

The Negative Impact of Neo-Imperialist Western Prejudice and Exploitation on Mozambican Learner Performance

Does Lack of Self-Confidence in School-going Children Raised in a Culture that has been Marred by a Colonialist Past Cause low Performance?

Today the quest is for quality in education that produces graduates that are able to communicate the knowledge and skills needed to work as competent members of a literate society, take initiatives and develop new ideas where many have lost control and hope.

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INTRODUCTION

This study reassesses the explanations as presented in surveys accessible on Internet for the average poor learner performance at many Mozambican schools, while suggesting some alternative ones in an attempt to account for the fact that so many students in this country appear to perform worse than in many other African countries or indeed a lot of countries on other continents.

Unit 1 presents essential data from the *Mozambican Ministry of Education*, UNICEF, SACMEQ (*Southern and East African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality*) and the World Bank to illustrate how distressing the situation is as regards student performance.

Unit 2 proposes apparent low self-esteem or lack of self-confidence of a lot of school-children as a possible cause of a generally unsatisfactory school performance. This study is based on the assumption that the wave of optimism in Mozambique during the peace process following the civil war in the nineties has waned and many Mozambicans have, again, become pessimistic about the future.

It would seem that the general tendency of the West to fall back into old habits of fascist sloganeering and racial prejudice are having its toll on African societies, and in Mozambique in particular. There would appear to be a regressive tendency to put most of the blame of Mozambique's present-day economic depression on the old skeletons in the closet: colonial domination, exploitation plus an increased racial western prejudice.

The increased pessimism is worsened by a (temporary?) economic collapse in the Central and Northern provinces caused by two cyclones and floods this year, followed by hunger and more unemployment. The typical response of many Mozambicans would appear to be fatalistic introversion, passivity and acceptance of ill-fate as being normal in life. Symptomatic for this despair is the conviction that little can be done to repair the damage, reinforcing (perhaps suppressed) feelings of inferiority and reduced self-esteem. Thus, lower class citizens appear to have become trapped in the acceptance of the negative racial labels that the "superior" white races and elites in Mozambique have stuck on to Mozambicans who are progressively sinking in a socio-economic swamp.

This unit further investigates theories defended by a number of researchers and scientists, mainly in the field of psychology, that low school performance can be attributed to a genetically and therefore racially determined lower IQ in blacks in general.

Unit 3 presents a number of other potential causes of low school performance related to Mozambique's fragile economy within the context of existing theories and findings from a range of Internet sources that deal with similar educational problems in other parts of the world.

Mozambique has been exploited for centuries since the invasions of Arabs and the Portuguese. At present, there are many foreign interests in Mozambique which are mostly more beneficial for those foreigners than for Mozambicans themselves. Mozambique is still, basically, an agricultural society with little industry to process the raw products. Most of the commercially operating companies are owned and managed by entrepreneurs from Europe, America and Asia, so there are not enough academic, specialist or managerial jobs for highly trained Mozambicans. Furthermore, Mozambique, being a country that suffers a large foreign debt and an average low national income, is unable to finance the education budget needed to realize the type of education that Mozambican children are entitled to.

Unit 3 concludes with a range of worrying indirect consequences of the under-performing economy for education, e.g. gender inequality often causing early pregnancies and much higher dropout rates for girls than for boys, sexual abuse of female students not only by teachers but also by male students, alcohol and drug abuse among students, which cause disciplinary problems, and teachers bribing students.

Since the "causes" presented in this paper are the author's personal convictions (having lived in Mozambique for over 30 years), reinforced by ideas and information coming from Mozambicans themselves, plus reviews of investigation, reports and quantitative surveys accessed on Internet, conclusions in this work are tentative. As such this study can be seen as a font of suppositions for further qualitative research that could contribute to formulating feasible and effective strategies to be evaluated and possibly implemented by governmental institutions responsible for improved quality of education in Mozambique.

UNIT 1 THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

1.1 General Findings about the Performance of Students at pre-Tertiary Levels

The annual school results of 2017 the *Directorate of Planning and Cooperation of the Ministry of Education and Development in Mozambique* (Maputo, 2018), comprises data on school performance at a national level collected from all public schools by means of digitally completed forms. This research summarises the data presented of the year 2017, gleaned from the many graphs that the report presents and focuses on totals presented in the following diagrams, reproduced from Ministry of Education statistics, pp 28 and 40:

APROVEITAMENTO ESCOLAR, EDUCAÇÃO GERAL, ENSINO PRIMÁRIO, ESCOLAS PÚBLICAS, 2017

Annual School Results, General Education, Primary Education, Public Schools, 2017

Alunos no início do ano (matriculados), no fim e aprovados por classe e sexo; turmas puras e mistas por classe

Pupils at the beginning of the school year, at the end and pass by grade and sex; single classes and mixed classes by grade

Ensino Primário

Primary Education

Classe Grade	Nº de Alunos Nº of Pupils						Indicadores em relação ao Início Indicators in relation to the beginning of the year					
	Início Beginning		Fim End		Aprovados Pass		Aprovação Pass		Desistência Drop out		Reprovação Failure	
	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM
Resumo Nacional/National Total												
<i>Escolas cobertas no início e fim do ano lectivo / Schools with data both at the beginning and the end of the school year</i>												
1ª classe	700 248	1 430 074	657 745	1 339 975	601 419	1 228 305	85,9	85,9	6,1	6,3	8,0	7,8
2ª classe	597 363	1 233 139	514 936	1 053 084	407 802	826 949	68,3	67,1	13,8	14,6	17,9	18,3
3ª classe	448 801	929 345	423 718	874 292	385 824	797 987	86,0	85,9	5,6	5,9	8,4	8,2
4ª classe	369 552	771 978	348 383	725 034	317 356	660 667	85,9	85,6	5,7	6,1	8,4	8,3
5ª classe	332 732	711 001	298 168	633 300	228 928	478 567	68,8	67,3	10,4	10,9	20,8	21,8
1ª/5ª classe	2 448 696	5 075 537	2 242 950	4 625 685	1 941 329	3 992 475	79,3	78,7	8,4	8,9	12,3	12,5
<i>Escolas cobertas no início e fim do ano lectivo / Schools with data both at the beginning and the end of the school year</i>												
6ª classe	221 128	469 709	208 687	441 035	190 597	402 209	86,2	85,6	5,6	6,1	8,2	8,3
7ª classe	192 399	414 615	175 830	377 714	138 828	295 422	72,2	71,3	8,6	8,9	19,2	19,8
6ª/ 7ª classe	413 527	884 324	384 517	818 749	329 425	697 631	79,7	78,9	7,0	7,4	13,3	13,7

APROVEITAMENTO ESCOLAR, EDUCAÇÃO GERAL, ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO, ESCOLAS PÚBLICAS, 2017

Annual School Results, General Education, Secondary Education, Public Schools, 2017

Alunos no início do ano (matriculados), no fim e aprovados por classe e sexo; turmas puras e mistas por classe

Pupils at the beginning of the school year, at the end and pass by grade and sex; single classes and mixed classes by grade

Ensino Secundário

Secondary Education

Classe Grade	Nº de Alunos Nº of Pupils						Indicadores em relação ao Início <i>Indicators in relation to the beginning of the year</i>					
	Início Beginning		Fim End		Aprovados Pass		Aprovação Pass		Desistência Droup out		Reprovação Failure	
	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM	M	HM
Resumo Nacional/National Total												
<i>Escolas cobertas no início e fim do ano lectivo / Schools with data both at the beginning and the end of the school year</i>												
8ª classe	116 877	237 046	110 997	224 851	87 531	174 963	74,9	73,8	5,0	5,1	20,1	21,0
9ª classe	84 517	171 968	80 157	163 108	63 362	128 025	75,0	74,4	5,2	5,2	19,9	20,4
10ª classe	84 294	168 388	76 119	151 781	51 643	106 047	61,3	63,0	9,7	9,9	29,0	27,2
8ª/10ª classe	285 688	577 402	267 273	539 740	202 536	409 035	70,9	70,8	6,4	6,5	22,7	22,6
<i>Escolas cobertas no início e fim do ano lectivo / Schools with data both at the beginning and the end of the school year</i>												
11ª classe	54 369	107 878	51 565	102 133	42 300	82 785	77,8	76,7	5,2	5,3	17,0	17,9
12ª classe	29 883	62 051	28 989	59 471	20 058	41 952	67,1	67,6	3,0	4,2	29,9	28,2
11ª/12ª classe	84 252	169 929	80 554	161 604	62 358	124 737	74,0	73,4	4,4	4,9	21,6	21,7

The most relevant findings from the numerous graphs in this document are the numbers and percentages of students that did not pass or dropped out:

Of the 5,075,537 students who initiated in grades 1 to 5, only 3,992,475 passed, which is 79.3%, whereas 449,852 dropped out, which is 8.9%. More than a million (1,083,062) failed, which is 12.5%.

In grades 6 and 7, of the 884,324 students who initiated in 2017, 65,575 dropped out, which is 7.4% and 186,693 failed, which is 13.7%.

In grades 8 to 10, of the 577,402 students 17,662 dropped out, which is 6.5 and 168,366 failed, which is 22.6% (almost a quarter!). In grades 11 and 12, of the 169,929 students, 8325 dropped out (4.9%) and 45,192 failed, which is 21.7%.

Summarising, of all the students registered, 6,707,192 (!!) in one year, 541,414 dropped out. One can only wonder how more than half a million children filled their time once no longer in school.

The total number that failed is 1,483,313 (almost one and half million!).

Finally, of interest is also the percentages of students that passed exams. Here numbers provided by MINED for the whole country have been selectively processed giving the following results (the percentages are mine):

	Initiated	Graduated			Failed	
Grade5:	714 562	479,297	or	67%	34%	(pp. 13 & 28)
Grade 7:	891 010	296,769		33.3%	66.7%	"
Grade 10:	577 402	106,502		18%	82%	(pp. 15 & 40)
Grade 12:	171 503	42,289		24.7	75.3%	"

Percentage calculations based on numbers gleaned from a number of graphs give shocking results, as can be seen: percentages of students who did not pass exams, particularly in secondary schools, are extremely high.

1.2 Data presented by Foreign Institutions

In comparison, some data are presented in this section from outside sources to gauge the significance of the official Mozambican data, since passing a class does not imply much about the levels of competencies with which these students passed.

UNICEF regularly publishes findings about education in Mozambique (Franco, 2017). Following are some data, which UNICEF says it collected from an SDI (World Bank) survey in 2016. The SDI (Service Delivery Indicators) is a partnership between the World Bank, the African Federation for Economic Research (AERC), and the African Development Bank. The latter has developed a set of indicators to measure and improve the performance and quality of national services of African countries such as education.

A national reading assessment done in 2016 showed that only 4.9% of the children in grade 3 could read at the expected level. The survey found that the results of Mozambican students among the seven African countries studied were the lowest, with 26 points in the mathematics test and 23 in the Language Test (Portuguese in Mozambique), unlike the highest scores from Kenya, which were 62 (English in Kenya) and 80 respectively. More on about the SDI survey results are discussed in section 3.2 which presents data about teacher performance.

About students the SDI survey presents the following data:

Access to quality learning services of children between (3-5 years):	5%
Children of school-going age:	7.2 million
Primary school completion rate:	45.4%

Estimated number of children out of school:	1.2 million
Children in Grade 3 who have basic reading competencies:	4.9%
Teacher-pupil ratio:	60:1
Average teaching time per day:	1 h. e 40 min
Students with books:	69%

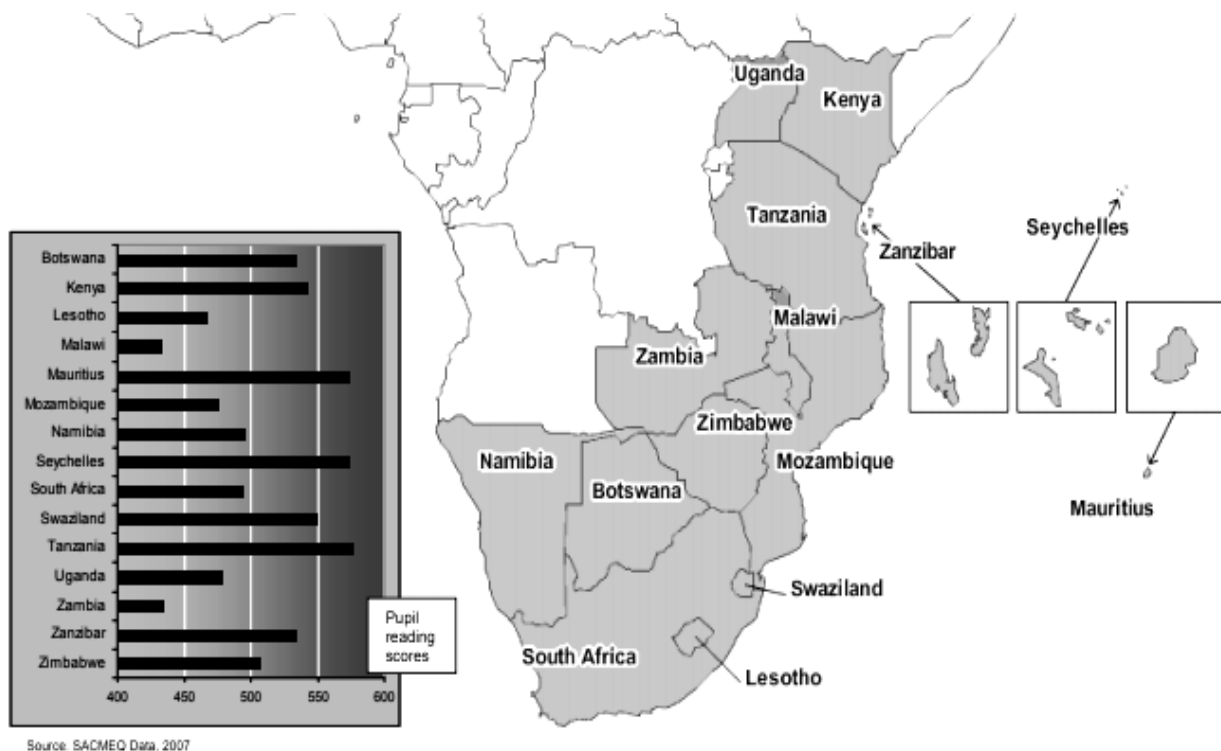
The current population of Mozambique is 30,529,359 as of Saturday, September 7, 2019, based on the latest United Nations estimates. It is interesting to see that UNICEF's number of children of school-going age was 7.2 million in 2016, whereas the number in the Ministry statistics for 2017 was 6,707,192. This discrepancy may have been caused by the fact that a number of schools failed to comply with completing the digital forms in time for the Ministry of Education.

Furthermore, UNICEF states that 1.2 million children were estimated to be out of school. Assuming that this number is excluding the extra 541,414 children that dropped out according to ministry statistics, the total number of school-age children wandering the streets was 1,741,414!

Also remarkable is that state statistics present the number 799,577 for students who passed grade three nationwide (p.28), while UNICEF states that only 4.9% of the children in Grade 3 had basic reading skills. Considering that official statistics indicate that there were 933,798 children who initiated in grade 3 in 2017, UNICEF's percentage of 4,9, equating 45,756 students with basic reading abilities, would imply that public schools nationwide allowed 753,821 students to pass to grade 4 without being able to read!

1.3 Mozambique's school performance compared to other southern African countries

Below is a graph produced by SACMEQ (Southern and East African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality) presenting the general scores of 15 southern African countries.



(Reproduced from SACMEQ p. iv).

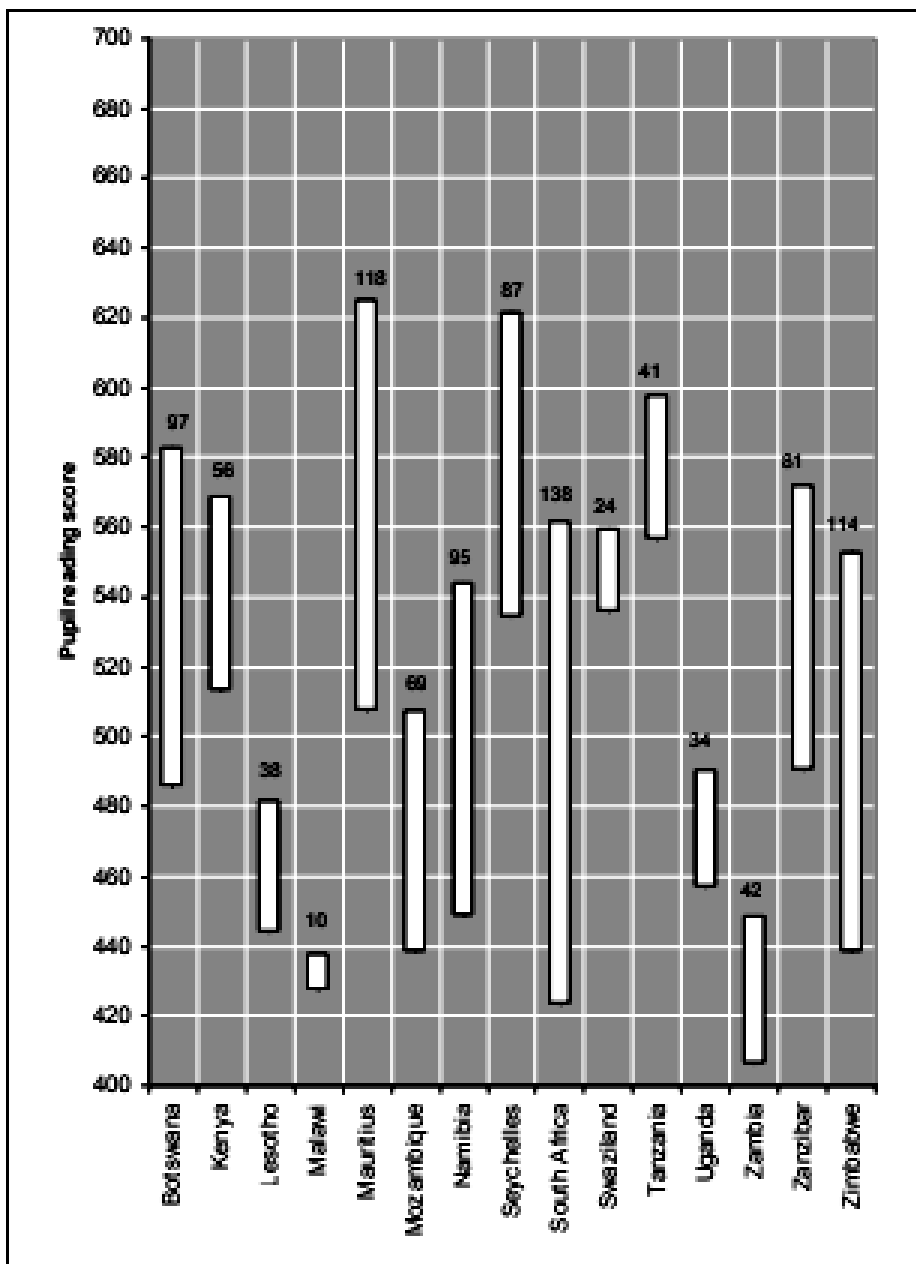
The following list has transferred the above data into the order of best to worst:

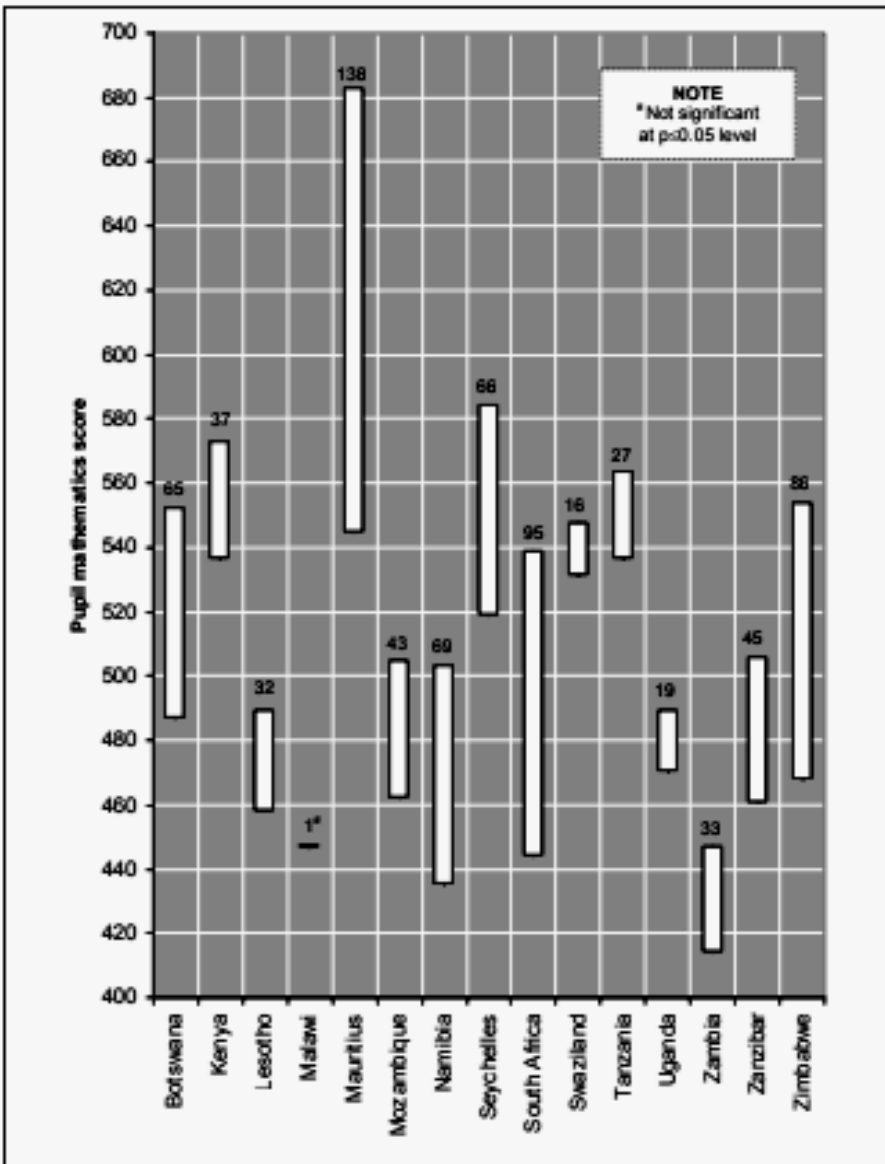
1 Tanzania	9 Namibia
2 Seychelles	10 South Africa
3 Mauritius	11 Uganda
4 Swaziland	12 Mozambique
5 Kenya	13 Lesotho
6 Botswana	14 Zambia
7 Zanzibar	15 Malawi
8 Zimbabwe	

The above list shows there are three countries below Mozambique: Lesotho, Zambia and Malawi. However, for a country such as Mozambique, with so many natural and mineral resources and potentially a bread basket for southern Africa, this is not a list for Mozambicans to be proud of.

The estimated difference in achievement scores between pupils from richer families (one standard deviation unit above the country's mean SES score, (i.e. Socioeconomic Status)

and pupils from poorer families (one standard deviation unit below the country's mean SES score) is shown in the Figures below, first reading then math. The figures were plotted using the results from simple models involving the Pupil SES and mean Pupil SES variables as the only predictors in the model (reproduced from SACMEQ, p.15).





Although SACMEQ presents a lot of very technical data that are probably better understood by specialists in the field and people used to the terminology, from the graphs above it appears that Mozambican students' lowest general reading achievements are only worse in South Africa, Zambia and Malawi, but South Africa's better achievers pass Mozambicans by far.

As regards Mathematics, only Zambian students perform worse as can be seen in the last graph.

UNIT 2 THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE AND FOREIGN EXPLOITATION ON THE MOZAMBICAN PSYCHE

2.1 Theories about Racial differences -The Colonialist Past and Western Prejudice

This Unit investigates whether there may be some truth in the postulation that there is a general pattern of low self-esteem among a lot of members of Mozambican society and thus on students causing low performance at schools.

The author of this research paper has frequently witnessed among a lot of Mozambicans, particularly elderly people, a tendency to blame crime, immoral or corrupt behaviour (of which he has often been a victim) on race: they keep saying something like, "*Isto é um problema de pele*" (This is a problem of skin - meaning their **own skin colour**). It is interesting to notice how racial prejudice against Mozambican indigenous people is not just expressed by non-African (white or Asian) people, but by some indigenous people themselves. Is this a fossilized attitude inherited from imperialist or colonial oppression, i.e. some form of inverted or "auto-racism" that developed from the racism of a Europe-centered imperialist mentality; could we refer to this phenomenon as "maimed personality", or simply "inferiority complex", which may be causing a general lack of self-esteem or self-confidence in many Mozambicans?

Some researchers attribute poorer performance of students in Africa or their descendants in other parts of the world to inherently genetic factors. They even argue that, on average, lower IQs of Africans or their descendants, as compared to the white race and Asians, cause lower marks in schools, which is particularly noticeable in countries with mixed races. In order to say anything sensible as regards this assumption, a number of questions need to be answered as is done in the following sections.

2.2 What is Intelligence?

The following sections present the main ideas of what scientists have written about what they think intelligence is and how it can be measured. The Frenchman Alfred Binet, (1857–1911), designed the first intelligence test, which produced a **number** as a final result, the *Intelligence Quotient* or IQ, which he claimed accurately indicated how high (or low) somebody's intelligence was. Intelligence quotient (IQ), is a number that has been inferred of a standardised intelligence test. The IQ scores of these specially

designed tests were calculated by dividing the mental age of the individual by his real age and then multiply this by 100.

For example, a 10 year old child whose performance equals that of a 15 year old has a mental age of 15 so therefore has an IQ of 150. Scores on most IQ-tests are calculated by comparing the score of the test person with the average score of other people in the same age group.

The present day consensus is as follows (the percentages are to be understood is average outcomes):

Intelligence Interval	Cognitive Designation
40 - 54	Severely challenged (Less than 1% of test takers)
55 - 69	Challenged (2.3% of test takers)
70 - 84	Below average
85 - 114	Average (68% of test takers)
115 - 129	Above average
130 - 144	Gifted (2.3% of test takers)
145 - 159	Genius (Less than 1% of test takers)
160 - 175	Extraordinary genius

(source: <https://www.free-iqtest.net/iq-score-guide.asp>)

There is a lot of controversy about whether it is actually possible to measure some one's intelligence expressing it as single number. A returning criticism is that societies differ from each other and consequently have different preferences for what are considered desirable skills. So, if intelligence is an expression of how well someone masters these skills the concept intelligence and how to measure it must differ from society to society, (D. Schacter, et al. 2007).

2.3 The Theory about Races and Differences in Intelligence

Claims that races have different intelligences were used to justify social Darwinism, slavery and colonialism. In developing their ideologies of white supremacy, racial thinkers such as Arthur de Gobineau¹ relied crucially on the assumption that black

¹ Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau was a French aristocrat who is best known today for helping to legitimise racism by use of scientific racist theory and "racial demography" and for his developing the theory of the Aryan master race. Born: Jul 14, 1816, Ville-d'Avray, Hauts-de-Seine
Died: Oct 13, 1882,
Wikipedia

people were naturally inferior to whites. Even enlightenment thinkers such as Thomas Jefferson, a slave owner, believed that blacks were by nature physically and intellectually inferior to whites (Jackson & Weidman 2004, p. 23).

The study of racial differences in IQ-test scores begs the vital question about what IQ-tests exactly measure. Arthur Jensen (1969 and 1973) was a proponent of an underlying factor of **general** intelligence, the g-factor, determining how well or badly a person would perform any sort of task, mathematical, linguistic, or creative, etc., because IQ is considered to be rather fixed in any given person and basically innate, in other words hereditary.

Other psychometricians, such as Sternberg, Grigorenko and Kidd (2005) claim that, irrespective of whether the assumption about a general intelligence factor is correct or not, performances in tests to an important degree depend on whether a person has had any previous experience in the type of cognitive tasks associated with these tests. This conception would mean that intelligence tests cannot be expected to only reflect the congenital capacities of a certain individual, because test scores of persons will be strongly influenced by several life and cognitive experiences and not be an expression of a person's relative congenitally potential.

2.4 Counter Arguments of the Race Theory

Although there are scientists who believe that several genes have a relationship with intelligence, Deary, I.J., Johnson, W and Houlihan, LM, (2009) have assessed such proposed candidate genes for intelligence, but have never found evidence of a link between these genes and general intelligence, stating that there is still almost no replicated evidence related to the individual genes, which have variants that contribute to intelligence differences.

More and more scientists have given up defending that genetic factors are the most important factors deciding a person's IQ level, while others, notably Hunt (2010, p. 447) and Mackintosh (2011, p. 344), agree that it has been demonstrated that various environmental factors also affect the IQ, and evidence for a genetic influence is indirect. To Mackintosh it may never be possible to take into account the relative contributions of genetic and environmental factors in a satisfactory manner. Nisbett et al. (2012) concluded that almost no genetic polymorphisms have been detected that are consistently associated with variation in IQ in the normal range.

2.5 Multiple Intelligences

Concluding from previous sections, it would appear that conventional theories relating intelligence and IQ testing to genetics are basically (partially) flawed. An important thing to consider about the genetics of intelligence is that it is the result of complex interactions between many genes and not controlled by a single 'intelligence gene'.

Moreover, it's important to note that genetics and the environment interact to determine exactly how inherited genes are expressed. Are environment, culture and upbringing not just as or even more important? For example, tests have shown that identical twins raised *separately* have IQs that are less similar than identical twins raised in the *same* environment. A child may be born with genes to become smart, but if that child grows up in a slum where there is no access to educational opportunities, and where she is malnourished and lacks he or she may not get a good score on IQ measurements. (Kirkpatrick, R.M et al., 1993).

Some scientists have gone further claiming that IQ is not just the product of someone's upbringing and culture, but that IQ can be subdivided into various categories of intelligence. Researchers, such as Howard Gardner (1983) distinguish between various skills within the concept of "intelligence":

- Linguistic verbal intelligence
- Mathematical logic intelligence
- Naturalistic intelligence
- Visual-spatial intelligence
- Interpersonal intelligence
- Intrapersonal intelligence
- Body-kinesthetic intelligence
- Musical intelligence

Psychologist Robert Sternberg (1985) commented on Gardner's intelligence types saying that they were more like individual talents, so he proposed what he called "successful intelligence", which involves three different factors:

- Analytical intelligence: his problem-solving skills.
- Creative intelligence: your ability to deal with new situations using past experiences and current skills.

- Practical intelligence: your ability to adapt to a changing environment

Author and psychologist Daniel Goleman, (1996) suggested that EQ (or emotional intelligence quotient) might be more important than IQ. EQ is a measure of a person's level of *emotional intelligence*. This refers to a person's ability express emotions and to perceive, control, and evaluate other people's emotions.

Since the 1990s, *emotional intelligence* is no longer considered an obscure concept found in some academic journals, but is now popularly recognized. EQ focuses on skills such as, relating to others and perceive how others feel, control one's own emotions and use emotions to facilitate social communication.

2.6 Pre-colonial Education in Africa

Onwuegbuzie and A. J.; Daley, C. E. (2001) defend the argument that it is difficult to connect IQ to genetic or even racial factors and conclude that when equal opportunity is provided for exposure to the information to be tested, differences in knowledge between blacks and whites for intelligence test items no longer exist.

When comparing IQs and education performance across continents and different cultures, it can be further argued that educational methods and programs originating from Western cultures might generally be more beneficial for people raised in Europe and North America than for Africans. To corroborate this assumption a comparison between African pre-colonial or traditional education and western type of education could elucidate this postulation.

In African cultures and societies a great deal of the inheritance of traditional values and folklore still lingers beneath the surface of modern western influences. The latest views of how IQ can be subdivided sub-categories, most of them skills one cannot learn at schools, even something called emotional intelligence or EQ, fit in nicely with the perception that traditional African education considered oral, creative, social, musical and body-kinesthetic skills far more important than intellectual and logical skills, (Herbert, J. 2000).

Pre-colonial education was not formal nor based on learning reading and writing, since there was no script in Sub-Saharan communities. A lot was learnt simply by observation and imitation, (perhaps therefore present-day primary schools still have a lot of rote

learning in classes) and oral storytelling, teaching children the correct norms and ethical values. There were a lot of rituals and ceremonies meant to teach children history and prepare them for adult life with singing, dancing and physical movement and the use of masks, drama and poetry, (Bentor, Eli, 2019)

2.7 The Mozambican Mentality

Since the discussion about IQ theories and their relevance to the issue of low school performance in Mozambique does not seem to be leading anywhere, it might be helpful to stress that Mozambican students are not just sets of mathematical functions, e.g. IQs, like software in robots or computers, but living creatures with minds and personalities. Each individual has creativity, feelings, ambitions, a past and a future.

If many Mozambicans appear to foreigners to be rather compliant or taciturn, or even submissive, and not eager to show their opinions or preferences, their abilities etc., this is not because they do not have opinions or preferences, but perhaps because they are taught to show restraint, patience and respect, which is sometimes interpreted by non-Africans as humility or lack of intelligence.

To tackle the problem of low education performance, it might be better to analyse the psychological backgrounds of students that appear to have these problems. It could be caused, for example, by low self-esteem, not being the consequence of a low intelligence but by the more obvious fact that such people are members of a society that has no international prestige, never appears to be able to fend for itself, victims of exploitation, civil wars, internal clashes, corrupt governments, diseases and poverty etc.; such people live with a huge burden to prove to themselves that notwithstanding this endless list of setbacks they could be people that have something to offer to this world, have capacities and abilities that might impress others anywhere in the world.

Surely, we must not forget that, today, we live in a global mega society in which anybody can become famous for all the good reasons, anywhere on this globe. However, most Mozambicans start their lives with the setback of having been born in a country that has suffered colonialism, racism, exploitation and humiliation, which is not exactly the ideal environment to create people with strong and proud personalities. Therefore, the supposition that low self-esteem may be a major factor in low performance is perhaps not far-fetched. Students grow up in a country where most

people have got used to the idea that nothing can go right in Mozambique without the foreign funds, support, international help, interference and guidance of NGOs, foreign experts, consultants, peacemakers and religious leaders.

On the other hand, many people are becoming tired and fed up with having to play the role of the underdog and become noisy, rowdy, provocative and sometimes violent, enacting the very negative roles that prejudice of non-Africans projects on them: people with bad habits, vices, lazy, promiscuous, and predatory, etc. These people, often from poor or rural backgrounds, are also despised by the elite classes in Mozambique, a country which has developed a major problem of inequality. These elites have replaced the erstwhile foreign colonial usurpers, adopting neo-colonialist principles and exploring the poorer communities in similar ways as in the colonial days, by which they have become so fabulously rich that even many foreign visitors become envious. Undoubtedly, a lot of their wealth is derived from bribes received from foreign investors who prefer to be able to do whatever they please in Mozambique than obeying the laws.

2.8 Brazil: Student Performance Depends on Socio-economic Circumstances

An impressive number of studies have concluded that IQ tests may be biased for certain groups, (e.g. Cottrell, Newman & Roisman, 2015; Cronshaw et al., 2006; Verney et al., 2006). Researchers, such as Borsboom (2006), question the validity and reliability of IQ scores obtained from outside the United States and Europe because of the inherent difficulty in comparing IQ scores between cultures. Several researchers have even gone as far as to argue that cultural differences limit the appropriateness of standard IQ tests in non-industrialized communities, notably Richardson, K (2004), Hunt & Wittmann (2008), Irvine (1983) and Irvine & Berry (1988).

Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen (2002, 2006) made estimates of the average IQs for 113 countries. They estimate the IQs of 79 countries based on neighboring countries or through other means. A correlation was consistently noticed between national IQ averages and national development: the highest national IQs among developed countries in Europe, North America and East Asia and the lowest national IQs in the world's least developed countries among indigenous peoples in Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America. [54]

Lynn and Vanhanen are convinced that there is a consistent correlation between national IQ averages and national development, i.e. that lower IQs and the concomitant

lower results for students are a consequence of socio-economic circumstances and environment.

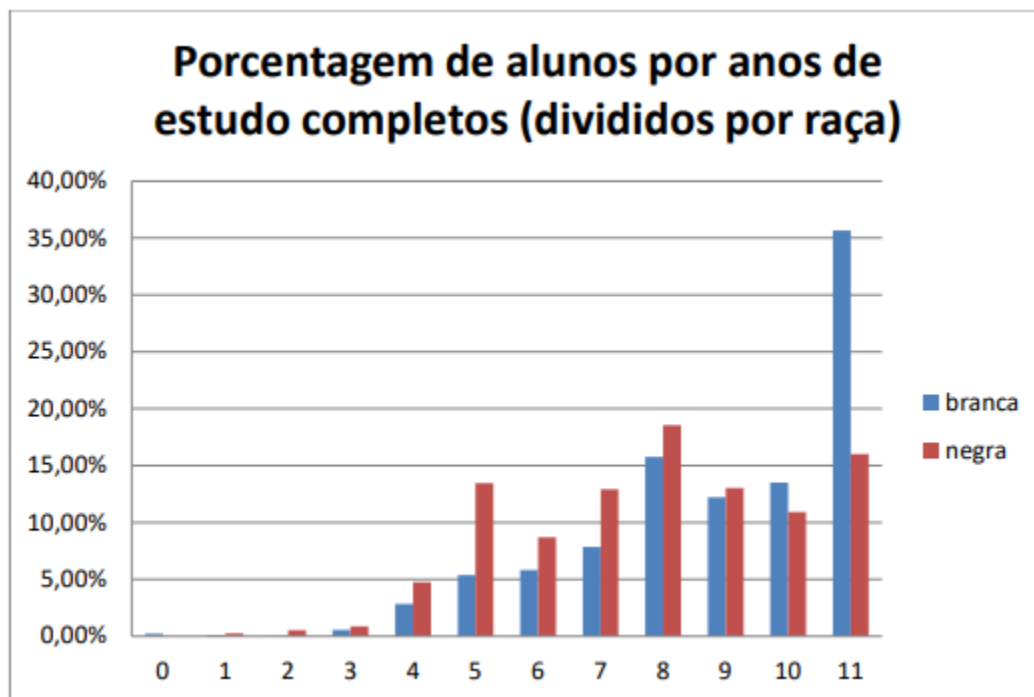
Brazil might be an interesting case to illustrate above ideas, since this nation has a massive problem of social-economic inequality along the lines of races. It is conceivable that the Lynn & Vanhanen theory might also hold within nations that have huge socio-economic disparities. More than half of Brazil's population is black or brown. The total Brazilian population is made up 45.5% "whites" and 53.6% "blacks" (Morato, 2018, p.14), who are the descendants of slaves that were shipped there by Europeans from 1501 to 1866 (Morato, 2018, p.5). There are considerable differences in job opportunities, and average incomes between whites and Afro-Brazilians and. The latter have a lot in common with Mozambicans as they have inherited a similar colonial past and speak Portuguese.

The difference is that Mozambique is a far more homogenous society than Brazil and black indigenous communities in Mozambique are by far the largest section of the population. Studying Brazil where socio-economic data abound can shed some light on how the Mozambican population can be considered an example of the Lynn & Vanhanen postulation: the lower the socio-economic level of a population the lower, on average, its IQs and therefore, school performance.

In his paper, Morato (2018) explains that the first national sample survey of households (PNAD), whose purpose was to obtain annual information on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population including the color criterion, was in 1976. Up to that time, there was a lack of knowledge about the demographic and social evolution of African descendants, which illustrates that until then, Brazil was presented as having a racially homogeneous population, according to Haselbalg and Silva (1990).

Not until some twenty years ago, the government policy in Brazil was geared to economic development, but without considering problems relevant to a racially divided society. There are now growing concerns according to Brandão, (1982), Kerstenetzky, (2000 and 2008), Barros, Henriques & Mendonça (2000) and Kerstenetzky (2000) about the socio-economic disparity between these different populations and that inequality can no longer be accepted.

To show how big differences are between the educational performance of these two groups, Morato (2018, p.3) uses data collected from 1993 to 2011 in the town Pelotas. These data show that there's a big difference related to the number of years of study that Afro-descendants complete as compared to non-African populations. On average, the average numbers of years completed by African descendants in percentages as compared to others is much lower as can be seen in the following graph (reproduced from Morato, (2017 p14):



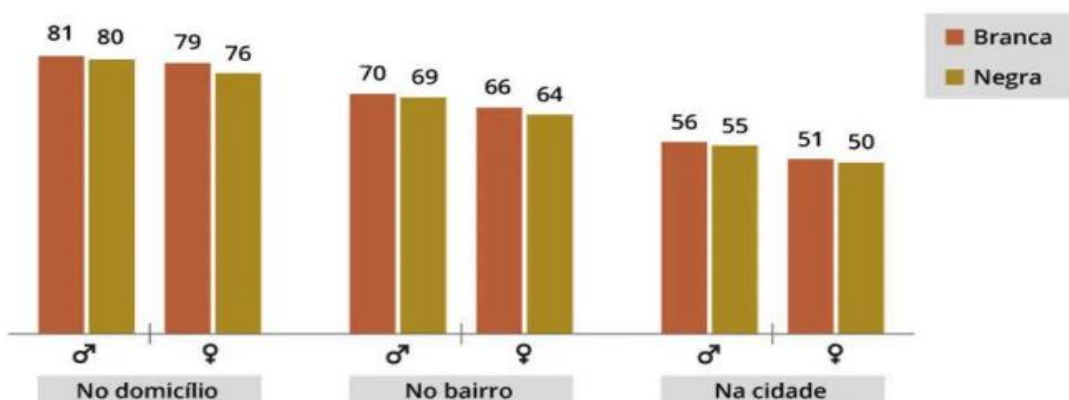
2.9 Some Data showing the Social Gulf between Blacks and Whites in Brazil

Souza, B (2014), illustrates that Afro-Brazilian people still face an abyss of inequality by presenting important facts that show this gulf: e.g. blacks are the biggest victims of violence and those who suffer most from poverty. They also have little representation in the political spheres and have a much lower average income than whites.

2.9.1 Black women Feel the most Insecure

Data of IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística- 2010), show that black women, when compared to other segments of the population feel the most insecure in all environments, even in their own homes:

PROPORÇÃO DA SENSÇÃO DE SEGURANÇA SEGUNDO LOCAL, SEXO, COR/RAÇA



From the same source it is evident that this pattern of vulnerability is repeated in other indicators of violence. According to data from IBGE and IPEA (*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada* - The Institute of Applied Economic Research), the black population is the victim of aggression in greater proportion than the white population - whether male or female.

Sex / color Victims of aggression

White men	1.50%
Black men	2.10%
White women	1.10%
Black women	1.40%

2.9.2 Afro-Brazilians seldom Occupy Leading Positions

Brazil only had one black president. (Brazilian National Archive); Nilo Procopio Peçanha was the first - and so far the only - president of Brazil. Son of a black father and white mother, Peçanha assumed the presidency after Afonso Pena's death and was in office between 1909 and 1910, (*Arquivo Nacional Brasileiro*).

In 2012, Barbosa became the third black president of the highest court in the country, the Supreme Court. Joaquim Barbosa is only the third in plenary session. Prior to Joaquim Barbosa, the Federal Supreme Court has had only two other black Supreme Court presidents. The last of them, Hermenegildo de Barro, left office in 1931. That is,

the court was 72 years without any Afro-descendent representative.

2.9.3 Blacks are a Majority in the National Social Insurance Benefit

Data from IPEA show that the black population is also more vulnerable to poverty. Seven out of ten households receiving the national social insurance benefit are headed by blacks. The profile of Brazilian *favela* households also points to the social gulf that still persists between whites and blacks in Brazil. Two-thirds of the homes in these regions are headed by black men or women.

2.9.4 Black Women are hardest hit by Unemployment

According to data from studies of gender and race inequalities, among the black population, the unemployment rate is higher than among whites; while unemployment reaches 5.3% of white men, among blacks, the rate reaches 6.6%. Among women, the difference is even greater. Among white women, unemployment is 9.2% while among black women; it exceeds 12%.

UNIT 3 MOZAMBIQUE'S WEAK ECONOMY AND CONSEQUENCES FOR EDUCATION

3.1 Effects of a Weak Economy on Education

The following subsections of Unit 3 deal with direct and indirect consequences of Mozambique's weak economy. In fact, the country is potentially rich - in mineral wealth, trained and untrained workers, thriving new businesses and biodiversity. The Mozambican people should flourish and the Mozambican economy should thrive. Yet, many live in poverty while a large part of the country's wealth is channeled by actors from the rest of the world. Asian and Western industrialized countries in particular get much more out of Africa than they put in. At the same time, they impose economic models that feed poverty and inequality.

3.2 Lack of Student Motivation because of a lack of Descent Jobs

The job market in Mozambique is a clear illustration of this inequality. For Mozambican graduates, managerial or academic jobs are difficult to get with far too many candidates competing all for the same few jobs. It is a much heard complaint that vacancies for managerial and top jobs are often given to candidates with a non-African origin, even when there a lot of Mozambicans perfectly fit to fill them.

Mozambican students, therefore, know pretty well that no matter how much they study they, generally, have restricted chances of getting a descent and well-paid job. Rural youngsters must be prepared for a life working in the fields knowing it is the only way to eventually guarantee there is some food on the table every day.

In the towns and cities most Mozambicans make ends meet by doing unskilled work, such as market sellers, pushing carts, riding people around on mopeds or doing semi-skilled labour such as driving trucks, taxi minibuses, building, plumbing, repairing bikes and cars, etc., which they have often learnt from people already active in these jobs rather than at schools. Some get lucky and repair TVs or other electronic equipment, while others even manage to some become nurses, doctors, desk workers or teachers, admittedly, rarely without paying bribes.

However, most youngsters do not get beyond the level of doing unskilled labour. Many live for shorter or longer periods on the dole, even after completing 12 years at school or having a tertiary diploma. Obviously, there is little motivation to get outstanding

marks at schools and universities when only foreigners and children or relatives of influential and rich Mozambicans scoop up the top jobs. The economy is still relatively underdeveloped with only few factories processing the raw products coming from agriculture and fishing, which, generally, are exported to be processed outside, for example to China. Companies such as Sasol (gas) and Mozaal (aluminum) only contribute 1.6% to the national income in the form of tax money, although their exports count for 46% of the country's value of national exports, (Castel-Branco, Carlos Nuno, 2010, p.27).

The past ten years or so there, has been a huge influx of foreign investments from Asian countries, particularly from China, which have resulted in the construction of infrastructures, factories and shops that produce and sell stuff that everybody will buy such as mattresses, oils, and consumables such as cookies, beer, and fruit juices. But most of the profits are being transferred to foreign bank accounts. Moreover, Mozambique hardly produces anything that requires advanced technological processes, while all electronic devices, cars, etc. are imported from Asia, notably Japan and China. It is mostly the Chinese and Pakistanis themselves who manage their companies and shops. Mozambicans do the menial jobs even after finishing grade 12, or even with BAs.

Another aspect that should be stressed here is that since so many people live with relatively low incomes, people tend to live in extended family communities, occupying the same compound or the same houses to reduce the costs of living. Therefore, solidarity is extremely important, which perhaps, again reinforces the assumption that emotional intelligence, (EQ), in most Africans is far more developed than the IQs that are needed to pass exams at schools. To know whether IQ is the product of *nature* or *nurture* is for people in Mozambique a totally irrelevant issue and nobody living in these circumstances could care less.

3.3 Unsatisfactory Teacher Performance

Most teachers will complain that they are "forced" to work several shifts a day or at more than one school, because of low salaries and to make ends meet. According to the World Bank SDI report (2015), nearly half (45%) of the teachers were not at school during an unannounced visit, and another 11% were at school, but not in class, when they were supposed to teach. The result is that students receive on average only 1 hr. and 41 minutes of teaching per day. In other words, out of 190 school days, students received only 74 effective school days.

It turns out that young teachers were more often absent. Most teachers are reported to attribute absence to a family member being sick (31%) or because teachers attended school-related meetings (20%). For directors, the most common reason for the absence was school-related meetings (36%).

It appeared that when directors were absent, more teachers were also absent. In schools where the principal was absent, teachers were almost twice as likely to be absent: with the principal present, the average absentee rate was 34%, while in the absence of the principal, the average absentee rate was 64%. This indicates that leadership and accountability are important for the work of teachers.

A lot of Mozambican teachers, according to the SDI survey, have a serious lack of knowledge and teaching ability. The average teacher grade for teacher ratings (Portuguese, Math and Pedagogy) was 29%.

Only 1% of grade 4 teachers mastered 80% of grade 4 curricula, according to the SDI survey. For example, only 65% of math teachers can do the calculation: $86 - 55$ correctly and only 39% could do subtraction with decimals (for example, $12.15 - 11.83$). When asked to correct a letter written by a 4th grade student, teachers found only 2 out of 20 errors (such as grammar, spelling punctuation, syntax and greeting).

Teaching skills were invariably worse than those of teachers in mathematics and language. On average, teachers scored only 15 out of 100 points in pedagogy, which reflects difficulties in successfully preparing a lesson plan (19 out of 100), correctly evaluating children's writing (14 out of 100), and using tests for students to make several statements about the classroom model of instruction (7 out of 100).

To prove the point that these findings were not coincidental it was also found that In schools with the best students (for example, the best 5% of math students), teachers were 17% more knowledgeable and 30% less likely to be absent, although the availability of resources such as textbooks, equipment, and infrastructure were similar. As can be concluded from the SDI Survey, teachers, on the whole, in Mozambique performed worse than other SDI countries. The graph below is reproduced from the SDI survey (2015):

TABLE 1. Teacher Competence across SDI Countries

	Mozambique	Kenya	Nigeria*	Tanzania	Togo	Uganda
Overall Score	29	58	38	48	35	44
Language						
<i>Language Average Score</i>	34	63	49	42	50	54
Grammar task	83	92	64	73	74	89
Composition task	10	49	24	22	26	37
Mathematics						
<i>Mathematic Average Score</i>	33	77	42	65	33	58
Adding double digit numbers	87	98	89	97	79	96
Subtracting double digits	65	86	70	86	65	79
Comparing fractions	17	40	16	50	13	21
Subtraction of decimal numbers	39	83	45	67	18	57
Pedagogy						
<i>Pedagogy Average Score</i>	15	35	18	36	19	25
Preparing a lesson plan	19	39	20	58	27	31
Assessing children's abilities	14	33	23	18	33	25

* Surveyed states in Nigeria are: Anambra, Bauchi, Ekiti, and Niger.

3.4 Too few Schools to accommodate the large influx of Students - Schools Lacking basic Amenities

In Mozambique, there are at least 7 million children of school age. For many, limited educational opportunities and poverty make their lives pretty miserable. Access to secondary education is limited and remains a privilege of urban children in particular. According to a UNICEF bulletin (2017), there are not enough secondary schools in the country and most are in the cities, so that only 8% of children of secondary school age attend school. Elementary schools and secondary schools have introduced morning, afternoon and evening shifts to cope with overcrowding, so it is not uncommon to see students in class until 10 pm.

Many school buildings were already in poor condition before tropical cyclones *Idai* and *Kenneth* hit Beira and Cabo Delgado in May and April 2019, but now things have become worse. Leaving trails of unprecedented destruction, most schools and other public buildings suffered loss of roofs, damaged walls and broken windows, to the extent that teaching became almost or totally impossible. Even now, near the end 2019, many buildings are still in ruins. Needless to say that education has been impaired for a period of a year or more depending on whether sufficient funds will be forthcoming from international donors to rehabilitate the damage.

3.5 A General Atmosphere of Restless and Nervous Disorientation in Classes

This section discusses how the weak economy causes many school-going children to become restless, noisy and undisciplined causing low performance. Socio-economic conditions are, in many parts of the country, daunting: busy town centers are surrounded by overcrowded slums, scattered with garbage and filth, lack of clean water, few jobs and opportunities for youngsters, which leads many youngsters to opt for roaming the streets at night hoping to spot opportunities for burglary and violence. Police often lack the funds and numbers to tackle this problem of rampant criminality. Obviously, this causes families to live in constant anxiety of becoming victims of crime, violence and rape.

Undoubtedly, more than half the school children live in slums, of which there are still far too many in a country, which has been independent since 1975. Many will attribute this staggeringly slow pace of development to a civil war that was fought from 1977 to 1992, between the two major opposition parties in the country. Until today clashes between these parties occasionally flare up, leading to more violence and deaths.

Although there is health care paid largely by the state, nurses and doctors have to work in deplorable conditions and infectious diseases such as malaria and HIV, etc. have caused huge numbers of children to become orphans. These are being taken care of by relatives, but very often living in insecure conditions without the proper protection of a parent. No need to stress how much this affects the lives and school performance of those orphans who are lucky enough to be able to attend lessons at schools.

3.6 Tensions between different Language Groups

Mozambique has many different languages and cultures, the remnants of pre-colonial tribal communities, which are mixing in urban areas. In the towns and cities, there is a lot of tension between groups and families because of these post-tribal differences. Often these differences have led to political divisions and the rather aggressive and often violent campaigns before elections. Naturally, this type of unrest will have negative effects on households and family lives, which in turn affects behavior in schools.

3.7 Alcohol and Drug abuse among Students

R. M. Sunde's research (2019) about teenage drug use in schools in Mozambique, which he witnessed while coaching trainees of the Nampula Pedagogical University, explains how many teenagers participated in alcohol and drugs-related activities on the schools' campuses and during classes; some canteens near schools were even selling alcohol and drugs. There were a lot of discipline problems and non-compliance by students with school rules and regulations.

But drugs alcohol and even promiscuity are not just a problem in Nampula, but a national problem. For example, according to students at *Josina Machel Secondary School* in Maputo interviewed by InfroMoz (2019), students talked about "unprotected group sex" in classes and campus in broad daylight. This "group sex" practice appears not to be new to *Josina Machel* students. Boys resort to certain substances that they put in soda, even sometimes alcohol to intoxicate their victims, girls that have been enticed to join them. A 16-year-old eleventh grader who spoke anonymously said that cases of gang rape were recurring, but for fear of reporting cases they ended up being silent. She said that this happened very often. Some of her male colleagues bring drinks called *caipirinha* and get some female students drunk and then do what they please. Usually these cases are not reported.

3.8 Gender Inequality and Sexual Harassment

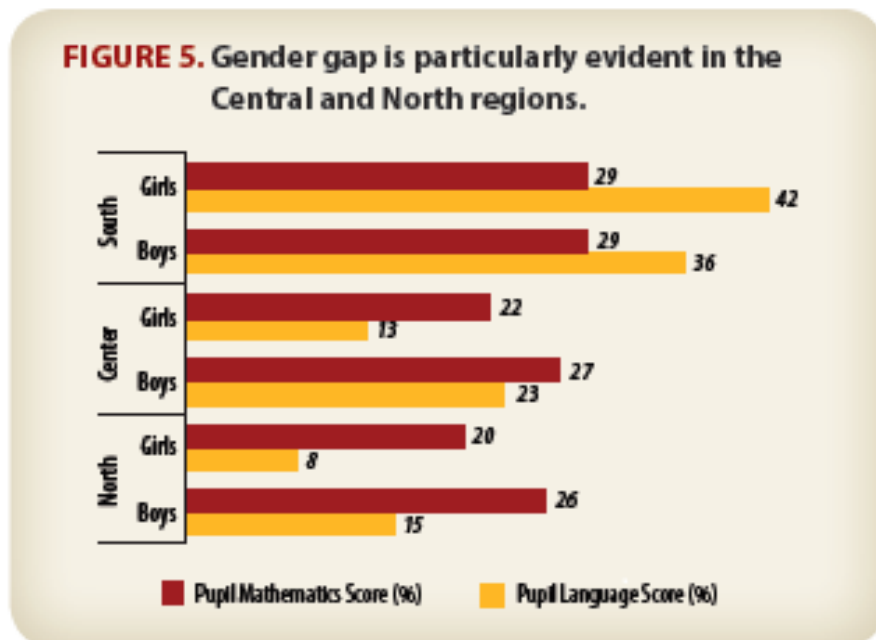
Gender equality is not a specific Mozambican problem, but certain attitudes existing today may be a nagging remnant from traditional pre-colonial eras, when polygamy was common and the roles for men and women were strictly adhered to: women were and still are inferior to men, their roles being limited to bearers and caretakers of children, providing the family with food. In those days, girls were expected to live with a husband

and become sexually active soon after initiation rites, which were usually as soon as they started having menstruation.

Today, many of these practices, particularly in rural areas and slums, continue to exist. Many girls if not forced into sexual relationships at a very young age, are educated to believe that men (boys) are superior and have a "right" to dominate girls, bullying them into having sexual relations. Often girls become pregnant in the year they have their first period. It is not uncommon for mothers to welcome a daughter's pregnancy as this is considered to be an opportunity for the family to cash some money in the form of *lobolo* (bride price, paid by the father's parents), unless the father abandons the girl denying he is the father. If he is willing to accept her and the baby, he may be forced to provide further financial support depending on whether he has an income or not, which is usually small, especially if he is still young, or worse, jobless or a student. Although many of the girls nowadays refuse to marry at a young age, still about 18 % of women aged 20 to 24 years were married before the age of 15 years (SDI, 2015).

The SDI survey (2015) indicates that gender inequality has also consequences for education for girls as compared to boys. For example, in the poorest families, only 39% of girls attend school compared to 52% of boys. More than 650,000 children who were supposed to be at school are not. These results may partly reflect the fact that the average number of female teachers is lower in the central (32%) and northern regions (20%) compared with southern (46%). On the whole, at the elementary school level, only 23% of teachers are female, which means that girls often have no examples that could encourage them to continue their studies. The pressure to drop out of school, especially for girls, comes from various sources.

The figure below shows that the girls in the north and the center of Mozambique performed significantly worse than the boys. For example, in the north, boys scored 48% more in Portuguese and 24% higher in math. In the central region, boys scored 42 percent more than girls in Portuguese and 18 percent in math.



(Reproduced from the SDI bulletin, 2015)

Finally, to conclude this unit, the gender problem described above appears to have evolved into a more condemnable kind of abuse, which nowadays is being taken for granted at most schools and tertiary institutions, i.e. teachers passing female students in exchange for sex.

Besides, it is considered "normal" practice for teachers to expect any student, including boys, to bribe them to pass. Even heads of course and directors, generally appear to approve of these practices. It needs little imagination to realize how these situations cause insecurity and stress among students knowing that, basically, anybody can pass, not by studying hard, but by negotiating with the teacher or head of the section.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this paper is to stimulate discussion about a number of possible causes of low school performance in Mozambique. Admittedly, some of these "causes" do not commonly appear in the conclusions drawn by most national and international institutions and NGOs specialised in educational problems in Africa.

The perhaps less obvious causes as presented in this paper could be the suppositions to initiate qualitative field research (since there has already been a lot quantitative research in education) to arrive at fresh conclusions and still experimental strategies to improve educational problems that have grown to become so endemically and chronically unresolved in Mozambique that many educational specialists let alone directors and teachers have become weary to the extent that many may have lost hope of ever solving them.

After the end of the Mozambican civil war and the peace treaty, began a period of great optimism. Many NGOs in Africa as well as the Mozambican government thought that the introduction of millions of people into national education programs (EFA - Education for All) as outlined at an educational conference in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 and later Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, widely approved by both internal and external stakeholders in developing countries, was seen as a way to achieve rapid development. (SACMEQ, 2011, p.3)

However, the past decennia, many investigators have increasingly come to the conclusion that EFA is not the golden bullet to overcome absolute poverty. The general consensus among educational researchers has gradually evolved into a more detailed approach to achieve meaningful access; it is no longer education for all, but quality education for as many as possible. It is now widely accepted that a country's ability to educate all young people measured solely by access to tuition fees and admissions, is certainly not a solid prerequisite for development. Emphasis should be on quality in education that produces graduates that are able to communicate the knowledge and skills needed to work as competent members of a literate society, take initiatives and develop new ideas where many have lost control and hope, or have simply given up.

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