discrepancy between the male and the female students’ perception of whether it is the male teacher or the female student who is the harasser. Despite this, the informants agreed on sexual harassments occurring between female teachers and male students being rare.

The explanations to why it occurs range from the patriarchal structures, myths claiming that an older man is given good luck if having sex with a virgin, the female students’ fear of failing in school if not saying yes to the teacher, her interest in getting material benefits and her lack of interest in studying, to the male teacher’s lack of ability to control himself sexually. The different explanations were given depending on how the informant described the phenomenon. This also led to different conclusions to what should be done to come to an end to sexual harassments. An issue brought up was the difficulties to report harassments and the lack of punishment towards the teachers. Further, some believed that the female students should be subjected to awareness raising in order to dress properly and focus on the studies.

While the risk of the male students perpetuating the behaviour of male teachers harassing female students is prevalent, the female students interviewed have the power to say no to the teachers, but not the power-to report. There are a number of organisations addressing the issue in different ways and there are regulations on how to report. However, in order to work holistically with the issue, the male students have to be included in the work and the organisations have to co-ordinate their measures in order to find a solution to the problem.

Key words: sexual harassment, gender, power, education, Mozambique
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List of Abbreviations
CEDAW Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CSTL Care and Support for Teaching and Learning
HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDG Millenium Development Goal
MINED Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education)
MMAS Ministério da Mulher e da Acção Social (Ministry of Women and Social Action)
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
UNDE União Nacional para o Desenvolvimento Estudantil
UNICEF United Nations Children’s Fund

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1. Introduction

Education is one of the foundations for the development of a country. Especially the education of girls has been found to have great impact on future economic and social development (Todaro & Smith 2009:385; Rischard 2002:102). This is further recognised by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) campaign, through MDG two and three: “Universal Education” and “Gender Equality”, of which the first target is to eliminate gender disparity in education (UN 2012-06-18 a).

One of the factors identified to prevent girls from attending schooling is sexual harassments from male peers and teachers (Grown et al. 2005:50-52). The phenomenon of sexual harassments and abuse in a variety of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa has been examined mainly taking the point of departure in how female students react to it (Leach 2003). The research tends to describe the female students as victims. Thereby, when describing what needs to be done to combat it, there is a focus on the importance of teaching female students to identify what sexual abuse is, and empowering them to say no as well as reporting (Aikman, Unterhalter & Challender 2005:48-53; UNICEF 2011:140-141). Further, some authors prompt for a general improvement of the quality of education as well as the criminal justice system (Brookes & Higson-Smith 2004:125-126).

When the problem is normalised, there is a risk of young men identifying with male teachers, and thereby reproducing the aggressive and sexual behaviour towards women (Barker & Ricardo 2006:167; Chege 2006:31-32). The risk in describing female students as victims and male teachers as aggressors without analysing the phenomenon through the concepts of gender and power is that one may maintain the status quo. Further, without trying to match the young students’ opinions to what is being done to combat the problem, one will not come to a solution to it.

1.1 Research Problem

In Mozambique, there are fewer female students in relation to male students in all levels of education, with the disparities increasing with rising levels of education (UN 2012-06-18 b). Further, there are only a few articles and some research from local NGOs addressing sexual abuse and harassments in schools in Mozambique. These articles mainly point out that decrees and policies on zero-tolerance against sexual abuse are not followed up properly. The articles also give general overviews of launched campaigns against sexual abuse (Aikman,
Unterhalter & Challender 2005:48-53, UNICEF 2011:140-141). Hence, there is little addressing how male students in Mozambique perceive the issue in relation to the female students’ understanding of it. Moreover, the reports leave out a gender and power analysis. Analysing how male and female students perceive sexual harassments in schools through a gender and power analysis may bring insight to how the phenomenon affect the formation of male identities among young men.

1.2 Relevance
Through understanding how sexual harassments in schools affect the formation of young men’s identities, one may find ways to include and involve young men in the work against the problem. This is needed in order to create an educational environment where no one is discriminated and thereby increase the number of female students in school.

1.3 Purpose and Research Questions
The purpose of this study is to understand how young people’s gender norms influence their approach and view upon sexual abuse and harassments in schools and vice versa how sexual harassments influence the young people’s gender roles. Furthermore, the purpose is to bring an understanding to how teachers, ministries and organisations correspond towards the students’ perceptions of what needs to be done to combat the phenomenon.

- How do the actors describe and experience sexual abuse and harassments in school?
- What are the reasons given for sexual harassments and abuse existing in schools?
- What is best done in order to prevent sexual harassments and abuse in schools, given the theories of gender and power that will be applied?

1.4 Methodological and Theoretical Considerations
In order to answer the research questions, qualitative interviews with students, teachers, parents, organisations and authorities working with issues concerning sexual abuse and harassments have been carried out. Furthermore, the result from the interviews has been analysed through the social constructionist theory of gender (Francis & Skelton 2005:28) and Lukes’ and Allen’s theories of power (Lukes 2005:25-28, Allen 1998:33-35).

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations
This research will only focus on some students’ thoughts around the issue. A research examining the effect of school sexual abuse on male students’ identity would need a couple of years’ time. Moreover, the research is limited to the students and people that I have interviewed. Hence, no generalisations can be made towards the population of Mozambique,
but a deeper understanding to the phenomenon is created since participants are already familiar to it.

1.6 Disposition
The thesis will start with a discussion of the conceptual frameworks, power and gender, followed by an introduction to the concept of sexual harassments and abuse in schools. In chapter 3, the methodological procedures chosen will be presented. Thereafter, in chapter 4, the result from the interviews will be presented according to participator group and to how the group describe the phenomenon, what they believe are the reason behind it and how the group thinks it should be presented. In chapter 5, the participators views will be discussed according to the conceptual frameworks. In the final chapter, answers to the research questions and some conclusions based on the analysis will be given. Further, some recommendation for further research will be presented.
2. Theoretical Framework
The frameworks, which will be used to analyse the findings as well as previous literature, will be presented in this chapter. The theoretical frameworks are the social constructionist perspective of gender and Connell’s theories on hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1996), as well as a combination of Lukes’s dimensions of power (2005) and Allen’s concept of power combined with a gender analysis (1998). When analysing the data, the concepts of gender and power will contribute to the understanding of the discourse around sexual abuse and harassments in schools, among students, teachers, authorities and representatives from organisation working with the phenomenon. Through understanding the processes perpetuating the power relations in the dimensions brought up by Lukes (2005:25), and through strengthening the processes contributing to power-with, one may bring about a change of the situation.

2.1 Gender
The understanding of gender in this thesis takes the departure in a social constructionist viewpoint, in which it is recognised that gender and identities are constructed and perpetuated through interaction and expectations (Francis & Skelton 2005:28). In other words, “our identities are a fluid assemblage of the meanings and behaviours that we construct from the values, images, and prescriptions we find in the world around us” (Kimmel 2008:100). Hence, gender is not produced biologically, but rather socially, and a distinction between gender and sex is made. While the sex of a person is biological, the person may socially acquire behaviour and characteristics that are considered to belong to a gender. The gender that is acquired can be based on the sex of the person, through how the person is addressed, if the person is included or excluded and through the expectations laid upon the person (Francis & Skelton 2005:28-29). Through acting according to these socially acquired structures, the gendered man and woman will continue to be reproduced. Thereby, it can be said that individuals are doing gender (Kimmel 2008:116).

The social constructionist perspective of gender can be compared to the sex role theory. While it is recognised that masculine and feminine roles are learnt through socialisation, with different expectations and norms connected to each role, these roles are based on the biological sex. Further, according to sex role theory, people occupying counter-positions are in charge of reinforcing and maintaining these roles. Hence, the sex roles are not produced according to a social structure; it is rather people themselves who reproduce the roles and the
inequalities between the sex roles (Connell 1987:47; 1996:45). Furthermore, many sex role theorists have considered both the male and female roles to be dependent on each other. Thereby, there is no discussion about the power relationships between the two roles. Another critique against the sex role theory is that if there is only one male role and one female role, there will be many people who do not fit the picture, who do not feel that they have all the attributes connected either to the male or female role (Connell 1987:49-51; Kimmel 2008:108).

In contrast to the sex role theory, the social constructionist viewpoint rather recognises that gendered identities can be constructed differently in different contexts (Jacquette & Staudt 2006:28). The contexts may vary; for example, it may be that gender is constructed differently in developed countries from developing countries. It may also be that gender is constructed differently depending on class or race within the same country. Chandra Tapalde Mohanty (2006:19-21) criticises Western feminists’ description of women in developing countries as one homogeneous group with the same interests and desires. One must recognise that different groups of women may have different needs and interests, depending on their historical material reality (Mohanty 2006:23). Furthermore, when a power perspective is laid upon this description of women, they are often considered to be powerless, since men are those described as having power. Mohanty (2006:31) argues that this description rather reinforces the differences between men and women. Hence, it is important to recognise that there are different perspectives of power and that these perspective may influence the analysis of gender relations differently.

Similarly, Raewyn Connell (1996:101) criticises the description of there being one masculinity. There is rather, Connell (1996:101) argues, a hegemonic masculinity. Through hegemonic masculinity, the dominant position of men and the subordination of women, the legitimacy of the patriarchy, is maintained. Men carrying the hegemonic masculinity do not have to be authorities; it is rather the produced ideal of masculinity that maintains the current hegemony. Women or other men may challenge this hegemony. Hence, while relations between men and women are built on dominance and subordination, this may also be the case among groups of men. While not all men are practicing the hegemonic masculinity, most benefit from it.
Furthermore, there are also men who become marginalised because of structures such as sexuality, class and race. Men from these groups may be included in the dominant group’s hegemonic masculinity through authorising it. However, this authorisation does not benefit the majority of the marginalised group (Connell 1996:101-105). While the hegemony is not maintained primarily through using violence, members benefiting from it can use violence in order to sustain their dominance. This violence may take its form of verbal abuse, harassment at the workplace, or domestic violence. However, the need of using such violence is an indicator of the imperfections of these structures (Connell 1996:107-109).

2.2 Power

According to the proponents of the social constructionist perspective of gender, there is a certain power relationship in which the social structures contribute to men as a group having power over women as a group. However, individual men may not feel powerful in relation to individual women (Kimmel 2008:103). This could be explained through Connell’s argument of how the majority of men benefit from the hegemonic masculinity rather than actually practicing it (Connell 1996:103).

Steven Lukes (2005:25) explains that there are three different dimensions of power. The first dimension is Dahl’s explanation of power; “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Dahl 1957 in Lukes 2005:16). Hence, this dimension focuses on decision-making in observable, overt conflicts over key-issues; it is possible to notice that A makes B do something that he or she does not really want. The second dimension is when A influences social and political values so that it “creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts” (Bachrach and Baratz, cited in Lukes 2005:20). This dimension focuses on observable, covert conflicts over issues or potential issues. Hence, the non decision-making is also considered. The third dimension is when power is used in order to prevent conflicts from arising to the political agenda. This dimension focuses on latent conflicts, and includes decision-making as well as control over the political agenda. Through control over the political agenda and discourse, conflicting views will not be publicly aired. B will act against his or her own interests, in willing compliance with the ruling norms (Lukes 2005:27-28).

Amy Allen (1998) introduces a different set of concepts in relation to power and adds a gender perspective to her analysis. The first concept is power-over, which is “the ability of an
actor or set of actors to constrain the choices available to another actor or set of actors in a nontrivial way” (Allen 1998:33). When power-over is executed to the disadvantage of others, it is domination (Allen 1998:34). The second concept is power-to, which is “the ability of an individual actor to attain an end or series of ends” (Allen 1998:34), and similar to empowerment, it explains how subordinated groups may act despite their subordination (Allen 1998:35). If groups work together in solidarity towards a collective empowerment, this would be explained as power-with. This is “the ability of a collectivity to act together for the attainment of a common or shared end or series of ends” (Allen 1998:35).

2.3 Sexual Harassments and Abuse in Schools

In order to discuss sexual harassments and abuse in schools, it is important to define what is meant by it. Most authors describe it as a part of gender violence, violence that explicitly or implicitly address gender aspects. Explicit gender violence involves “sexual harassment, aggressive or unsolicited sexual advances, touching and groping, intimidation, sexualised verbal abuse, assault or rape” (Leach 2004:1) and implicit is when everyday life “reinforce and perpetuate gender differences through physical, verbal or psychological/emotional aggression” (Leach 2004:1-4). In this viewpoint, both sexual abuse and harassments are features of a greater scope of gender violence. However, sexual acts are only described as abuse or harassments when they are unwelcomed by the victim (Collins 2006). If the phenomenon becomes normalised within the gender structure, the act may not be clearly negated by the girl. Further, in certain contexts, young females may see opportunities in engaging in a sexual activity with a teacher or another male authority, to get good grades or marriage and status in return (Leach 2004:4; 2003:388). Hence, it may be hard to define the acts as sexual abuse or harassments. However, taking into account the dependency of students towards their teachers, and how this phenomenon indicates that the girls are not in control of their own bodies, it must still be considered a form of abuse (Leach 2003:392).

Schools are acknowledged as a place where students go to learn the subjects being taught, but also as a place for developing and perpetuating their gendered identities (Davison & Frank 2007:153, Leach 2003:385-400). Hence, if gender violence takes place in schools, it will affect the students’ perception of what is female and what is male (Leach 2003:388). Fiona Leach (2003:389-390) argues that it is both the school culture and pressure from the peer group that influence students when they form their gendered identities. For girls having restricted access to education, the result may be that an important aspect of being a woman is
to arrange a future husband who can ensure economic security (Leach 2003:390). Further, if the purpose of a relationship is to ensure economic security, the girl may turn to men who are older and more often employed than boys in their own age. Moreover, older men with greater economic assets are those who can afford to pay bride price. Thereby, they have greater access to women than the younger men (Barker & Ricardo 2006:164-165; Leach 2003:390-395). Hence, in this context, it may be beneficial for the girl to have a relationship with a teacher, because despite from good grades, she may also get money and hopefully a marriage in return (Leach 2003:390-395).

Fatuma Chege (2006:31-34) brings some insights to how students’ construction of identities is affected in a context where the phenomenon of sexual abuse is normalised. Due to the harsh corporal punishment against boys by male teachers, compared to the punishment against girls that commonly had sexual undertones, and narratives about female students being sexually abused by male teachers, these were perceived as violent, intimidating and sexual. Contrary, female teachers were perceived as caring and motherly (Ibid. 2006:31-32). The effect of these images of men and women leads many young men to being “socialized into versions of manhood that encourage sexual aggression towards girls” (Barker & Ricardo 2006:167).

Gary Barker and Christine Ricardo (2006:159-193) have examined the perception of manhood and masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially in relation to HIV, conflict and violence. What the authors describe as “a near-universal feature of manhood is that it must be achieved”, and accepted by the social group (Barker & Ricardo 2006:160). In Sub-Saharan Africa, acquiring financial independence and starting a family are the main requirement for achieving manhood. The financial independence is of importance in order to afford paying bride price in regions where that is required. Hence, the lack of a formal job may lead to an increased number of informal relationships, where the couple is not married (Barker & Ricardo 2006:162). A factor influencing the image of manhood may be the tradition of the “big man”, who was in the top of the social hierarchy, with access to land, livestock, houses and wives. In some settings, there are still big men, with greater economic assets, access to land and thereby greater access to women than younger men; it is the older men with jobs who can afford to pay bride price and support their wife. This creates a generational conflict between older and younger men, with the older men explicitly showing that they have greater power (Barker & Ricardo 2006:164-165; 170).
However, in some settings, there are indicators of changing gender roles. Factors influencing this social change are urbanisation and formal schooling. In the cities, young men may lose both positive and negative influence from the traditional forms of social control existing in the countryside. Further, formal education provides a place for “creating or reinforcing specific versions of manhood” (Barker & Ricardo 2006:166). However, research indicates that while gender-equitable messages are promoted, schools may reinforce sexist norms. There are examples of when male students and teachers describe women as “sexual instigators and temptresses. On the other hand, girls described themselves as victims of sexual violence and harassment” (Barker & Ricardo 2006:166). Further, while there are young men who take distance towards sexual harassments and violence against women, and state that it is wrong, there are also those who rather condemn teachers for taking the available girls. This kind of discourse influences the image of manhood as being one where sexual aggression is socially acceptable (Barker & Ricardo 2006:166-170).

Furthermore, there are young men who understand young women who engage in sexual activity in order to get financial benefits. However, many distinguish between these girls as suitable for short-term, sexual relationships, and those being more suitable for long-term sexual relationships (Barker & Ricardo 2006:170). Barker and Ricardo (2006:190-191) conclude that while many reports claim that “women are made vulnerable by the sexual behaviour of men”, this behaviour is publicly affirmed as being a part of male identity. Therefore, young men need to be properly included in the process of changing current gender norms.

Leach (2003:397) concludes that these gender relations have “allowed antisocial and abusive behaviour to flourish unchecked and to be institutionalised” (Leach 2003:397). There seems to be a reluctance to take action among the girls, because of “lack of confidence, the absence of a support system and fear […] of further violence and reprisals, knowledge that they were unlikely to get sympathy and support from teachers or parents, a desire not to draw attention to oneself, and a certain resignation, and acceptance that this was how things were” (Leach 2003:393). Furthermore, the study indicates on a general reluctance towards blaming males; female teachers turned a blind eye because they felt that it was inappropriate to question their male colleagues (Leach 2003:394).
Moreover, much of the research dealing with sexual abuse in schools criticise the criminal justice system and reporting process for not functioning properly (Brookes & Higson-Smith 2004:125, Chege 2006:34, Leach 2004:4). However, there is a debate on what issues are most important to focus on in order to combat the phenomenon. Leach (2004:4-5) prompts for a holistic approach, addressing teachers, parents, pupils, education officials and civil society. The teacher training should bring up the issue when discussing ethical conducts, a healthy teacher-student relationship should be encouraged, life-skills courses introduced and where traditional teaching should question the traditional gender relations. Furthermore, students should be involved in combating sexual abuse through awareness-raising activities such as drama, media, art, poetry and storytelling (Ibid. 2004:5). On the other hand, Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004:125-126) claim that neither programmes aiming at empowering the girls to say no nor programmes aiming at making educators recognise signs of sexual abuse will be efficient in the long run. Rather, schools should strive for a general improvement of students’ safety (Brookes & Higson-Smith 2004:125-126). The phenomenon tends to be taken seriously if there is a recognition and awareness of the phenomenon in form of policies on gender violence and preventive measures at the school. This will also lead to students reporting cases (Ibid. 2004:112-116).

2.4 Research in Mozambique
In Mozambique, a survey from 2008 stated that 70 percent of the female respondents “reported that some teachers use sexual intercourse as a condition for promotion between grades, and 50 per cent of girls stated that not only teachers abuse them sexually, but also boys in their peer group” (UNICEF 2011:140). The UNICEF report further points out that despite the policies and decrees issued, the follow-up on reports of sexual abuse in schools has remained weak. However, issues of sexual abuse are integrated into The Ministry of Education (MINED) 2010 working plan and there is hope for the cases being more adequately treated when reported to school and provincial and district office staff (Ibid. 2011:141).

Much research within the area mainly focuses on what has been done and how NGOs and institutions should work further with the issue. Furthermore, a case study of a girl denouncing sexual abuse by a teacher in northern Mozambique shows how the civil society works with combating the phenomenon. Through establishing a counselling centre in the community, the girls have opportunity to report the cases (Aikman, Unterhalter & Challender 2005:48). Moreover, through educating teachers in gender-equal pedagogies, through including women
in decision-making, and through collaboration with parents, female students can be empowered to report cases (Ibid. 2005:49-53). Moreover, a study of gender and sexuality among secondary school students in Mozambique explains that gender violence occurring in school is a result of inequalities between women and men. In order to come to an end to it, more work has to be done in gender-equal pedagogies as well as severe punishments towards teachers as well as other people who abuse girls sexually (Conceição & Cruz e Silva 2008:329-337).

The literature review is intended to bring some pre-understanding to the research problem. It will be used in the analysis in order to contribute to a deeper understanding of the empirical result. To summarise, one factor preventing girls from attending education is the fact that they run the risk of being sexually harassed or abused by male colleagues or teachers. Previous literature dealing with the phenomenon tends to focus on the female students as the victims and the importance of empowering these victims. This literature also tends to describe the male teachers or students as aggressive perpetrators. It is important to bring other perspectives into the analysis, and to understand underlying and visual structures that make these female students being described as merely victims.
3. Method and Material
In this section, the epistemological reflections and the methodology selected will be presented. This will be followed by an explanation of the sampling and selection of respondents, and how I got access to the field, a discussion about validity and reliability, how the interviews were conducted, the ethical considerations taken and how the data was analysed.

3.1 Epistemology and Methodology
This thesis takes the epistemological departure in hermeneutics and phenomenology. Hermeneutics is described in contrast to positivism, as an ontological viewpoint where the interest is in the meaning of what is said instead of how many times it has been said (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2004).

In objectivistic hermeneutics, there is an interest in studying both the whole and parts of the whole. The idea is that the whole is formed as a circle, or a spiral, and the whole circle can only be understood through the parts of the circle, and vice versa can the parts only be understood from the whole (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2004:91-92, Helenius 1990:259). This thesis focuses on the phenomenon of sexual harassments and abuse in schools, which hence can be interpreted as the whole and the power and gender relations as parts of the whole. Examining the power and gender relations contributes to increase the understanding for the phenomenon and which parts to affect in order to change the situation. However, the power and gender relations are also affected by the fact that sexual abuse and harassments exist in school. This further exemplifies how the parts and the whole interact, and why an understanding of both parts and the whole is relevant.

Further, through the phenomenological perspective of students’ perceptions of gender relations and the phenomenon of sexual abuse and harassments in schools, an interpretative approach towards knowledge is held. Phenomenology as a strategy of inquiry is described as when the researcher extensively studies a number of subjects in order to understand “the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by participants” (Creswell 2009:13). Hence, in this study, the phenomenon is sexual abuse and harassments in schools.

Moreover, this study is influenced by a participatory approach, which “contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which
individuals work and live, and the researcher’s life” (Creswell 2009:9) and focus on the needs of groups and individuals. Though this study may not change the life of the researcher, the focus on what informants think should be done to stop sexual abuse and harassments, and the attempts to match this to how organisations and work against it, is influenced by the participatory approach.

In order to answer the research questions, a qualitative method was chosen. Qualitative methods are characterised by an inductive approach towards theory, an interpretative approach towards knowledge and a social constructionist ontological point of departure. The focus is on how social actors’ view their constructed reality (Bryman 2006:249-250). Further, qualitative research tends to focus on how these actors’ understand a social or human problem (Creswell 2009:4). The mode of inference in this research is rather considered abductive than inductive. That is, some literature on the phenomenon of sexual abuse in schools in developing countries had been read before conducting the interviews, as well as some NGO reports about the situation in Mozambique. However, the focus of this research has been on understanding of the phenomenon in the Mozambican situation. Although I have certain knowledge about this situation beforehand, reinforced by my literature review, this knowledge should be considered as pre-understanding in an abductive meaning.

3.2 Stakeholders and Access to the Field
This research has been influenced by a participatory approach in the sense that it is focusing on young people’s perception of the phenomenon of sexual abuse in school. Thereby, students in secondary school and university were identified as primary stakeholders in this matter, since they are the ones “who will be directly or ultimately affected by an intervention, either positively (beneficiaries) or negatively” (Mikkelsen 2005:72). Schools where to conduct the interviews were selected by the help of UNDE, which is a Mozambican based NGO working with students’ rights and participation in secondary schools in Mozambique. Hence, the organisation has much contextual knowledge. The schools selected were one in a bairro (suburb) of Maputo, and one in a smaller town about 35 km from Maputo city centre. This selection was made in order to get a greater variation and find out if students in the countryside had different views than the students in the city. However, it was pointed out to me that students in the school outside Maputo city were so close that they were still much influenced by the urban life. Further, through the help of my contact person, I also got access to university students in Maputo. Most of these students had taken their secondary education in
Maputo, while some came from central and northern Mozambique as well. Schools are characterised as closed, non-public environments (Bryman 2006:278). Therefore, I needed the permission of the headmasters of the schools and the educational office in Maputo city and Maputo province before starting the interviews. For conducting interviews at the university, permission was granted by the Dean of the Department. These permissions were granted thanks to the help of my contact organisation, UNDE, and contact person at the university. In total, the number of students interviewed was 68, 36 of these being male students and 32 female students.

Table 1: Primary stakeholders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male students school 1</th>
<th>Male students school 2</th>
<th>Male students university</th>
<th>Female students school 1</th>
<th>Female students school 2</th>
<th>Female students university</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 (4 groups)</td>
<td>12 (3 groups)</td>
<td>10 (2 groups)</td>
<td>15 (3 groups, 2 individual)</td>
<td>10 (3 groups, 1 individual)</td>
<td>7 (2 groups)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The teachers and headmasters, as well as representatives of authorities and organisations focusing on these issues were identified as the secondary stakeholders of the research, in being “intermediaries such as implementing organisations, or other individuals, persons, groups or institutions involved in interventions” (Mikkelsen 2005:72). Further, many of these can be seen as key stakeholders in the sense that they can “significantly affect or influence an intervention either positively or negatively during its course” (Mikkelsen 2005:72). This especially regards the teachers and headmasters working in the schools, as well as the authorities in charge of Mozambican education.

Table 2: Secondary stakeholders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers and principals</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Ministries</th>
<th>Organisations and Programmes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female 3 + 3</td>
<td>Male 3 + 3</td>
<td>Female 1</td>
<td>Male 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 Reliability and Validity

While concepts such as reliability and validity can conventionally be applied to quantitative research, qualitative research has to find other criteria and ways of ensuring the quality. Further, while quantitative research often aims at finding a sampling as representative as
possible for a population, qualitative research may rather focus on the meaning that the informants portray (Bryman 2006:312-313). The sampling of my research is not representative for all Mozambican secondary school or university students (Mikkelsen 2005:193; Bryman 2006:116). A combination of a snowball sampling and a convenience sampling was used. At the schools, students were either selected by a contact person at the school, or by me asking groups of students if they wanted to be interviewed. Among organisations, key informants suggested and provided contacts for organisations working with sexual abuse and harassments in schools or gender issues in general. In order to sustain the quality of the research, different individuals representing different perspectives have been interviewed (Bryman 2006:290).

Furthermore, the criteria credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability can be applied in order to ensure the quality of the research. The credibility of the respondents’ answers may be difficult to ensure if the researcher’s description of reality differs from the respondent’s description, or when the respondents’ descriptions differ from each others (Bryman 2006:258). However, this has been solved through constant summarising and checking with the respondents if I understood their answers correctly. Further, the method of triangulation where different kinds of sources are used may ensure the credibility of the research (Bryman 2006:258). Within this research, the different categories of respondents as well as the use of texts from organisations and authorities may increase the credibility. While transferability of the result of qualitative research may not be ensured in other contexts than the one being researched, the researcher may ensure the transferability of methods used (Bryman 2006:260). Dependability can be ensured through a transparent description of the research process (Bryman 2006:260), which I try to do when writing the thesis. Furthermore, the researcher is not allowed to consciously affect the result of the research (Vetenskapsrådet 2002:5-14).

### 3.3 Interviews

While an interview guide was used in all interviews (Mikkelsen 2005:171), the interviews were all more or less conducted semi-structured. The order of questions asked did rather follow the informant’s answers than the order of the interview guide. Further, follow-up questions to the informants’ responses were asked (Bryman 2006:301). Moreover, the interview guide mainly consisted of open-ended questions, and why-questions were asked sparingly (Mikkelsen 2005:173).
With students, the majority of the interviews were focus groups or group interviews, with two to six students in each group, with the exception of some individual interviews. The aim of using focus groups is to be able to let people discuss a specific topic in depth. In contrast, group interviews usually cover more than one issue and may be more structured than focus groups (Bryman 2006:325; Mikkelsen 2005:173). The focus groups conducted in this study focused both on gender issues and questions about sexual harassments and abuse in schools. Some of the groups discussed the matter freely and much on their own, while others rather answered the questions one by one.

However, with teachers, principals and representatives of organisations and authorities, individual interviews were conducted. Both female and male teachers were interviewed, of different ages and teaching different subjects. Further, at the schools, parents and headmasters were also interviewed in order to get a holistic picture of the situation. These, as well as representatives of both the Ministry of Education (MINED) and the Ministry of Women and Social Access (MMAS) were interviewed, and representatives of organisations working with children and community development, women’s rights, student’s rights and the formation of masculinities were considered as key informants. Thereby, opinions and attitudes among those working with the issues were collected (Mikkelsen 2005:172).

The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, in order to avoid information being lost in translation through the use of an interpreter. While the interviews with students were recorded while I was taking notes, the data from the individual interviews was only collected through note taking. Every day, after having interviewed either students or individuals, every interview was summarised. I listened through the recordings and complemented the summaries with what I had missed out on through the note taking.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Being quite a sensitive topic, I found it of outmost importance to consider the ethical aspects when conducting interviews and presenting the data of the research. Before conducting the interviews, the ethical principles regarding research in Social Science were followed. The first is the rule of information and all participants were informed about the purpose of the study, that participation was optional and that they did not have to answer questions they did not feel comfortable answering. Further, following the rule of consent, I made sure that I had the
informants’ consent before conducting the interviews. Moreover, the rule of confidentiality was followed through granting anonymity towards the participants and the rule of usage is followed since the result of the interviews only will be used for this study (Vetenskapsrådet 2002:7-12; Bryman 2006:440-443).

3.5 Analysis of Data
Mikkelsen (2005:160) describes that data is constructed “(i) first, when information is selected; (ii) second, when data is categorized, re-categorized, summarized, etc.; and (iii) third, when data is subjected to systematic investigation and analysis”. In this thesis, the information was selected through interviews and observations at the different schools, ministries and NGOs in Maputo, Mozambique. Thereafter, the data was categorised based on different aspects. The process was similar to the one of coding in ethnography, where codes are used in order to classify the data. The codes can be based on the field where data is collected or the theory, and have different meanings (Aspers 2011:165-180). The codes used in this analysis derived from the field, and were the sex and occupation of the actor and the subject for discussion. It will be presented according to these codes and according to my purpose questions. The third part, according to Mikkelsen (2005:160) is when the data is subjected to systematic investigation and analysis. The data categorised into different aspects has further been analysed through the concepts of power and gender, and thereby related to the research questions.
4. Sexual Abuse and Harassments
The respondents have been categorised according to their role in relation to the phenomenon of sexual abuse and harassments in school. Hereby, the different categories are; male students at secondary school, female students at secondary school, male students at university, female students at university, parents and teachers working at the schools, organisations working to combat the phenomenon as well as ministries involved in the discussion. Within each category, the respondents’ descriptions and experiences of sexual abuse and harassments, the respondents’ perception of why sexual abuse and harassments occur in school, and what the respondents perceive should be done in order to prevent it will be presented.

4.1 Male Students in Secondary School
The male students consist of a total of 26 students, 14 from School 1 and 12 from School 2. These were divided into groups of 2-4 students, and four groups were interviewed at School 1 and three groups at School 2.

4.1.1 Descriptions and Experiences
The male students describe sexual harassments in schools as frequent, and it happens at almost every school. They explain it to be when a teacher demands sexual favours from a student in order to give her or him a grade. Sexual harassments are explained to be when a teacher has sex with a female student, and threatens her with bad grades if she does not agree to have sex with him. A teacher may call a student in order to talk about her grades, but when they meet, suggest that they have sex in order for her to raise her grades. There are few female students who would say no to a teacher because they want to have good grades. Another group includes touching in intimate places in the definition, as well as when students have sex within the school area. Sexual abuse is when a child, a woman or someone else’s sexuality is violated through the person being made having sex with someone they do not want to have sex with, thereby being made do something he or she does not want to do.

However, some of the students also find the teachers to be victims of sexual harassments. They claim that it is often the girl who approaches the teacher, wearing a short skirt and a blouse that shows cleavage. The girl may try to get the teacher’s phone number in order to seduce him. The male students explain that many girls harass teachers sexually through dressing in short skirts and approaching the teachers, suggesting them to have sex in order to raise her grades. This is also harassment towards the male students, because watching a
female student wearing a short skirt will make them excited, and it becomes hard for them to control themselves.

4.1.2 Reasons

The main reason for why sexual harassments occur in schools brought up by the male students in School 1 is that the female students have bad marks. They say that in some cases, a male teacher can threaten a girl with lowering her marks if she does not agree to have sex with him. In School 2, it is rather claimed to be the girl who takes the first step towards dating the male teachers.

In both schools, the male students discuss the influence of culture on the phenomenon. In the first school, one group claims that according to both their African traditions and the Marxist culture, which has been prevalent in the country, men and women have had different gender roles, and women were earlier supposed to stay at home. Therefore, women or girls may think more about marriage instead of further education than boys.

The male students in School 2 confirm the fact that girls think more about dating and relationships (namorar). However, one group rather discusses the influence of modern culture; girls watch Brazilian soap operas instead of football and news on TV. Thereby, they are influenced to wear the same clothes and have the same hair as in the novellas. In order to buy that hair and those clothes, they need money. One group of boys talked much about the fact that girls find older boyfriends who can support them financially. They explained that a girl can have two boyfriends, one who is older and supports her financially, and one in her age who she loves. A boy who has experienced this said that it made him angry, but that one has to accept it because all girls are “farinha do mesmo saco” (flour from the same bag). This becomes a problem, because the boys want to offer love, while the girls only want the material benefits. A group in School 1 also discussed the phenomenon and problem with their peer female colleagues dating older men, where they claimed that it is generally girls who live in a family with poor financial conditions who may date older men. In contrast to the male students in School 1, one boy in School 2 finds the traditional girls who live in the countryside to be appropriate to date, because they still only want love and not material benefits, “elas é o que são nossas para casar” (those are for us to marry).
Since the girls may turn to an older man in order to get material benefits, she may also try to seduce a teacher in order to raise her grades. This is done through wearing short skirts and if the teacher is weak, it will be hard for him to resist. While groups in School 1 discuss having sex or start a relationship with a teacher as an alternative for a female student to get the grades needed to finish secondary education, this is a problem that the male students in School 2 are victims of. It becomes hard for the male students when the female students wear short skirts, because “nos somos seres humanos, então, por vezes, por ver algumas certas coisas, epah, claro que vamos sentir” (we are human beings, so, at times, to see some certain things, well, of course we will feel). This is so because, according to one student, it was only four years ago that girls started to wear short skirts. Though they have to try, it is difficult for them to control themselves when they see so much of the girl’s body. Moreover, the students believe that the teachers influence each other to have sex with the students; if one does it the others may believe that it is ok.

Moreover, in both schools, the male students stress that it does not happen between female teachers and male students. Female students more often offer to help the teacher with carrying things, asking him to buy her lunch, and thereby offer themselves to the male teachers. The female teachers have more distance towards their students. Male students respect their teachers, and view upon the female teachers as mothers. One student says that earlier, they viewed upon male teachers as fathers as well, but towards most teachers, that has changed during the years.

Furthermore, the students believe that it would be embarrassing for a woman to date a younger man. A female teacher would also have to consider the fact that it is illegal and anti-pedagogical. Furthermore, one group says that it does not happen because there are so few female teachers at the school.

4.1.3 Prevention
In order to prevent sexual abuse, one student in School 1 says that the law on the process of reporting should be applied. The same student also talks about the importance of students reporting and the importance of information being spread in schools and bairros. The students recognise that not many report sexual abuse because the victims are afraid to be discriminated against. In School 2, the male students discuss the fact that there is not enough protection for the ones reporting cases of sexual harassments and abuse to the police. Today, a student who
reports may be marked or discriminated against by the teacher who is reported. It would be best if the teacher is transferred to another school during the process.

Furthermore, in School 1, one group believes that the best way to prevent it is for the girls to study more and stop asking for grades in exchange for sexual favours. In School 2, the students believe that the girl should be expelled if she has had sex with a teacher. Girls have to start thinking about what they really are in school to do, to have sex or to study? They have to consider themselves as students, and the teachers as teachers.

Moreover, one group says that they could talk to the girls’ parents if she has sex with the teachers. Thereby, the fathers understand that they have to control the girls’ uniforms better. The students express the need for parents, and especially fathers, to talk to their children, both daughters and sons, about sexuality and relationships. Finally, one group of students believe that there should be more selections in the process of becoming a teacher, to make sure that the person is suited to be a teacher. They understand it as if anyone can become a teacher nowadays.

4.2 Female Students in Secondary School

A total of 25 female students were interviewed, among these 15 were interviewed at School 1 and 10 at School 2. At School 1, these were divided up into three groups and two individual interviews, and at School 2, three groups and one individual interview.

4.2.1 Description and Experiences

One of the groups of female students in School 1 describes sexual harassments as when someone has sex without being comfortable, and another group as a part of gender violence. Some of the students believe that sexual harassments and abuse occur in schools in Mozambique, while others rather claim that it happens outside school. One girl explains that it happens to girls who are not controlled at home, who are allowed to go out when they want to. In one group, there is a girl who has been sexually harassed, by a relative who tried to have sex with her when she was younger. She managed to run away from him, but she was afraid when he stayed in their house that day. After it had happened, she told her sister who told her mother, but she does not know if her mother talked to him. She knows that he has done the same towards her cousin.
In School 2, one group describes sexual harassments to be when a teacher asks a student to have a sexual relationship with him in exchange for a good grade. Another group explains that it is when someone tries to force another person to have sex with him or her even though the person does not want to. According to a third group, it is when a teacher has a sexual relationship with a student who is minor. It is connected to age, and one can choose not to be harassed through saying no. Two groups explain that it is sexual abuse if the student does not have the possibility to say no, if there are threats involved. When violence is involved, it is rape. The students claim that it is normal that sexual harassments happen at the school, and they either know or know about people who have been victims of it.

4.2.2 Reasons
Among the female students in School 1 who believe that sexual harassments occur in their schools, one group describe that some male teachers may harass female students, but that there are also girls who offer sex to the teachers in order to raise their grades. In school 2, some of the students confirm that it may be the girls who want to have sex with the teacher. They approach them with short skirts and open blouses in order for the teacher to give them a good grade in exchange for sex. One group believes that the teachers do not want to abuse the girls, but it is hard for them to control themselves. However, another group says that the teachers should know that they are teachers, and that they are there to educate. Moreover, the female students also say that they sometimes wear short skirts only because it is comfortable and there are teachers who go after girls regardless of what they are wearing.

Further, one group in School 2 describe that when the teachers conquer girls sexually, the girls usually accept to be conquered. However, one girl believes that it is more common in primary school than in secondary school, because the younger students in primary school do not always have the ability to say no.

When it happens in schools, there is always a change involved, usually in order for the students to raise their grades. Hence, one of the girls in School 1 has a friend who agreed to have sex with a teacher. She agreed because she was afraid not to pass or that he would take out some kind of revenge outside school if she said no. In School 2, the female students believe that teachers may like girls, because “antes do um professor ser professor, é um homem” (a teacher is more than a teacher, he is a man). There is a risk with saying no to a teacher if he wants you, because the teacher may make the student fail, not only the subject,
but also the whole year. Since the teachers act as a strong collective, the girl may be given bad rumours among the other teachers. This has very recently happened to one of the students in School 2. She used to help a teacher with carrying books etc. Once, when they were alone in the classroom, he started saying that he wanted her. She replied that she could not, because she is young and a student, and that he should not behave like that. He said that he could give her good marks, but she replied that she only wants marks from her own force. He continues asking her if she has thought about what he has said, and she heard from another teacher that during the teachers’ meeting, he had said that she had changed her behaviour. She knows about this because another teacher who was at the meeting asked her about it, and she started crying and told him about what happened.

Sexual harassment and abuse does not occur between female teachers and male students, because at School 1, there are so few female teachers, and those who are there are older than the male teachers. Moreover, if a male student would like to raise his grade without studying, he would rather try to bribe the teacher with money. The female students describe that boys have more opportunities to earn money and become independent than girls. It is easier for them to get a job without a university degree. Furthermore, one group says that it may happen between students, because there are some boys who threaten girls if they do not have sex with them.

### 4.2.3 Prevention

In order to prevent sexual harassments in schools, more girls have to report it. The female students in School 2 witness about the fact that there are few who report sexual harassments and abuse. The student who has experienced it has talked to the Action Aid girls’ club at the school, but she has not said that it has happened to her. The reasons for why they do not report is that it is difficult, that they are afraid of the rumour they will get, and that the teacher will make them not pass the class. One group in School 1 believes that many are afraid to report it, because if they do, it will be the teacher who has the most credibility, since he is a teacher. Moreover, the students explain that the teachers are united, and that they will try to influence the other teachers to give the student a bad grade.

The female students express the importance of there being someone to talk to, a parent or a caregiver who really listens to them. One group in School 2 says that it would be good if there were a group of female students of their own age from their school to talk to, in order to open
All girls do not seem aware of the fact that the girls’ club of Action Aid is at the school. However, two girls who know about them claim that they have never heard that they have solved any problems.

Moreover, the students believe that there is a need for more support from the principal’s office (direcção) in order to report. They say that the principal has to punish the teacher. Some students believe that teachers should know more about the cases of when teachers have been expelled. Thereby, they would be afraid to commit such crimes. However, the girl who has been sexually harassed by a teacher says that she would not want the teachers to be completely expelled, because they are educated to be teachers and she does not know what they should do if they could not continue their work.

The students say that what they can do themselves is to say no, to study much so that they can reclaim at the principal’s office if they are given a bad grade. If they can show that they have the knowledge, they can show that the grade they are given is not just, without having to report that the teacher tried to seduce or abused them. One student says that she would rather take the year again than having sex with a teacher.

4.3 Male Students at University

At the university, 10 male students were interviewed in two groups.

4.3.1 Description and Experiences

The male students at university explain that sexual harassments in schools are very common, and it has been a problem for a long time. There is much talk about combating it, but in practice, nothing is done. Some believe that there are girls who harass the teachers, that it is even more common than the teacher approaching the student. One student explains it to be harassments when it occurs in the same sector, such as between a teacher and a student. However, if a student and a police would have sex, it would not be harassments. Another student claims that threats have to be involved, if the person uses something to make the other person have sex with him. The teacher has a certain power over the students, which make it harassment. Many of them have friends or sisters whose teachers have asked them to have sex in order for them to raise their grades. Others have had some experience of teaching, and know that they have or have had colleagues who have sex with pupils.
4.3.2 Reasons

The teachers have a certain power over their students, and some use that power in order to have sex with them. It can, for example, be that they threaten the students to lower their grades if they do not have sex with them. They know that the students are pressured from the family to have high grades, and the students may accept it in order to not disappoint their parents. Moreover, in primary and secondary school, the students may not know their rights and how to defend themselves, which may make them say yes to the teachers. On the other hand, teachers have much knowledge about their rights, and if the case is reported, they may be able to defend themselves very well. Furthermore, teachers may bribe both parents and secretaries in order for them not to report or to proceed with the case. The students who work in schools find it hard to report colleagues who harass girls sexually. Because of the high corruption in the system, it may in the end be the one who has reported who looses his job. The students also believe that it is these difficulties with punishing the teachers that make it go on; it is why it is not combated though there is so much talk about it. They say that one reason for why it occurs is that it is so easy for the teachers to do it.

Some students brought up the same issues that were brought up in the interviews in secondary school, but it led to more discussions within these groups. While one says that teachers or students may find it hard to control themselves if girls are wearing short skirts, another student firmly stated that teachers should control themselves, no matter what the students are wearing, because “who is the educator?”. Furthermore, while there were those who said that it may be the girls who approach the teacher in order to get her grades raised, others rather claimed that the teachers have the tendency to put the blame on the student’s clothing, inclining that the clothing may not really be the reason. One student, who also works as a teacher, admitted that it may be hard if a student, above 18 years of age, dresses sexy and “monstra que eu sou presente para ti” (demonstrates that she is present for him); one may react. However, it is up to each and every teacher to take the responsibility and act in a professional way. Whether or not students and teachers can have a passionate relationship without the grades being involved lead to a discussion in one of the groups, where most concluded that the classroom situation would be affected by the relationship. Female teachers do not harass male students sexually, because of the traditional education where women learn to be offered to men and men to conquer women.
4.3.3 Prevention
In both groups, the students claim that the main measure to take in order to prevent sexual harassments in schools is to practice the law, to report colleagues who harass students, and an improvement of the justice system so that the laws are followed. This lead to a discussion on whether it is the system or the persons who are committing the error; “se nos próprios não queremos fazer justicia, esperamos de quem faz a justicia?” (if we do not want to bring justice, who do we hope for to make justice?). This student claims that someone has to be the first to report. Moreover, one group stressed the importance of teachers being professional and knowing their rights and duties. One of the students suggested that the female students have to dress properly, parents and teachers should take the responsibility of controlling the clothing of the girls, and it should be discussed in community and school meetings.

4.4 Female Students at University
Seven female students were interviewed at the university, divided up into two groups.

4.4.1 Description and Experiences
The female students at the university define sexual harassments as something that involves touching someone where she does not want to be touched and it may not always lead to sex. It also includes provoking or manipulating someone into having sex, through some kind of benefit, such as a grade or money. The students in the second group have a few male friends who have been sexually harassed, one by a nun and another one by a teacher but both groups claim that it is more common to happen between a female student and a male teacher. They say that it occurs in all levels of education, but that it is mostly common in secondary school.

4.4.2 Reasons
Group 1 consisted of two female students who themselves also are parents. They believe that sexual harassments mainly happen to young students because they do not understand that the teachers will be excited when they wear short skirts and show much body. Moreover, they believe that there is a lack of posture between the male teachers and female students, and the male teachers must have a greater limit and consider themselves as fathers. If it would happen to their daughters, they would report it.

Group 2 consisted of five younger female students. Some of them have experienced teachers who have tried to have sex with them. For one, it was at secondary school. When they were given their books with grades, she realised that one was missing. That teacher was not at the
school, so when she went home to him to ask about her grade, he suggested that she should come in and make something for them to eat. She clearly stated that she only wanted her grade. In the end, he launched her grade normally. Another student experienced it at another university. She had to do an extra assignment since she had been sick. When she received an abnormal low grade for the work she had done, she went to talk to the teacher. He said that he would give her the grade if she gave her something back. Though she understood that he meant sex, she told him that she could not think of anything that she could give him and she has still not received the grade for that course. When they talk about it, another student says that she has friend who has experienced the same thing with the same teacher. Moreover, some of the students say that it may happen because of the student’s behaviour, her clothing and how she acts outside school. Female students must understand that women bodies are sexual, and many men may think that they provoke them if they wear sexy clothes. However, other students claim that the problem is the mentality of the teachers, and the power that teachers have over the students.

4.4.3 Prevention

However, there is a need for the proper process to function. If it nothing happens with the report, they would report it at a higher instance. However, they also say that many parents do not report it, the reason could be that the teacher offers either financial support or to marry the student. Parents who agree to that do not think about the long-term consequences but rather the short-term financial benefits they will get. In order to prevent it, they believe that more information is needed. Today, moral classes are only offered at church, but it should be included within the school as well as in the communities. Moreover, students should be given extra time to work with subjects that they find difficult.

They discuss the difficulties with reporting, and say that the teachers can get away with it because they can say that they were just playing around. Thereby, it is the student who reported that will be discriminated against. However, one student says that they can just go to the principal’s office and reclaim the grade, without mentioning the issue of sexual harassments. She says that they have the right to do that and to be graded by another teacher. The problem with that is that the office work very slow and it will be a long process. They believe that the institutions for reporting have to be improved, and there should be a place at each school where the female students can report. Moreover, the punishments should depend
on how many girls the teacher has harassed. While one believes that the teacher should be
given a second chance, others say that he should not be given too many chances.

**4.5 Teachers, Parents and Organisations at the Secondary Schools**

At School 1, three male teachers, one female teacher, the study principal and the principal was
interviewed. Moreover, I got the opportunity to talk to two parents as well as a representative
from the governmental programme Geração Biz. At School 2, three male teachers, two female
teachers and the female study director were interviewed. Moreover, I got the opportunity to
talk to representatives of the Action Aid girls’ club established at the school.

**4.5.1 Descriptions and Experiences**

At both of the secondary schools, the male teachers believe that sexual harassment is a
national problem. One of the teachers explains that asking for a female student’s phone
number could be considered to be harassment, since she may feel uncomfortable by that.
While two teachers believe that it does not happen at their schools, others have students who
have talked to them about teachers harassing them. One of the teachers gives an example of a
student who had been harassed by three different teachers. They have been asking her to have
sex with them, though she has said no.

Furthermore, some of the teachers explain that it is most often the girl who approaches the
teacher; they may invite him to take a drink, provoke him by wearing open blouses or short
skirts, or by just telling the teacher that she likes him, while one teacher believes that in the
majority of cases, it is the teacher who is approaching the girl.

The female teacher at School 1 believes that it does not happen in schools in city, only in the
countryside. Because of the laws and current politics, it is hard for a teacher to sexually harass
a student. At School 2, one female teacher believes that it may happen at this school, while
one does not. They explain it as when there is an age difference among the partners, and one
of them says no, but still accepts it to happen. When the student says no and does not want it
to happen, it is sexual abuse.

At School 1, the principal and the study director compare the sexual harassments that occur in
schools to the sexual harassments which occur in companies; which is when a secretary may
have sex with her boss in order to get or keep her job. Secretaries like it because thereby, they
are guaranteed the placement and may earn more money. The study director at School 2 believes that if sexual harassment occurs at the school, it is in a small scale.

During the parent teacher meeting, the teachers talked about school-related matters, and one was the issue of female students wearing too short skirts. One teacher said that they pull their skirts up when they sit in front of the classroom and asked the parents what it is that the male teacher is expected to do then. She also pointed out that this affects male students. The parents I talked to believe that sexual harassments exist between students and teachers as well as between students. One of the parents explained it as when two people have a sexual relation without both wanting it.

**4.5.2 Reasons**

One of the male teachers at School 1 explains that female students are sexually harassed because girls can be mischievous, and approach the teacher in order for him to have sex with them, sometimes because they want to marry the teacher. However, one teacher at School 2 believes that it is the male teacher who initiates a sexual relation between them. The teacher may use the fact that a student may have a bad grade. If the girl then says no, he may want to mark her and influence other teachers to make her not pass. Furthermore, all believe that it is the teacher who has the blame, regardless of if it is the student or the teacher who initiated it. One of the teachers explains that it is easier for boys to find a job or extra work to pay for their education, while girls run the risk of having sex with for example someone who has a car in order to get a ride to school.

The same discrepancy is obvious in the female teachers’ descriptions, where it is either the female students who create a situation where they make teachers harass them sexually, or where the male teachers thinks and sees in another context than him being a teacher. Both of them claim that the teacher has to focus on being teachers and education.

The study director at School 2 believes that it is the girls who provoke the teachers with wearing short skirts. However, she stresses that teachers have to know that they are supposed to teach, and that the school should be a safe place.

In School 1, the parents believe that sexual harassments occur because the female students behave badly, and may introduce the subject to the teachers through the language they use and
the clothes they choose to wear. However, even though it may be the student who introduces it, both parents believe that it is the teacher’s fault, because he is supposed to be there to educate.

The representative of Geracao Biz believes that sexual harassments occur because girls want to have a higher grade. However, the fact that a male teacher can let it happen is due to the mentality of men. They believe that they can have sex with the female students as soon as their breasts have started to grow. The representatives of ActionAids’ girls’ club believe that girls may engage in relationships with teachers in order to get a good future, either through the relationship or through getting a good mark.

4.5.3 Prevention
The male teachers believe that teachers have to act as the student’s second mother or father. One stresses that it is important that the students feel comfortable talking to their teacher if another teacher is acting in such a way. When he has had students telling him about cases, he talks to the teacher about the issue, because it is better to talk teacher-to-teacher since the public process may be difficult. The accused teacher may deny what he has done publicly, and in the end fail the student anyway. Another teacher stresses that students and teachers should not meet outside school, he usually says to his students: “Todas são os meus amores, therefore, I’ll be angry if I hear that you’re making love with some teacher”. Further solutions, such as awareness raising activities among the teachers, proper punishment for teachers who are accused of sexual abuse and better control of the students’ uniforms are brought up.

The female teachers also bring up the importance of awareness raising activities with the teachers, as well as calling for attention in order for girls to stop getting involved in sexual relationships with teachers. Furthermore, one of the teachers brings up the problem with the fact that it is voluntary to report. This makes students hesitate to do it because they are afraid not to pass the class.

The study director at School 2 says that the students have the possibility to report to the class teacher or at the principal’s office. However, it is better to report at the principal’s office because the teachers act as a strong collective who protects each other. Moreover, in order to
prevent it and to get the students to talk about it, she believes that awareness raising activities among the girls, and to have open conversations about these issues in smaller groups.

At School 1, the principal and the study director say that if a student is sexually harassed, it is brought up for attention with the teacher and a protocol is written. If the teacher goes through the process, it ends with one of the punishments, warning, denunciation, demotion, resignation or expulsion. It is the superior structure that hands out the punishment.

At the parent teacher meeting the teacher brought up the importance of the parents to control their daughters’ clothing better. Moreover, one of the teachers pointed out that the parents can always contact him if they should find out that their daughter is sexually harassed. The parents I got the chance to talk to say that what they could do in order to prevent their daughters to be sexually harassed is to control their clothing, and if their daughters would be sexually harassed, they would want to be contacted. Moreover, one of the parents says that if his daughter would become pregnant, the one who made her pregnant would have to take care of her.

At School 1, Geração Biz supports students if they are sexually harassed by a teacher, and help them reporting it to the principal. When the principal talks to the accused teacher, the activists are protected so that they are not discriminated by the teacher, and the principal says that it is the harassed student who has reported. Furthermore, in order to come to an end of the phenomenon, the representative believes that the mentality of men has to be changed. This is best done through programmes and campaigns about HIV and sexual harassments.

4.6 Ministries
I got the opportunity to discuss the issue with representatives from both MINED and MMAS. MINED has an overall responsibility of education issues, and develops and controls the curriculum as well as social factors within the school system. MMAS works with observing the political work according to the Peking Conference and the CEDAW committee. They coordinate gender mechanisms in society, and through being part of the Conselho Nacional para Avançamento da Mulher, with other ministries, as well as civil society and private actors. The focus is on examining how the sectors work and that they do not discriminate men or women. The interviews with the ministries focused on measures taken in order to prevent sexual abuse and harassments in schools.
4.6.1 Descriptions and Experiences
The representative at MMAS explains that sexual harassments exist in secondary school or at university. He would not call it harassments when it happens in primary school, but rather explain it to be sexual violence since the students are children.

4.6.2 Reasons
While the representative at MMAS believes that there are students who approach the teacher in order to get higher marks, there are also teachers who give students bad marks intentionally, even though they have the knowledge, in order for the students to ask for a way to raise their grade. Moreover, when the teacher suggests that a student should have sex with him, the student may accept it because of her being educated to be respectful towards teachers and always say yes to them. Both from the students’ level and the teachers’ perspective, there is a lack in the education of reporting. He claims that many cases are solved within the family, through the teacher taking the responsibility of the student or promising to marry her or pay the family some bribe.

4.6.3 Prevention
The representative at MINED tells me that they are worried and eager to eliminate sexual abuse and harassments in schools. They are part of a regional programme, CSTL, which aims at preventing and raising awareness about sexual harassments and abuse in school. Moreover, their national programme, Tolerancia Zero, has the same aim, and is directed towards communities, families, schools as well as traditional and religious leaders. It started in June 2011 and is planned to go on for four years. Through this programme, they have developed guides for teachers and students on how to detect signals of sexual abuse, as well as giving directions on how the students should report. Each school has the responsibility to create mechanisms of reporting and to protect students who report. There should be educational clubs, where students can discuss different themes, such as HIV, gender issues and sexual harassments.

Furthermore, there is a law that treats gender issues and girls’ education, and it regulates what measures to take towards teachers and people working in school who harass and make girls pregnant. It also regulates that the girl is to be moved to the evening course if she becomes pregnant. However, this has received much criticism from NGOs and Civil Society, and the ministry is currently revising it. Though there are laws regulating sexual harassments, the representative believes that the number of teachers who have gone through the disciplinary
process of harassing students is low. Moreover, if a teacher has made a female student pregnant, the issue is often solved within the family, and the teacher may bribe the family not to report it.

As mentioned in the introduction, MMAS is part of both regional and national programmes aiming at reduce discrepancies between men and women. At provincial and district level, the ministry hold lectures among students in order to improve the number of girls in school and for them to report cases of sexual abuse.

MMAS is also a part of Tolerancia Zero, and the representative explains that through the programme, awareness on the issue is raised at schools, communities and families, and teachers who sexually abuse girls will be processed through the discipline and criminal system. Everyone who knows about sexual violence is obliged to report it and there have been a few cases in which the teachers have been expelled. The representative believes that there is a need for spreading more information and education on the issue. Parents and communities must inform students on how to prevent it from happen, to teach them to say no. Moreover, he believes that the teachers should receive appropriate punishments, and that teachers who commit these crimes must stop working. He claims that they are not teachers, but rather murderers since they will destroy the girl’s life. Her psychology will be affected and she may always think that she can go through life using her body.

4.7 Organisations
The non-governmental organisations interviewed all have in common that they work with women or children’s rights, either directly, or with research or advocacy work.

4.7.1 Descriptions and Experiences
Among the organisations, the term sexual abuse or sexual violence is used when the victim is a child. However, many representatives talk about sexual harassments, and one person explains that it is the same as child sexual abuse, just that the perpetrator is a teacher and the victim a student, and it occurs in secondary school. When it happens in university level, the student is often older than 18 years old, and it may rather be described as an exchange of favours.
4.7.2 Reasons
Children nowadays start having sex early, sometimes as early as when they are 12 years old. This may provoke older men and they believe that it means that they are allowed to have sex with young students. Moreover, the girl may provoke the teacher by using short skirts which show her ties, which one of the representatives explain as an intimate part according to Mozambican culture. However, at another organisation it is said that if a teacher recognises a provocation, he must take it as an opportunity to engage in a discussion about what rights the student has as well as the importance of studying. He should not see it as an opportunity to harass a student. Moreover, another representative believes that when a female student approaches a male teacher in order to ask about her grades, the teacher has to interpret it as if she is actually asking about her grade. He believes that it is more often the teachers who bring up the issue of them having sex in order to raise the grades.

At some of the organisations, the issue is explained as a part of the patriarchal and macho Mozambican society. Girls are often taught to take responsibility of the household work, and since they do not have time to study, they end up with bad results in school. Thereby, they need a way to “pedir a nota” (ask for a grade) from the teacher. In society, it is also possible for a girl to receive economic help from an older man if she has sex with him. Thereby, male teachers are in a very powerful position, being both teachers and men.

Moreover, one of the representatives explains that men are taught to constantly express their sexual needs. They are taught that they have the right to have sex with all women, and when a female student’s breast starts growing and she is seen as a woman, the male teacher may feel that he has to conquer her. While girls are taught to serve men, hence, to say yes to the teacher if he proposes them having a sexual relation, the behaviour of the teacher is justified by saying that he has a natural need. Furthermore, one of the representatives believes that the victim is blamed because those working with these issues need to think that the victim is a bad person in order for them not to be traumatised.

Moreover, there are two myths that are dangerous when discussing child sexual abuse. One is that one is protected from HIV if one has sex with a virgin, and the other that a father becomes rich if he has sex with his daughter. However, information about these myths as being only myths and not true is spread, and one younger representative believes that the few men who continue with these act must have s mental problems. Another reason may be that
the older man just cannot find a woman his age. However, another representative explains that men believe that the younger the girl is, the better, because a young girl is seen as an unused product. He believes that it happens in schools because that is a place where the teacher has many young girls to choose from.

Among the organisations, there are different opinions on how boys view this matter. One witnesses of having been in contact with boys who want to report cases to show solidarity to their sisters or friends. They believe that girls should study or get other exercises in order to raise their grades. However, at one organisation, it is said that boys accuse their female colleagues for provoking the harassments. They discriminate the girls because they involve themselves with the teacher, and describe her as a prostitute. There are few boys who understand that she is a victim.

### 4.7.3 Prevention

Two organisations work directly with young children in primary school, with a programme called “Este corpo é meu!” (This body belongs to me!). The programme was developed in Europe, but has been adapted to the Mozambican setting, both linguistically and culturally. It aims at empowering children to raise their self-esteem regarding their bodies in order to protect their body boundaries better. The programme is directed towards children in primary school, and to parents and teachers in order for the children to hear the same message from everyone. Moreover, within the programme, there was cooperation with NGOs as well as the public sector. Psychology students were used to answer a hotline to which children could call to report cases, and teacher students as leaders of the workshops. They also cooperated with the Central Hospital, as well as the police.

Another organisation is a hotline, to which it is free to call and children can ask about whatever is on their mind. In 2011, they received 39 012 calls, and out of these, 855 were cases which they had to proceed with. Sometimes, the people answering may be able to support the child, but the more difficult ones are directed to organisations and institutions that have the resources needed to help. They have informed about the hotline on radio and TV, and since they receive calls from the districts, they know that they have reached out. Only one of the organisation works with children in secondary school. Their aim is to combat the errors within education, and mainly bring up issues that students themselves regard as problems in their education. Their focus areas are to make sure that everyone has access to education, to
combat and report sexually harassments by teachers, to combat the use of drugs and alcohol and the corruption regarding the grades. Moreover, four organisations are directed more towards gender issues, one focusing on domestic violence, one working as a network between women’s organisations in Mozambique, one focusing on research on gender issues and sexual violence, while the fourth focus on promoting the transformation of masculine norms that influence men to behave negatively.

One issue is that these acts become legitimised, and one of the organisations supports students when they want to report acts of sexual harassments or abuse. However, they have had some cases that have been going on for years, and claims that “apparently nothing” is happening. This expresses a need for better working structures.

The organisations claim that everybody has to work together, in order to come to an end to sexual abuse and harassments. While some promote working with women and girls’ right, to make them know their rights and protect themselves, other rather believes that it should be done through giving young men the space to talk about sexual and reproductive rights. They do not often get the opportunity to discuss and reflect around these issues, and they have to learn that a girl may not want to have sex with him only because she is wearing a short skirt, conversing with him, or is his girlfriend. Many believe that this should become a part of the national school curriculum. Moreover, one representative thinks that MINED should introduce school psychologists to work with these issues at each school. There is also a need for safe places for the students to report it. Geracão Biz often involves teachers if someone is reporting. Thereby, the issue is public and the rumours are out.

Moreover, there is a need for it to become criminalised. Even though it is so by law, it is not followed in reality. It should be transmitted to younger men as something negative, but today it is tolerated. The perpetrators have to be punished. Furthermore, the teachers have to know that they are not allowed to commit these crimes. They should be more mature and trustable, and the quality of the teachers has to improve.

Furthermore, one activist claims that the parents have to control their daughters’ clothes better. However, at another organisation, it is rather believed that women are allowed to dress however they want. She tells me that there are examples of women being raped in capulanas or uniforms. Hence, it is not the short skirt at the school uniform that is the problem.
5. Summary of Result
The summary of the result will follow the research questions stated in the purpose of the thesis. The different respondents will be compared and their views summarised.

5.1 Descriptions and Experiences
Within all groups of respondents, sexual harassments are explained to be when a male teacher threatens a female student to lower her marks if she does not have sex with him. According to the female students at secondary school and male students at university, violence may be included and some of the informants among the NGOs describe it as a part of a greater scope of gender violence. However, many of the male students in secondary school as well as informants among the teachers, parents and organisations who work in the schools claim that it is the female student who harasses the male teacher. She does this through wearing sexy clothes, having lunch with him, and helping him carrying things. Some of the female students also give this description, however, only regarding girls who are considered as bad, who stay out late at night and who drink.

Among the male students at university it is explained that the teachers have a certain power over the students which one has take into consideration, even if it would be the female student who tries to seduce the teacher. Further, informants among the NGOs and at the ministries claim that while the female student may approach the male teacher through asking about her grades, the teacher should consider it as an opportunity to discuss the grades and not perceive it as a sexual invite.

The informants who claim that female students harass the male teachers also believe that male students become harassed by the behaviour of their female peer colleagues. Watching their female peer colleagues wearing sexy clothes makes it difficult for them to concentrate on schoolwork. However, the female students in secondary school describe that there are male students who force female students to have sex with them.

Among all groups, it is claimed to be more common for a male teacher than a female teacher to sexually harass his or her student. The female teachers are described to have more distance towards their students and it is only the female students at university who bring up examples they know of where a male student has had a sexual relationship with a female teacher.
5.2 Reasons
Within all groups, the description of a male teacher threatening to lower a female student’s marks if she does not have sex with him is prevalent. The fact that a male teacher may act in this way is mainly explained by the informants among the NGOs, who claim that it has to do with the patriarchal structures in Mozambican society where men are taught to constantly express their sexual needs. Masculinity is further expressed through having sex with a younger woman who can be considered an unused product. Further, the myth of being cured from HIV through having sex with a virgin may also play its part.

Among all groups of informants, the power a teacher has over his student is brought up as a reason for why a student may agree to have sex with a teacher. The female students at secondary school, male students at university and informants at the ministries mean that the student may be afraid that the teachers claim revenge outside school if she says no. Among all groups of informants except for male students at secondary school, the fear of re-taking the year is brought up. Further, the influence that the teachers have on each other, either to have sex with the students or to give them a failed mark is brought up among the informants.

However, some informants rather blame the female students for harassing the male teachers through their clothing, which makes it difficult for the teachers to control themselves. Though, these informants claim that the teachers should be able to control themselves, and believe that blaming the student is a way for the teacher to disclaim responsibility.

The male students at secondary school, some of the male students at university and informants among the teachers, parents and organisations working at the school claim that female students habits of serving the male teachers is a way for the girl to express that she wants to date the male teacher. Some informants explain this to be connected to the traditional role of women, while others believe that it has to do with modern culture. These informants believe that the female student may seduce her male teacher only in order to raise her marks, instead of studying.

Another issue brought up by the informants is that neither students nor teachers report cases of sexual harassments and abuse. Reasons for this are that teachers have much credibility and are well aware of their rights and can defend themselves, or bribe parents and school-workers.
not to proceed with a report. The high corruption within the system may also be a reason for colleagues not to report harassments they are witnesses to or told about.

Despite the many reasons a student may have for agreeing to have sex with a teacher, the female students interviewed who have experiences from teachers harassing them have said no. They claim that they want to receive their marks through their own force.

Moreover, all informants except for one group of the female students at university claim that sexual harassments between female teachers and male students do not exist. While the male students claim that it is because they respect their teachers more than their female peer colleagues, the female students believe that it would be embarrassing for an older woman to date a younger man. The male students at university explain this through the tradition of men learning to conquer women rather than the other way around. Thereby, the female teachers cannot conquer male students. The male students rather have the possibility of bribing their female teachers with money in order to raise their grade, since they have more possibilities of earning money than the female students.

5.3 Prevention
Most of the informants claim that in order to prevent sexual harassments and abuse in school, the process and the law on reporting such crimes must be better applied. Many believe that more people have to report, while some claim that the process must function better. Further, some informants suggest that the teachers should be transferred to another school during the process, in order to minimise the risk of the person reporting being discriminated against. Some of the male students at university strictly say that someone has to be the first to report, even if they are afraid of being discriminated against. Further, the female students at university and at secondary school ask for clearer regulations on where to report and for more support from the principal’s office when reporting. The female students at secondary school also bring up the importance for the victim to have a caregiver who listens to them when they want to report. The principals interviewed explain that the students can choose to report at the principal’s office or to the class teacher. However, the principals believe that it is better to report at the principal’s office since the teacher collective is strong and they may support each other. On the other hand, a male teacher interviewed explains that he rather wants the student to report to him and instead of going through the public report he can talk to the teacher about it. If a teacher is publicly reported, there is a risk of him denying the accusations. Moreover,
the informant at MINED explains that there are regulations on how to report and should be educational clubs at each school who should support students with reporting. The female students at secondary school and at university brought up an alternative measure, which is to reclaim the grade at the principal’s office for being unjust without accusing the teacher for sexual harassment.

The female students in secondary school and at university, as well as the informants in ministries and non-governmental organisations believe that the teachers should be given harsher punishment than they are today. Some of the students believe that the punishment should be harsher in order to make them afraid of committing such crimes, while others argue for giving the teacher a second chance. Informants among ministries and non-governmental organisations do not believe that the teachers should be given a second chance.

The male students at secondary school believe that sexual harassments in schools would be prevented if the female students chose to study more and stop asking for marks in exchange for sexual favours. They must start consider themselves as students. The teachers in secondary schools also believe that the parents must control their daughters’ uniforms better. However, all informants claim that the teachers who have to be more professional.

The male students at secondary school, female students at university as well as teachers, informants at the ministries and non-governmental organisations believe that people should be given more information about the issue. There could be seminars, meetings, lectures at schools and within bairros both among students and teachers. While different organisations working with measures directly aiming at preventing sexual harassments and abuse in schools were interviewed, an issue brought up among the organisations is that they should co-ordinate their efforts in order to complement each other. Further, some of the non-governmental organisations do not work directly with the issue, but rather stress the importance of changing gender norms in order to come to an end of the problem.
6. Analysis
In this chapter, the result will be analysed throughout the social constructionist theory of gender and Lukes’s and Allen’s theories of power. In line with the hermeneutic circle, in order to understand the complexity of the gender and power relations, the informants’ perception of phenomenon of sexual abuse and harassments in schools will be discussed and analysed in relation to the analytical concepts and my pre understanding.

6.1 Descriptions and Experiences
One description of sexual harassments in schools is that the male teacher threatens to give the female student bad marks if she does not have sex with him. The students at different schools claim that it happens frequently and this indicates that the phenomenon is socially acceptable.

In one group of male students at secondary school, the issue was discussed as a problem merely because male teachers or other older men date their female colleagues. Hence, they do not condemn the sexual harassments because they are morally wrong, but rather because the girls their age become unavailable to date. According to Barker & Ricardo (2006:166-170), these discussions may contribute to the normalisation of men as sexual harassers. With the male teacher being described as sexual, younger men may expect themselves to take part of that version of manhood when they grow older (Chege 2006:31-32; Barker & Ricardo 2006:167). The fact that the male students claim that it is difficult for them to concentrate when a female student dresses sexy may indicate that they accept the version of manhood where a man expresses his sexual needs as a norm. Moreover, the male students’ discussion also shows indications of a generational conflict where the older men can show that they have more power since they have the money needed to attract young women (Barker & Ricardo 2006:164-165; 170).

Furthermore, the male students discuss the female students’ behaviour in relation to sexual harassments in schools, and within some of the groups, the perception seems to be that the female students want to have sexual relationships with their teachers, they actually seduce the teachers. These descriptions were also prevalent among the teachers, parents and organisations active in the schools. The male students claim that the young women do not want to study and that they think about marriage and namorar more than the young men. Furthermore, in one of the groups, one student claims that it is the girls who live on the countryside that are suitable for marriage. This type of discussion is one factor that can be
found when versions of manhood including sexual aggression are produced (Barker & Ricardo 2006:170).

Using Connell’s theories on hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1996:101-105), the older men are the dominant group in relation to the younger male students, and it is the older men who benefit the most and practice the hegemonic masculinity. Through claiming that it is the female students who seduce the male teachers, the younger men may try to authorise the hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1996:101-105). However, needing to use sexual violence in order to sustain the hegemonic masculinity indicates on the imperfections of these patriarchal structures (Connell 1996:107-109).

While sexual harassments were discussed differently in the groups in secondary school, the perception of female students wanting to have sexual relationships with the teachers met more resistance among the male students at university. Negative gender norms may be changed through urbanisation and formal schooling, where alternative versions of manhood may be produced (Barker & Ricardo 2006:166). Moreover, respondents at the ministries and non-governmental organisations also stressed the responsibility that the teachers have to act as educators.

According to the descriptions of the male teacher threatening the female students with bad marks in exchange for sexual favours, the male teachers have the possibility to use their power-over (Allen 1998:33) their students. Through the marks, the teachers have the possibility to constrain the choices available for the student. While the female students by some actors are described to harass the male teachers sexually, this could be interpreted as the female students having a sexual power-over the male teachers. However, the female student does not have the possibility to constrain the choices for the teacher; he has the possibility to not engage in a sexual relationship with the student. On the other hand, the female student has the power-to (Allen 1998:34) attain a series of end, in this sense, get a good mark through having sex with the teacher. However, one can question whether the student in this circumstance acts in her own interest or rather in willing compliance with the norms (Lukes 2005:27-28). While she in the short run may benefit from exchanging sexual favours with a mark or money, it is recognised by informants at the ministries and among the female students that both they and the country in the long run rather benefit from them actually learning. Further indicating that the student in this circumstance acts in willing compliance with the
norms is the fact that through blaming the student, the conflict does not concern whether the
teacher does the right thing or not, but rather focuses on the female student’s behaviour.

6.2 Reasons
Some of the informants explain sexual harassments to occur within and outside schools
because of the patriarchal structures in Mozambican society. These structures request that a
man constantly expresses his sexual needs through conquering women. Thereby, male
teachers may use the power they have over their female students to authorise the hegemonic
masculine structures (Connell 1996:107-109). However, the student may or may not have the
power to say no to the teacher. If she does not, it may be because she is afraid of failing the
course or, according to the male student and teachers, parents and organisations at the
secondary schools because she does not study enough. One may understand her agreeing to
have sex with the teacher as Luke’s second dimension of power, where values are influenced
and barriers created in order to make B do something he or she does not want to do (Luke
2005:20). The male students at university explain that female students may be pressured from
their families to get high marks or that they do not know their rights and therefore agree to
have sex with their teacher. Thereby, the teacher has a certain power-over the students and the
students do not have the power-to say no (Allen 1998:33-34).

Some of the informants discussed how the traditional gender norms stating that the woman
should stay at home and take care of the house influence the situation. Thereby, the female
students do not focus on their studies as much as the male students and they are taught to
think more about love and marriage than the male students. Moreover, many informants
describe that it is the female students who take the first step towards a sexual relation; that
they ask the male teachers for a higher grade in exchange of sexual favours. Some even go as
far as claiming that female students’ choice of dressing and acting as sexual harassments
towards both male teachers and colleagues. There is a tendency within the structures to allow
women to use sex in exchange for money or to arrange a marriage and status in return (Leach
2003:390-395). Female students describe that it is easier for young men to find a way to earn
some extra income while still in school, while male students describe that young women
rather turn to sexual relationships with older men in order to attain some money. Thereby, the
young women may form a femininity in which focus is on finding a husband with money and
employment (Barker & Ricardo 2006:164-165; Leach 2003:390). However, the young women
in this study rather stress the importance of studying and get a job in order to become
independent. Some even say that they will not marry until their own economy is good enough and they can pay for their own housing.

There are also descriptions of female students trying to seduce the teacher. This description has been prevalent in most groups of informants, though the female students at secondary school claim that it is only bad girls who are out late at night that try to seduce teachers. One may understand this behaviour as the student acting in willing compliance, against her own interest (Luke 2005:27-28). The teacher has power and people do not want to see him as bad, hence, they act against their own interest through blaming the girls. According to Allen’s perspective, this could be considered a way for female students to have a sexual power-over their teachers (Allen 1998:3).

The students interviewed who have had experiences of being sexually harassed by their teachers have, according to their descriptions, had the power-to say no to the teacher (Allen 1998:34). However, they have not had the power-to report the harassments. The students and principals claim that the teachers act as a strong collective, and they have the possibility to influence the values of each other. One may also take into account Allen’s perspective of power-with. Allen describes it as how groups can work together in order to attain collective empowerment (Allen 1998:35). Herein, it is the teachers, the dominant group, who work as a group in order to sustain their power. When a student reports sexual harassment or abuse, either for having experienced it or for witnessing it, he or she runs the risk of being discriminated against and for being given rumours among the teachers and within the school. However, a male student at university claims that it is actually the teacher colleagues who must have the power to report, while another one claims that the barrier, being corruption, makes them reluctant to report. Furthermore, the students may act in willing compliance with the norms (Lukes 2005:27-28), against their own interests, when they consider the importance of the teacher sustaining his job as more important than him getting a proper punishment for his crimes.

6.3 Prevention
The mostly discussed measure to be taken in order to prevent or eliminate sexual harassments in schools was to report cases. The two issues to be identified are the fact that so few people report cases and that when reported, the process does not seem to function properly. Both students who have experience of being sexually harassed and students who have witnessed
harassments are afraid of reporting because of the discrimination they may be subjected to through the process. It is evident among some of the informants that there is a tendency to blame the female student if she is sexually harassed. Hence, if she reports she may not get the support needed.

It is mentioned that the teachers act as a strong collective supporting and protecting each other. While Allen’s description of power-with rather focuses on the subordinate group (Allen 1998:35), herein, it is the dominant group who protect and support each other to sustain their power. The teachers execute their power in Luke’s second dimension (2005:20), where barriers are created to make the student do something she or he does not want to do, or in this case, prevent her from doing something she or he wants to do. One may interpret the conflict as observable (Lukes 2005:20), since it is discussed as a problem by many of the informants.

Further, the identified barriers are the strong teachers collective, the tendency of blaming the female student if she is sexually harassed, insecurity on where to report and how non-governmental organisations working with reporting cases witness of a slow and non-functioning process, where the teacher is never punished.

Similar difficulties are identified by Leach (2003:393-397) and Brokes & Higson-Smith (2004:125). However, while Leach (2003:393) states that the female students seemed to be “reluctant to take action”, the students in this study discussed alternative ways of reporting, to reclaim the mark without accusing the teacher for sexual harassments. The risk with this measure is that the phenomenon may be transferred into the third dimension of power, where the student in willing compliance with the norms avoids reporting cases and thereby avoids conflicts from rising (Lukes 2005:27-28).

Another measure brought up by many informants was the importance of spreading information about the issue through awareness-raising activities with teachers and female students. Moreover, informants at non-governmental organisations also brought up the importance of changing current gender norms, where women are taught to serve men and men are taught to constantly express their sexual needs. To spread information and work holistic is also brought up by Leach (2004:4-5), and through these measures, a positive discussion on gender and norms may be introduced. However, Brokes & Higson-Smith (2004:112-116) claim that these programmes will not help unless the significance of the problem is recognised within policies at the schools. While those responsible at the schools claim that there are
policies on where to report, this does not seem to be known by those working there. Furthermore, it was among teachers and authorities at the schools that the problem was minimized, maybe in order not to give the school a bad reputation. However, it must be recognised that a good school is one where students are listened to and where measures are taken against teachers who commit crimes. Recognising the significance of the problem may also lead to a positive result regarding reporting (Brokes & Higson-Smith 2004:112-116). Moreover, power-with is recognised by a collective acting together (Allen 1998:35), and thereby it is of importance that all groups are included in the measures taken against sexual harassments and abuse at schools.
7. Conclusion and Recommendations

The most common description of sexual harassments in school is that the male teacher threatens to lower the female student’s marks if she does not have sex with him. The informants’ discussions indicate a normalisation of male teachers harassing female students sexually. Being constantly forced to express one’s sexual needs as a feature of manhood is expressed by the male students, and also described by informants among the NGOs. The fact that the younger male students perpetuate this feature of being masculine is evident when they express the difficulties with concentrating on schoolwork if their female colleague wears clothes considered to be sexy. Moreover, the hegemonic masculinity is perpetuated through the discussions revolving around the female students’ behaviour rather than the male teachers’ behaviour (Collins 1996:101-105). Thereby, the teachers’ behaviour does not become a conflict and the students act in willing compliance with the norms (Lukes 2005:27-28). However, among other respondents it is recognised that the male teacher should take his responsibility as a teacher and focus on educating his students. This was especially discussed among the male teachers at university, which exemplifies the importance of education to change gender norms (Barker & Ricardo 2006:166).

The informants explain that sexual harassments occur in schools because the teacher has a certain power-over their students; they are in this circumstance part of the dominant group in two senses, through being male and through being teachers (Allen 1998:33). Furthermore, through executing their power-over the students through harassing them sexually, they authorise the hegemonic masculinity (Collins 1996:101-105). Thereby, these structures become barriers making the female student not having the power-to say no (Allen 1998:34; Lukes 2005:20).

However, the female students interviewed believe that they have the power-to say no, which may be an indication of the measures taken against the phenomenon are working. Many of the NGOs provide information on reporting, and one even works directly with supporting students who want to report cases. Awareness-raising activities are also brought up by many of the informants as measures that will help preventing the phenomenon. Despite this, many of the female students interviewed claim that they do not the power-to report the harassments (Allen 1998:34). Having the power-to report is also discussed as an issue among other informants. Some of the female students act in willing compliance with the norms (Lukes
2005:27-28), stating that it is more important for the teacher to keep his job than being punished for his crimes. Witnesses of sexual harassments also find it difficult to report. However, the male students in secondary school discuss the punishments that the girls rather than the teachers should get. Leach (2004:4-5) argues for a holistic approach including awareness-raising activities as measures to be taken against this, while Brookes & Higson-Smith (2004:112-116) claim that it is more important that the problem is taken seriously at the schools. In order for the students to have the power-with each other and with authorities working at the schools to come to an end to the problem, these authorities have to recognise the difficulties the students face.

Through this study, much insight of the complexity of the issue of sexual harassments has been given through analysing the respondents’ discussions and answers through a gender and power perspective. Much previous literature has focused on the behaviour of the male teachers, with the result of the female students being described as victims and the importance of empowering them emphasised (Barker & Ricardo 2006:190-191), while the female students in this study have showed that they actually have the power-to say no to the teacher.

Further, understanding of how much structures and norms influence the informants’ perception of the phenomenon has increased. Both female and male students, as well as teachers working in the schools, have witnessed of the lack of power-to report. This is hindered through the lack of regulation on how and where to report, as well as through corruption within the system. Further, this may also be considered as the students acting in willing compliance with the norms, which is also prevalent among the male students who blame the female students for being promiscuous. The new understanding has led to the conclusion of how important it is to bear in mind that these male students also are bearers of the gender norms and that they have to be included in the measures taken against sexual harassments in school. This was recognised by some of the informants, but among the NGOs, it was only two working especially with transforming the norm of what is masculine, through awareness raising activities and through a programme addressing norms and sexuality with school children in primary school. The others focus more on supporting and awareness raising among women or rather address specific issues within education. One cannot request that each organisation try to address all the areas, but what one informant brings up is that it is of importance that the organisations coordinate their measures. Thereby, power-with could be
constructed among the organisations and the dysfunctional reporting process and structures reproducing negative gender norms can be combated.

Recommendations for further studies within the area would be to examine how the male students can be incorporated in the discussions of sexual harassment, and to examine to what extent they may be victims of sexual abuse and harassments in schools. Some of the informants in this study have indicated that it occurs, while the majority of informants claim that if it occurs, it is very rare. However, the gender norms may prevent both men and women to speak openly about it.
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