Education Division Documents No 54

School Career in Lower Primary Education in Guinea-Bissau

The Pupils and Their Socio-economic and Cultural Background

Bertil Ahlenhed
Gustave Callewaert
Mario Cissóko
Holger Daun

SIDA November 1991

SCHOOL CAREER IN LOWER PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The Pupils and Their Socio-economic and Cultural Background

Bertil Ahlenhed, Gustave Callewaert, Mario Cissoko, Holger Daun

PREFACE

Quality primary education for an increasing number of children is vital for economic and social development in Guinea-Bissau. In order for education to contribute to development and growth, however, it has to be an education on Guinean terms, responding to the needs of Guinean society and reflecting the ethnic, religious and linguistic mosaic of the country. Creating a national educational system that permits and responds to a plurality of cultural expression is a great challenge to any country. In Guinea-Bissau, with its very limited economic resources and a yet modest educational infrastructure this is an almost overwhelming task. It is, however, recognized as the only viable and sustainable course.

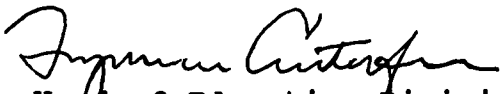
An important precondition for planning and further development of the educational system in Guinea-Bissau is a profound knowledge of Guinean society. To this end SIDA has supported the Research Division (DPOL) within the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE) since its inception, expressing in this way the belief that one of the fundamentals in the development of education on Guinean terms must be to thoroughly investigate the school environment.

A group of national researchers has worked at DPOL over a number of years, guided and no doubt inspired by some expatriate experts, but above all driven by their own commitment to education in Guinea-Bissau as well as their dedication to educational research. Their works have been published occasionally in Portuguese with a limited, local circulation.

This is the first time a joint work of DPOL is published for an international readership. The original study in Portuguese has been translated into English and somewhat compressed in order to reach a wider audience with an interest in education in Guinea-Bissau.

Stockholm in November 1991.

Ingemar Gustafsson



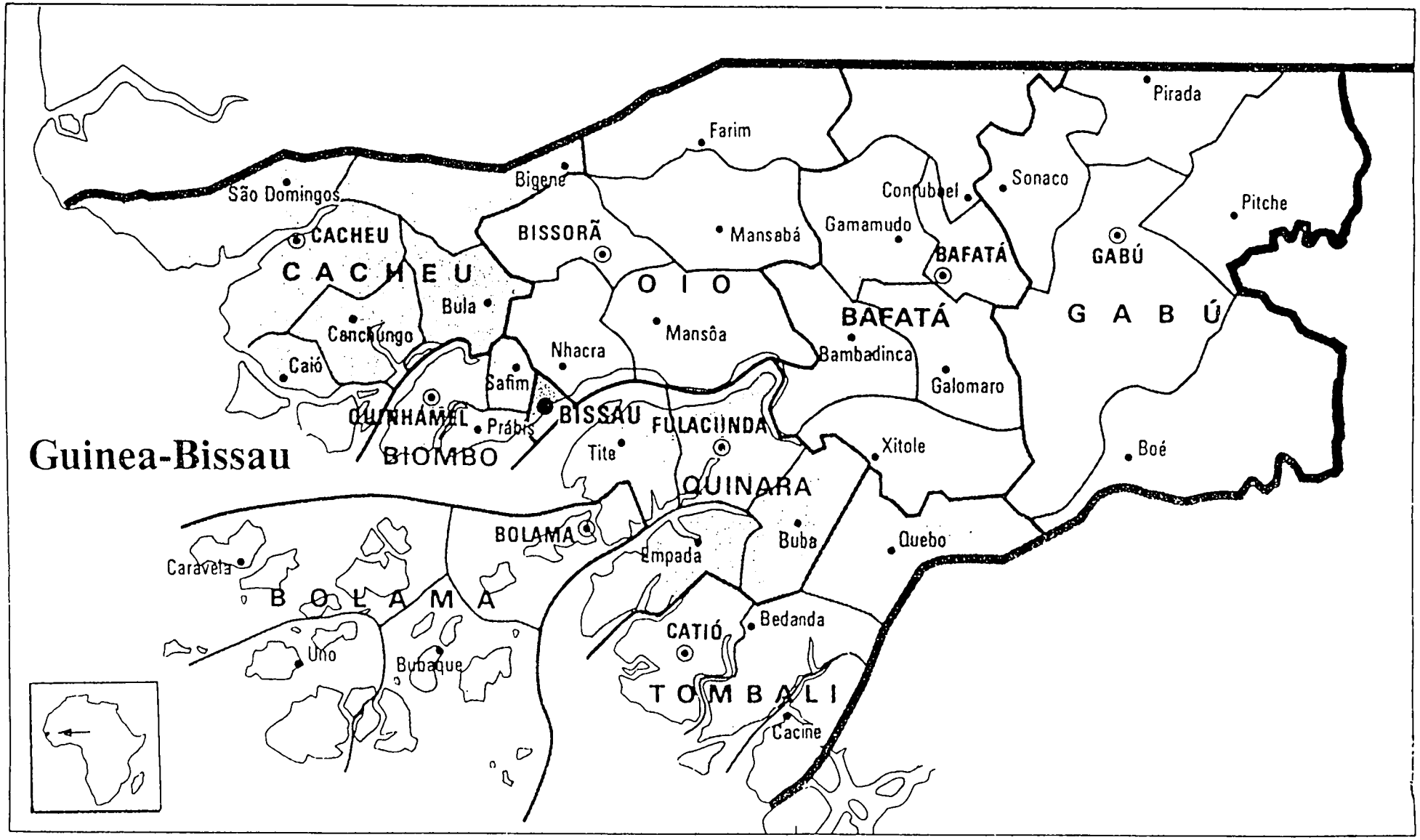
Head of Education Division

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices


Guinea-Bissau
São Domingos
Bigene
Farim
Pirada
Sonaco
Contubael
Pitche
Gamamudo
Mansabá
CACHEU
BISSORÃ
BAFATÁ
GABÚ
CACHEU
OIO
BAFATÁ
GABÚ
Bula
Canchungo
Mansôa
Bambadinca
Caió
Nhacra
Safim
Galomaro
OUINHAMEL
Prábis
BISSAU
FULACUNDA
Xitole
Boé
BIOMBO
Tite
QUINARA
BOLAMA
Buba
Quebo
Empada
Caravela
BOLAMA
Bedanda
CATIÓ
Uno
Bubaque
TOMBALI
Cacine

INTRODUCTION

By the time the war of liberation was over in Guinea-Bissau, the country had two completely different systems of education. The first one was that established by the Portuguese colonialists in which complete primary education was available to only a few, and the other was that set up by the liberation movement in the liberated areas during the war.

After the withdrawal of the Portuguese colonialists, the educational system underwent minor changes, but these were only preludes to the more radical change anticipated: to introduce a completely new system that was better adapted to the existing realities, while at the same time contributing to the creation of the society envisioned by the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guineau Bissau e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC).

Later, however, it became apparent that any radical change of the education system had to be made from a knowledge base that could be provided only through research and/or a systematization of the experiences that had been gained by the teachers in their contacts with everyday realities.

The liberation movement had already, as far back as 1969, been a recipient of educational support from the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), and when the national government was installed in 1974, this cooperation between Sweden and Guinea-Bissau continued.

By the middle of the 1980s, with the educational system at a low level on all indicators including enrollment and teacher quality, the need for educational reform became more evident than ever before. In response to this situation, the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE) was created. INDE was founded in 1985 and was given the following functions:

- to conduct research in order to provide the knowledge that was necessary for a radical reform of the educational system;
- to create new programs and curricula;
- to publish new text-books; and
- to train teachers.

When the research section of INDE called DPOL was opened, it was staffed with persons who had basic academic training, but not the training for and experience of their own research activities. In the subsequent agreement of cooperation between SIDA and the Ministry of Education in Guinea-Bissau, therefore, technical assistance to the research section was included.

Various evaluations and short-term studies based on official documents had demonstrated a series of problems in the educational system and a number of explanations to these problems had also been suggested, However, the description of both the problems and their causes was rather general, and there seemed to be a need for detailed and specific local studies.

In 1986 a study on a village near the capital was conducted by the researchers of the DPOL. In the following year, a comprehensive study of the Western regions of the country was accomplished and a series of case studies in different villages or districts in these regions was initiated. The results of the comprehensive study are presented in this report. It was first published in Guinea-Bissau in Portuguese. In the English version, however, some changes to the original have been made.

The three administrative regions studied (Cacheu, Biombo and Oio) all belong to "Zone 1", an expression that will be used in this report. Of the developmental and administrative zones into which the country has been divided, a substantial proportion of the Swedish support goes to this zone.

The case studies that have been conducted by the researchers in the research section of the INDE may be presented in brief:

1) A study of schooling in Birassu (the area along the Guinean-Senegalese border and the northern part of Zone 1), in which data of the same kind as in the present study were gathered, and in addition, observations and qualitative interviews were also made with teachers, school directors, elders and members of the village councils. That study, conducted by Mario Cissoko, demonstrated among other things that the short distance to the neighboring country (Senegal) provokes migrations that intervene in the schooling of the children. Cultural factors such as participation in traditional rituals constituted another theme that corresponded inversely with schooling.

2) A study of the teachers' background in Birassu, in which teachers were asked to write a report about their background and their present situation as employed educators and persons in general. Mario Cissoko was responsible for this project.

3) A number of aspects of the life in the villages of Salquenhe-Ba and Brikama were covered in a study by Alexandrino Gomes, which included parents' occupation and children's participation in various learning systems. The findings of this study refuted, among other things, some of the general prevailing ideas, such as the assertion that the premature marriages of girls and the heavy work load of the children prevented them from attending the primary school.

4) All the teachers (totalling about 140) teaching in the schools covered in the survey whose results are presented in this report were interviewed with the help of a long questionnaire covering a large number of aspects in their life situation. It was evident that the life situation of the teachers was so problematic, due in large part to low salaries and transfers from one school to another, but also due to lack of houses and food, that the teachers did not have enough time and energy to engage in their teaching duties. The study was a project that was run collectively in the research department.

5) Educational policies and their concrete results in the schools were the subject of a study conducted by Rui Landim. The village of Mansode was selected as a case, and all family heads were contacted and required to answer questions from a questionnaire dealing with a large number of aspects such as kinship relations, production, division of work and children's participation in various learning systems. The final report from this project has not yet been published.

6) What the children do before and after the school day was one of the principal questions directing a study which was conducted by Jorge Ampa in the village of Co. A preliminary report demonstrated that the girls there have a heavy work load, many duties to fulfill and little time for home-work. In addition to this, the children dedicate a lot of time, particularly during the months of April and May, to harvesting cashew nuts and working in their mother's gardens.

7) The linguistic situation in an isolated village (Jobel) on an island in the river of Cacheu was the subject of a study that has not yet been completed. This project is being conducted under the supervision of Ibrahama Dialo.

8) An evaluation study of the utilization of Kreol as the language of instruction in Cufar in the southern part of the country and in Uno (an island in the archipelago) was conducted by Ibrahima Dialo.

The present report is the fruit of the contributions of many people, which is illustrated in the Figure below.

CONTRIBUTING PERSON	TASK						
	CONSTRUCTION OF QUEST.	FIELD WORK PHASE 1	FIELD WORK PHASE 2	ANALYSIS PHASE1	ANALYSIS PHASE2	PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT IN PORTUG	PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT IN ENGLISH
Bertil Ahlenhed	x	x	x	x			
Gustave Callewaert		x		x			
Mario Cissoko		x	x	x	x	x	
Holger Daun	x	x		x	x	x	x
Alexandrino Gomes				x			
Vital Pina		x	x				
Luciano Danfa		x	x				

** Catherine Odora, Karen Sorensen and Gary Miron of the Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm, edited the report.

Figure 1.1 Contributors to this Report

1.1 Objectives

The principal objective of this report is to present the results of a survey that was made of a representative sample of about 2,400 pupils in the primary cycle (grades 1-4) in three regions of Guinea-Bissau in West Africa. It is the first and biggest study of this type made of the educational system in this country. The purpose of the study was to find out if and how school success is related to socioeconomic and cultural factors. It was intended as one step in the search for a broader base for deciding on a new educational system.

1.2 Perspectives on and Use of the Principal Concepts

1.2.1 Model and Definitions

The study takes, as its point of departure, the view that there is a mutual influence between the school and the surrounding society, but that the school cannot deviate too much from the features and requirements of the surrounding society. If there is not considerable change in society that corresponds to the characteristics of the school and schooling, the result will be repetitions and dropouts. Moreover, there will be no development through schooling if the characteristics of the school such as teacher training, pedagogy, and methods do not correspond to the requirements of the central government and/or the local community. The model that has been used has the following appearance:

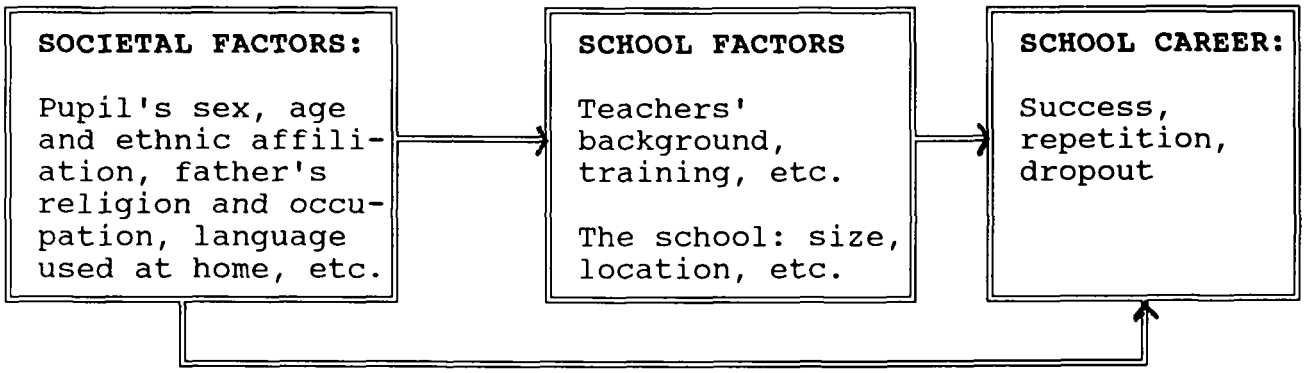


Figure 1.2 Model Showing the Variables Used in This Study

More precisely, the following variables were used as indicators on the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of the students:

- ethnic affiliation,
- sex,
- age,
- language used at home,
- language used in contacts with mates,
- father's religion, and
- father's occupation (see Appendix B).

The following school factors were included in the analysis:

- size of the school, and
- geographical location of the school (see Appendix C).

The indicators of the school career are described in Appendices D and E.
Since data on time of dropout and number of repetitions were not registered for the pupils who had dropped out before the interview was made, we had to present some concepts in an *ad hoc* manner. Very briefly, the indicators of school career are defined as follows:

Dropout

We assumed that the number of pupils who had enrolled in the first grade every year from 1983 and onwards had been the same as that enrolled in October 1987 (for the academic year 1987/88 when the survey was conducted). The actual number of pupils and their respective grades were related to this potential number, and when there were students missing, this was taken as a measure of dropout. For example, if 100 pupils enrolled in the first grade in October 1987, the same number was assumed to have enrolled each year from 1983 and onwards, that is, 5 x 100 = 500 pupils. The actual number of pupils in the school was then subtracted from this number. From the rest were subtracted the pupils who had passed through the four grades at a normal rate (that is, within four years).

Repetition

This was taken to be the number of repetitions among the students that still were in the school system when the survey was conducted in January - May 1988. For example, if 100 pupils were still in school and they had repeated 150 times, the ratio of repetition was taken to be 150. There is a mutual and dialectic relationship between the school and the community, between the education system and the characteristics of the country. However, a survey is always a cut of a certain period in the flow of time, and, therefore, it cannot capture the dialectical processes. In order to improve this situation, we traced the destinies of the students from the day of enrollment up to the day when they were interviewed. The original intention was to contact all students who had been enrolled from 1983/84 and onwards, but due to certain circumstances this was not possible. This fact forced to use the *ad hoc* definitions presented above.

1.2.2 Sampling and Questionnaire

It was not possible to include all the students in Zone 1 (who number in excess of 18,000) in the study, so the simple sampling technique used involved taking at random every tenth school from the register of schools functioning in the beginning of the academic year 1987/88. This meant that a total of 24 schools with about 2,400 students came to form the sample. When a sample of this type is successful, generalizations on the whole population (all grade 1-4 students in Zone 1) can be made from the characteristics of the pupils in the sample. We were not able to verify the composition of the pupils in all relevant aspects, but the following facts were evident:

a) The distribution of the sampled students along the grades (1-4) corresponds rather well to the distribution of all grade 1-4 students in the zone (see Appendix F).

b) It was not possible to register the ethnic distribution of the school population, but the distribution in the sample is compared to that of the whole population. The sample includes a larger percentage of pupils from the Mancagne ethnic group and smaller ones from the ethnic groups of Balanta and Pepel than in the whole Zone 1 population (see Appendix G).

c) The geographical distribution of the pupils in the sample does not correspond to that of all pupils in Zone 1. Schools from two administrative sectors were not represented in the sample (see Appendix C).

All the schools were visited once or more during the period of January to May 1988. Questions from the questionnaire were put to all the students, and their answers concerning their previous school careers were checked with the register that existed in the schools. The teachers were also interviewed after the school day.
Bertil Ahlenhed, who visited the majority of the schools, described the field work in a report to SIDA. In his report, he states:

> *"...Before we commenced interviewing in a school, we contacted education authorities in the district... The questionnaire to the pupils was used in two principal ways: (a) The teacher alone or together with one or two of the interviewer team wrote the names of the pupils in the questionnaire. Then the questions were made in front of a group of pupils, but they answered one by one; (b) The pupils were interviewed one by one...The school register was a good help when we had to check what had happened to the pupils before our arrival..."*

1.2.3 Some Theoretical Considerations

While a study of the present type may show certain relationships, it does not usually explain or give a basis for understanding these relationships. In this respect, it is assumed that smaller case studies make their best contribution. In constructing the model, we were guided by the following theoretical ideas:

i) An educational system is seldom neutral in relation to existing cultural patterns and modes of production. There is often a selection of pupils, and the question then is: what are the characteristics of the pupils who are most/least successful?

ii) The encounter of a pupil from the Guinean countryside with a school system that is more or less a copy of the European ones always implies a cultural conflict.

iii) Teachers have to take over some of the functions that traditionally belong to the parents and/or elders in the community. Therefore, teachers have an important role in the school.

iv) An individual lives at the "crossroad" between cultural patterns, on the one hand, and a certain mode of production on the other. Both these spheres imply certain obligations and rights for the individual. The child has to participate in certain socio-cultural activities, such as the rites of circumcision, as well as a number of other productive activities. Is the school perceived to create the culturally ideal person? Do the parents perceive it to be a good long

term investment to enroll their children in the primary school? The school seems to be judged in both these aspects.

2. GUINEA-BISSAU AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

2.1 A Short Historical Background

Situated in West Africa, Guinea-Bissau has about one million inhabitants. It was a Portuguese colony until 1974, when the colonialist left the area and the national government was installed under the rule of the PAIGC. The freedom and liberation struggle that was started in the beginning of the 1960s, was very successful in that by the 1970s, the liberation movement controlled almost the whole countryside. Although, on the whole, both the party and the liberation movement had a fair amount of good will on the international arena, support during the armed struggle came mainly from Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries and Sweden.

Despite the colonial era and the armed struggle, Guinea-Bissau does not seem to have been penetrated economically, socially and culturally to the same extent as most other African countries. However, when they did depart, the Portuguese left a country that had one of the lowest GNPs per capita in the world, one of the least developed productive apparata, and one of the lowest rates of literacy. [1]

2.2 The Country in the 1980s

2.2.1 Population and Cultures

Although Guinea-Bissau is a small country (36.126 sq. kilometers) with about one million inhabitants, the cultural differences are large. The population is divided into more than ten ethnic/linguistic groups. The Western areas of the country are inhabited chiefly by the Balanta, Manjaco and Papel, who are mainly rice cultivators and confess to African religions. In the Eastern areas of the country the majority are Fula or Mandinga. In the south we find various ethnic groups, some of which are Muslims and others maintain their original African religions. In all, about 60% of the population are adherents to African religions, 35% are Muslims, and 5% are Catholics.

Table 2.1 Major Ethnic and Linguistic Groups in Guinea-Bissau

ETHNIC GROUP	%
- Balanta	27
- Fula	2
- Mandinga	1
- Manjaco	11
- Papel	10
- Mancagne	7
- Felupe	3
- Others	7
TOTAL	100

About one third of the country's population lives in Zone 1, and here the Balanta, Manjaco, Papel and Mancagne are in the majority. The linguistic situation here is rather complicated. Portuguese is the official language, but it is spoken by only 11% of the population. Kreol, a language that emerged from the contacts between the first Portuguese settlers and the local populations is used as the inter-ethnic language by about 60% of the population. The distribution of the languages in the regions belonging to Zone 1 and in the whole country in the beginning of the 1980s is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Principal Languages in Guinea-Bissau and Zone 1

REGION	LANGUAGE							
	Ba-lanta	Fula	Man-dinga	Man-jaco	Papel	Others	Total	% able to use Kreol
Biombo	1.6	0.5	0.2	1.0	67.2	28.5	100.0	56.1
Cacheu	21.0	1.1	3.7	38.9	0.6	12.7	100.0	38.5
Oio	48.9	5.0	24.3	1.6	0.4	29.8	100.0	31.9
GUINEA-BISSAU	24.5	20.3	10.1	8.1	.2	28.8	100.0	44.3

It is estimated that about 90% of the population is illiterate in regard to European languages. The percentage of illiterates varies from one region to another. It is lowest (67.5%) in Bissau, the capital, while in the regions belonging to Zone 1 the percentage is above 93%. The birth and death rates are relatively high, but the natural population increase is estimated to be 1-2% annually.

2.2.2 Ecology, Economy and Production

The ecology is dominated by the division of the year into a rainy season (June-October) and a dry season. The land is flat and divided by a large number of rivers and tributaries. The soil is fertile near the rivers, and the waters are rich in fish. Agriculture is the dominating activity, on which about 90% of the population live. However, the technological level is very low, since production takes place mainly through human labor with the help of simple tools and instruments. Rice, which is cultivated first and foremost for local consumption, is the principal product. Millet and cassava are also important crops, while groundnuts are cultivated for export in the northern and eastern parts of the country. In the western areas, cashew nuts have, during recent years, become an important product for export. Land is, in general, not private property, but the right to land is inherited by the lineage or the descent group, and most of the labor on the land is performed by the members of the extended family or those of the compound.

Before the war of liberation started, there was a registered surplus production of rice and groundnuts which was exported. Since the war, the country has become dependent on import of rice. As industrial production is negligible, most of the goods have to be imported. This has created a tremendous disequilibrium in external trade. Until the middle of the 1980s, a state-directed and centrally-planned political economy was in force, but since then liberalizations have been introduced and large parts of the state-owned property and industries have been privatized.

Since independence, the country has received massive economic and technical support. Until the middle of the 1980s this came from Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to the extent that in 1982, for instance, Guinea-Bissau was the country in Africa that received most aid per capita. Of the seven countries in West Africa during this period, Guinea-Bissau received 85 dollars per inhabitant, while the aid to Guinea, for instance, was only 11 dollars.

In general, educational development in Guinea-Bissau is judged or analyzed in comparison to that in other former Portuguese colonies (Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique) or other countries with which Sweden has bilateral agreements, such as Tanzania, Kenya, and so on. In this study, however, Guinea-Bissau will be looked upon more from the geographical and cultural context of which it is a part. Some economic, welfare and cultural indicators are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Some Economic, Welfare and Cultural Indicators: Guinea-Bissau and Neighboring Countries

COUNTRY	INDICATOR					
	GNP per 1982	% Muslims	% Christians	Life exp. 1982	Food supply per cap. 1982	Daily calorie supply per cap. 1982
GUINEA-BISSAU	170	35	5	38	88	2282
Chad	80	52	5	44	95	1818
Mali	180	65	5	45	83	1621
Burkina Faso	210	30	5	44	95	2008
Niger	310	85	0	45	88	2489
Gambia	360	90	0	36	74	2260
Guinea	310	62	3	38	89	1877
Senegal	490	76	0	44	93	2434

Among these countries, Guinea-Bissau is one of the lowest in GNP per capita, life expectancy, and food supply per day and per inhabitant. The calorie intake per inhabitant and day is among the highest. When it comes to cultural indicators, we may notice that the percentage of Muslims is situated somewhere in the middle.

2.3 Educational System

2.3.1 History and Context

In terms of educational development, the Portuguese colonial powers did less in Guineau-Bissau than other powers did in their colonies, and, in fact, less than they themselves did in their other colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Few children were given the opportunity to attend a school, and most of those who did were given only four years of education. During the war of liberation, the PAIGC established school activities in most of the villages. In reaction to this and in order the legitimize its presence in Guinea, the colonial power established a large number of schools in the last year before the end of the war. Even then, the rates of literacy and enrolment were among the lowest in the world. This was particularly evident in the early 1960s and the mid-1980s (see Table 2.4). Despite this fact, enrollment rates have been quite high since Guinea-Bissau became independent. Female participation is, according to the statistics, one of the highest among the seven countries in the region. The enrollments increased rapidly up to 1980 and then slowed down to a rate lower than that of the neighboring countries.

The country has one of the lowest numbers of students per teacher, and at the same time one of the highest rates of repetition in the region. The possibility for an age cohort to attain the final grade within the stipulated time is the lowest in Guinea-Bissau compared to the other countries. Government expenditures on education were among the lowest, at least until the middle of the 1980s.

Taken together, these figures seem to indicate that although the rate of enrollment is not lower than in the neighboring countries, the pupils are less successful in reaching the final grade. This seems to indicate that there is something in the school or in the relationship between the school and its environment that does not support success in the primary school. The low government expenditures on education also indicate that improvements can be made within and on the school system.

2.3.2 Structure and Characteristics Until 1989

The primary school system is divided into two cycles. The Basic Elementary Education (EBE), which consists of grades one to four, and Basic Complementary Education (EBC), comprising grades five and six. This division into two cycles seems to be an inheritance from the colonial period, when the 5th and 6th grades were considered as something of a luxury intended for a few.

The content of education was radically changed after independence. Productive work was introduced as one important subject for at least two reasons: first, productive work would make the school self-reliant, and second, it would raise the value of manual work. However, many of the schools and teachers did not find any meaningful activities during these lessons, and only during the first years after independence did some schools succeed in creating a productive surplus for sale. Productive work was abolished at the end of the 1980s.

2.4 Some Primary Education Indicators (Guinea-Bissau and Neighboring Countries) (Source:World Bank 1980, 1984 and 1987)

INDICATOR	COUNTRY							
	Guinea-Bissau	Chad	Mali	Burk. Faso	Niger	Gambia	Guinea	Senegal
Adult lit.								
1960	5.0	6.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	6.0	7.0	6.0
1985	10.0	10.0	16.8	13.2	13.9	25.1	28.3	28.1
Enrollment of school age group								
1960	25	17	10	8	5	13	30	27
1981	101	35	27	20	23	52	33	48
1983	68	38	23	27	26	68	36	53
Female enrollment								
1960	15	4	6	5	3	8	11	17
1981	41	19	18	15	17	37	22	38
1983	39	21	18	20	19	51	23	42
Average annual growth rate, primary								
1960-80	7.4	6.2	7.9	6.6	11.4	9.6	5.0	6.1
1980-83	0.2	4.8	0.2	11.1	3.0	11.8	2.5	8.3
Pupils per teacher								
1975	34	68	41	47	39	26	40	41
1983	23	64	37	62	36	25	36	41
Repeaters, % of total								
1970	...	27	26	16	19	13	..	23
1983	30	..	33	17	15	13	29	15
% of cohort reaching final grade,								
1983	147	293	400	703	793	915	408	835
Educ. costs, % of total govt costs								
1975	..	12.5	..	..	18.7	10.8	..	21.3
1983	11.8	6.3	37.2	23.9	21.7	12.5	12.7	...

Another aspect of education is the Portuguese language and its place in the school system. Portuguese is not only the language of instruction, but also the subject to which most class time is dedicated. The structure of the whole educational system has the following appearance:

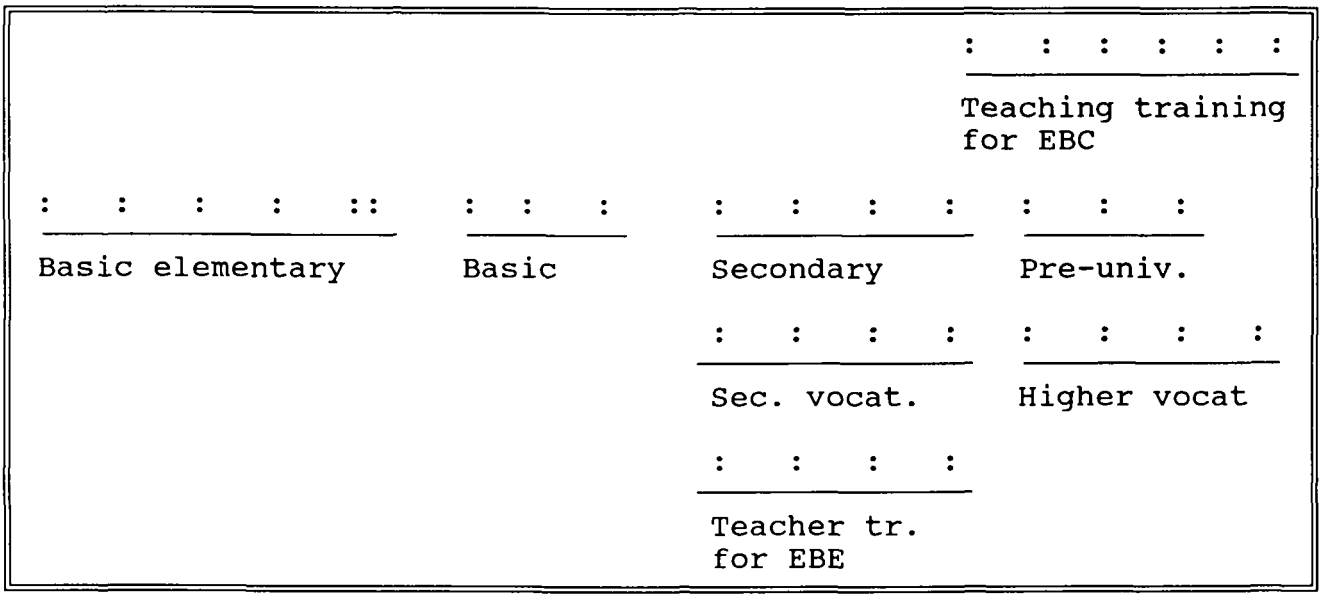


Figure 2.1 Structure of the Educational System

Each grade is ended with examinations, which are very academic and selective, and the selection process usually begins even before the actual examinations. First, the teacher suggests pupils for participation in the examinations, then the list is approved or revised.

The schools with 5th and 6th grades are mostly concentrated in the urban centers, and are considerably fewer than those for the first four grades. This means that the few who succeed in being admitted to the fifth grade have to leave their local community and live with a tutor, a relative or some other person in an urban area.

2.3.3 Enrollment, Performance and Quality

There are no precise data on enrollments in the different regions within the country, but it seems to be highest in the region of Bissau and Bolama (the latter was the former capital of the colony) and lowest in the southern and western areas. However, the rate of survival is very low. In the middle of the 1980s, it was estimated that of 100 pupils who were enrolled in the first grade, only 30 reached the fourth grade within the stipulated time. Also, there have always been large geographical disparities in enrollment, as well as success in the EBE. While the rate of survival has been between 60 and 70% in the capital region, it has been about 20% in Biombo, 40 per cent in Cacheu, and less than 20% in Oio (the three regions that belong to Zone 1). For the country as a whole, the rate has been about 30%.

The rates of dropout in the three regions concerned during the school year 1983/84 are presented below (and there are indications that they have not decreased in subsequent years):

Table 2.5 Dropouts by Region in Guinea-Bissau (1983/4)

REGION	BOYS	GIRLS	ALL
Biombo	27	18	23
Cacheu	8	13	10
Oio	21	25	22
Guinea-Bissau	13	14	14

In evaluations and official documents a large number of explanations are usually given for the mediocre results of the schools, among which are: low quality of teaching and school buildings; lack of text-books and school material; overly selective examinations; and, the lack of interest shown by parents.

2.3.4 The Educational Reform

A comprehensive reform of the school system started in 1988. The principal features of this reform are:

- abolishment of the EBE and the EBC and introduction of three stages, each embracing two school years;
- automatic promotion within each stage (between the first and the second grade, for instance) and examinations between the stages;
- massive in-service training of teachers;
- changes in the curricula;
- renovation of older, permanent school buildings and substitution of the simple and provisional barracks that are constructed after the rainy season each year; and,
- the use of Kreol as the language of instruction on an experimental basis.

The implementation of the first aspects of the reform had not yet taken place when the present study was conducted.

3. WHO ARE THE PUPILS?

3.1 Ethnicity and Socialization

The patterns of socialization and child-rearing vary somewhat between the ethnic groups. The principal differences exist between the Islamized people on the one hand, and those who have

preserved their African religions on the other; and, between those who are rice cultivators and those who raise cattle and produce groundnuts for sale.

To the first category belong the Balanta and the Manjaco and to the second Fula and Mandinga. The Balanta, the Manjaco, the Papel and the Felupe have to a large extent maintained the traditional rites of transition and initiation, to which a considerable amount of time is usually dedicated. The Fula and the Mandinga have simpler and shorter rites of circumcision, but to a large extent they seem to opt for Koranic and/or Arabic schooling for their children instead of, or sometimes in addition to, the normal primary schooling. [2]

To have the children reared by "other" parents is a phenomenon that is not uncommon in Guinea-Bissau. The biological parents send the child to other parents (even far from the home village), and the child stays there for some time or even for its whole childhood. The tutor then decides what type of education the child should have. Sometimes kinship relations determine who becomes the tutor, while in other cases it is the socioeconomic position of the tutor that is crucial. Generally speaking, one of the following variations are evident.

The economic position of the tutor is	The tutor belongs to same kinship group as the child	
	Yes	No
Low	1	2
High	3	4

Figure 2.2 Variations in Tutor Selection

Case 1:An adult becomes tutor of the child because of friendship and confidence, since they belong to the same kin. This is the most common combination.

Case 2: An adult becomes tutor although he or she does not belong to the same kinship group and does not have many resources.

Case 3: An adult takes care of the child because its family lacks resources; the tutor belongs to the same kinship group and has a better material position.

Case 4: An adult becomes tutor purely because he or she can afford to take care of the child.

The mode of production, particularly in the rice cultivation areas, demands a rather high level of child labor, especially during the rainy season (June-October). It often follows that during certain periods of the year, the cultural and productive obligations for the school-age children are so demanding that there is little time available for attending school. To these cultural obligations belong ceremonies linked to name-giving, marriages, funerals, rites of transition as well as artistic competitions. In Zone 1, small minorities in and around the towns of Cacheu, Ingore, Bula, and Catao have converted to Catholicism. All schools are public schools, but some schools are, in practice, in the hands of the Catholic missionaries. These small minorities of Christians appear in the surveyed schools.

3.2 Ethnicity and Religious Characteristics of the Pupils

The students were asked to mention the ethnic group to which they belonged. Their answers distributed themselves in the following way.

Table 3.1 Ethnic Distribution of the EBE Pupils

ETHNIC GROUP	%
Mancagne	7.2
Manjaco	25.0
Felupe	2.3
Balanta	38.2
Mandinga	11.9
Fula	7.0
Pepel	5.2
Cap Verdian	0.7
Others	2.0
No information	0.4
TOTAL	100.0
Number	2,404

The students were also asked to tell us to which religion their father confessed, and the majority mentioned a religion of African origin. [3] The religious composition is demonstrated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Distribution of the EBE Pupils by Father's Religion

FATHER'S RELIGION	%
Religion of African origin	66.2
Muslim	20.8
Catholic	11.1
Protestant	0.9
No information	0.7
TOTAL	100.0

In connection with religion, it was also interesting to know if the pupils attended a Koranic school. A great majority of the Koranic schools in Guinea-Bissau have lessons in the evening, which means that the children can attend the primary school during the day and the Koranic school in the evening. Eleven per cent of the pupils said that they had participated in Koranic education or still

did. Table 3.2 reveals that one fifth of the pupils had a Muslim father, but only half as many pupils attended a Koranic school.

3.3 Father's Occupation

Since Guinea-Bissau is a country dominated by agriculture, and Zone 1 is basically a farming area, the majority of the pupils are children of farmers. The occupational background of fathers is shown in Table 3.3. The distribution presented there corresponds more or less to the one that applies for the whole country. (For the occupational categories, see Appendix B.)

Table 3.3 Father's Occupation

Occupational Category	%
Farmer	76.0
Unskilled worker	4.7
Tradesman	3.2
Employee in the public sector	11.4
Deceased	3.6
No information	1.1
TOTAL	100.0
Number	2,404

3.4 The Ethnic and Linguistic Complexity

The ethnic group seems to be a category that has certain relationships to primary schooling. However, a large number of aspects cut across the ethnic division and make the reality rather complex. For instance, the socioeconomic situation, religion, language and gender are combined in various ways, and in relation to schooling, the gender issue seems to cut across all ethnic and linguistic groups, so that differences between the sexes are sometimes larger than those between ethnic groups.

In this section, some results will be presented in order to illustrate this complexity, namely:

- the occupational distribution within each ethnic group;
- the sex distribution of the pupils in relation to ethnic group;
- the age of the child when it is enrolled in the first grade;
- the languages that are used at home and together with mates in the local community in relation to ethnic group; and
- the proportion of pupils that attend Koranic schools in each ethnic group.

3.4.1 Ethnic Group, Father's Occupation, Religion and Female Enrollment

The occupational distribution within each ethnic group varies considerably. The principal difference is that between the Manjaco, the Felupe, the Balanta and the Mandinga on the one hand, and the Mancagne, the Fula, the Pepel and others on the other hand. As Table 3.4 below illustrates, the percentage of farmers is considerably larger among the former than among the latter.

Table 3.4 Occupational Distribution Within the Ethnic Groups

	OCCUPATION						
ETHNIC GROUP	Farmer %	Worker %	Trades-man %	Civil serv. %	Deceased %	All %	N=
Mancagne	57.8	9.2	1.2	23.7	6.9	98.8	173
Manjaco	84.6	4.0	2.0	6.5	2.7	99.7	602
Felupe	87.5	-	-	12.5	-	100.0	56
Balanta	82.0	3.7	1.5	10.0	2.5	99.8	919
Mandinga	72.7	5.9	2.8	11.5	5.6	98.6	286
Fula	58.6	4.2	18.9	13.0	3.6	98.2	169
Pepel	70.9	5.6	5.6	12.1	3.2	97.6	124
Cap Verd.	-	23.5	-	41.2	35.3	100.0	17
Others	43.8	6.3	4.2	35.4	10.4	100.0	48
Total							2,394

(Those whose father's occupation is missing have been omitted from the table, and therefore the totals do not reach 100%.)

Certain phenomena which are well known in Guinea-Bissau appear in the table. For instance, a relatively large percentage of the Fulas are tradesmen, and a large proportion of the so-called Cap Verdians are civil servants. This latter category is not an ethnic group but constitutes mainly descendants from mixed marriages between Europeans and Africans.

The religious composition within each ethnic group also varies (see Appendix H). It may be mentioned that the Manjaco and the Balanta fathers, more than others, have an African religion, while practically all Fulas and Mandingas are Muslims. The percentage of Catholics is largest among the Cap Verdians, the Felupes, the Pepels and the Mancagnes, while Protestants exist only among the Mancagnes, Balantas and Pepels. Other data reveal that there are certain relationships between ethnic affiliation, occupation, and religious affiliation. Farmers in all ethnic groups (except the Islamized ones) confess to an African religion more than do the civil servants, but there are also variations between the farmers and the people with non-manual occupations, respectively, from various ethnic groups. The data in Table 3.5 demonstrate this.

Table 3.5 Religious Composition Among Occupational Categories

RELIGION	BALANTA		PAPEL	
	Farmer %	Civil servant %	Farmer %	Civil servant %
African religion	90	65	80	47
Catholic	8	29	14	53

The sex distribution of the pupils varies between the ethnic groups and also between the grades in one and the same ethnic group. In Table 3.6 the percentage of girls in each grade and their relation to an ethnic group is presented.

Table 3.6 Percentage of Girls Per Grade and Ethnic Group

ETHNIC GROUP	GRADE 1	2	3	4	ALL	Number
Mancagne	57	46	42	47	50	173
Manjaco	46	37	31	28	37	602
Felupe	40	24	8	17	23	56
Balanta	24	19	9	16	19	919
Mandinga	22	32	20	44	26	286
Fula	40	38	36	20	36	169
Papel	45	26	35	44	39	124
Others	58	30	20	43	46	48

In all cases except two (Mandinga and Papel), the percentage of girls is lower in the 4th grade than in the first. In most cases from the first to the third grade there is a decrease in the number of girls and then there is an increase in the fourth. It is interesting to note the difference between the two most Islamized ethnic groups (the Mandinga and the Fula). Among the first, the percentage of female enrollment is uneven, but considerably higher in the fourth grade than in the other grades. Stated another way, the number of boys seems to decrease dramatically between the third and the fourth grades so that the percentage of girls becomes higher. Among the Fula, there is a continuous decrease in the percentage of girls from the first to the fourth grade, while the highest enrollment of girls exists principally among the Mancagne but is also high among other ethnic groups. Even if we hold father's occupation and father's religious affiliation constant, the pattern revealed in the Table above is still maintained. That is, there is something in ethnic affiliation that makes a difference both in the enrollment of girls and in the retention of girls through the EBE (see Appendix I).

3.4.2 Ethnic Group and Age Distribution of the Pupils

Apart from variations in female enrollment, the entrance age into the world of formal schooling has also been debated in Guinea-Bissau. In Table 3.7, only children of farmers and children who are not repeaters in the first grade, taken together in relation to ethnic background, are included. It is evident that there are variations between the ethnic groups. Manjaco children are, on the average, younger than others and Mandinga children older, when they are enrolled in the first grade.

Table 3.7 Average Age and Age Distribution in Relation to Ethnic Group Among the Newly Enrolled in the First Grade

Ethnic group	Average age	Max. age	Min. age	6-7 years	8-9 years	10 - years	Number
Mancagne	8.00	12	7	54%	31%	15%	15
Manjaco	7.88	15	6	54%	27%	19%	67
Balanta	8.87	17	6	30%	37%	33%	206
Mandinga	9.18	14	6	28%	38%	34%	83
Fula	8.30	15	7	55%	30%	15%	20
Papel	7.81	10	6	37%	56%	7%	16

The number of pupils in some of the categories is too low to permit any firm conclusion. However, the Mandinga and Balanta children are, on average, considerably older than other children when they are enrolled in the first grade for the first time; most of them are eight years or older. The oldest Balanta child was 17 years old, when it was enrolled in the first grade in November 1987. If we do not consider the categories with low numbers, we find that Manjaco children are younger than Mandinga and Balanta children when they are enrolled for the first time in grade 1. More than half of them are six to seven years old.

The age distribution of the children in the first grade changes if we include the repeaters, but the ranking order between the ethnic group is still maintained (once again, only children of farmers are included in order to make the ethnic groups more comparable). The average age of the pupils in the first grade and the percentage of repeaters are as follows:

Table 3.8 Average Age and Percentage of Pupils in the First Grade by Ethnic Group

	Mancagne	Manjaco	Balanta	Mandinga	Fula	Papel
Ave-rage age	8.65	8.22	9.02	9.14	8.15	8.13
% re-peaters	67	60	40	33	41	60

The percentage of repeaters is lowest among the Mandinga children and highest among the Mancagne. As we shall see in a later section, the age of the repeaters varies, since some of them have repeated the first grade many times.

3.4.3 Ethnic Group and Language Use

The question of language of instruction has been and is very much debated in Guinea-Bissau. More than ten local languages exist, and none of them is spoken by more than about 30% of the population. Besides this, many of the local communities are multilingual, a fact that makes it difficult to substitute Portuguese as the language of instruction. However, Kreol is the language of instruction for a large portion of the population, and it is often used by the teacher when the pupils do not understand the instruction in Portuguese.

The pupils in this study were asked to inform us about what language they spoke to their mothers, fathers and friends in and outside the school and home compound. The variation between the language used with the mother and that used with the father was only about one percent, and, therefore, the expression "language at home" will be used and no differentiation will be made between mother and father. Moreover, the question concerning language in the school seems to have been misunderstood by the pupils, so that they informed us about the language (Portuguese) they used in the classroom. This question will, thus, be omitted from the presentation.

3.4.3.1 Language Used at Home

The children use mainly the language of their ethnic group, but nearly one-fifth of all pupils say that they speak Kreol with their parents. This seems to indicate that inter-ethnic marriages are common. Table 3.9 shows the percentages within each ethnic group that speak their respective ethnic language, and those that speak Kreol at home.

Table 3.9 Ethnic Affiliation and Language Used at Home

Ethnic group	% Speaking the Ethnic Language, Another Local Language or Kreol at home			
	The language of own ethnic group	The language of another ethnic group	Kreol	Total
Mancagne	65	9	26	100
Manjaco	91	-	9	100
Felupe	88	-	12	100
Balanta	87	1	12	100
Mandinga	67	4	29	100
Fula	59	5	36	100
Papel	63	1	36	100
Cap Verd	-	-	100	100
Others	42	20	38	100

The Mandinga and the Fula live in an area that is not their "core" land; that is to say, that they constitute small minorities in an environment that is predominantly made up of other ethnic groups. It is probable that the children have parents from different ethnic groups. This is perhaps the most plausible interpretation of the relatively large percentages that speak Kreol at home in

these two ethnic groups. Another study in the Gabu region, which is dominated by the Fula, demonstrates that almost all Fula children speak the language of their ethnic group at home.[4]

For the Mancagne and Papel, most of whom find themselves in their "core" areas, the same interpretation does not seem to be valid, and we do not have any other one to present. We can only conclude that the Mancagne and the Papel speak Kreol at home more than might be expected from the linguistic constellations of their environment.

When the father's occupation is taken into consideration and the relationship between ethnic group and language at home is examined, the complexity of the situation is further revealed. Children of farmers speak their ethnic language more than do other children in each ethnic group, but there are still variations between, for example, children of farmers with regard to ethnic affiliation. In this study, we present the percentages of farmers' children within each ethnic group that speak their ethnic language and Kreol respectively.

Table 3.10 Language Used at Home by Children of Farmers, According to Ethnic Group

ETHNIC GROUP	% USING ETHNIC LANGUAGE	%USING KREOL
Mancagne	80	10
Manjaco	95	5
Felupe	100	-
Balanta	93	6
Mandinga	74	23
Fula	58	38
Papel	80	19

We may conclude, then, that children of the Balanta, Felupe and Manjaco, more than others, speak their ethnic language at home, and this tendency is stronger among farmers' children than among children whose fathers have other occupations.

3.4.3.2 Language Used in Contacts with Friends Outside the Home and the School

Using the same procedure as above, the way in which use of the languages varies according to ethnic group, fathers' occupation and father's religion was studied. The relationship between language used at home and language used in contacts with friends in the local community was also examined.

The use of Kreol outside the school and the home varies between the ethnic groups and between occupational categories. Within each ethnic group there are differences between children of farmers and children of civil servants, but the differences between the ethnic groups are also important (see Table 3.11).

If the linguistic constellations in the local communities were the major determinant, children of farmers from the Mancagne and Papel would not have to speak Kreol to the extent they do, compared to the children of Mandinga, Balanta and Manjaco farmers. It has been debated whether the fact of being schooled contributes to learning of the Kreol language or not. From the time of

independence until the end of the 1980s, the Ministry of Education in Guinea-Bissau applied a system of transferring teachers. After one to three years in a school, the majority of the teachers were transferred to another school, and efforts were made by the Ministry to locate the teachers in an environment that was different from their own ethnic and linguistic environment. This forced the teachers to use Kreol in the local community.

In the classroom, the children met other children, speaking languages other than their own, and a teacher speaking Portuguese, which they did not understand (at least not during the first school year). The teacher and the pupils, therefore, tried to communicate with each other in Kreol. All this made the pupils learn Kreol.

Table 3.11 Use of Kreol Outside the School and Home, in Relation to Ethnic Group and Father's Occupation

ETHNIC GROUP/ FATHER'S OCCUPATION	% USING KREOL OUTSIDE THE HOME AND THE SCHOOL	NUMBER
MANCAGNE		
Farmer	73	99
Civil servant	90	41
MANJACO		
Farmer	43	504
Civil servant	77	39
BALANTA		
Farmer	48	750
Civil servant	79	92
MANDINGA		
Farmer	68	206
Civil servant	91	33
FULA		
Farmer	77	97
Civil servant	100	22
PAPEL		
Farmer	67	84
Civil servant	100	15

Since this study is cross-sectional (and not longitudinal), it has not been possible to study directly the process of learning the Kreol language and using it in contacts with friends in the local community. However, some inferences may be drawn from the figures in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 **Percentage of Pupils Speaking Kreol in Contacts with Friends Outside the Home and the School, by Ethnic Group and Grade**

ETHNIC GROUP	GRADE 1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	All %
Mancagne	75	77	79	100	80
Manjaco	33	47	61	62	48
Balanta	39	68	55	66	53
Mandinga	61	90	94	74	73
Fula	78	87	71	96	82
Papel	66	89	78	100	77
Others	92	100	100	100	96

First of all, it is evident that the percentage of people speaking Kreol in the local community varies by ethnic group. Secondly, in all cases except with the Mandinga, the proportion of pupils speaking Kreol increases by grade. This may be interpreted in various ways:

a) the children learn Kreol in the school; those in the higher grades (3-4) are more likely than those in grades 1-2 to speak Kreol;

b) the linguistic situation in the local community varies, and the older the child, the wider and larger is its sphere of interaction. That is to say, the older children are more likely than the younger ones to communicate with friends who live at a farther distance from their home;

c) the percentages vary because there are different linguistic situations at home.

Interpretation (a) is refuted by other data; those pupils who have repeated many times (and thus have spent many years in school) do not speak Kreol more than others do. Time in school, in itself, does not explain variations in the utilization of Kreol.

Interpretation (b) is not supported by other results obtained from an analysis of the linguistic environment of each school; Kreol is not used more in multilingual communities than in monolingual ones, for instance.

As for interpretation (c), it is true that those who speak Kreol at home also do so outside the home, but variations in the proportions of Kreol-speaking pupils in each ethnic group and each grade do not correspond to variations in the utilization of Kreol outside the home and the school.

Further analyses of the increasing utilization of Kreol are not relevant here, but one preliminary interpretation may be that children to a large extent learn to use Kreol in school. Whether or not they succeed in speaking it well depends on their general learning capacity and, in particular, on their motivation for learning this language. In a later section, it will be demonstrated that the children speaking Kreol at home, as well as outside the home and the school, are most successful in the present school system.

3.5 Attendance in Koranic Schools

It is self-evident that the children of the Islamized ethnic groups (Mandinga, Fula and to some extent others), more than the other major ethnic groups, participate in Koranic education. The proportion of other children attending the Koranic school is negligible. But does this participation vary between the sexes and with age?

In Table 3.13, the figures for Koranic schooling of the children from the Mandinga, the Fula and "Others" are shown.

Table 3.13 Koranic School Attendance by Sex and Grade

	% of each category attending the Koranic school		
Grade	Male	Female	All
1	51	19	41
2	50	18	39
3	52	23	43
4	38	10	28

The percentages attending Koranic schools does not vary during the first three grades, but there is a decrease in the 4th grade. This is partially explained by the fact that Muslim children in West Africa in general attend Koranic schools from the age of 5-6 years up to the age of 10-11.

However, an another interpretation of the decrease is also possible. The question is whether those pupils who do *not* attend the Koranic school are more successful and do not repeat as much as the others. In a later section, it will be demonstrated that among the children who were in the primary school system when the study was made, those attending Koranic education *were more successful* than those who were not. Thus, it seems that participation in Koranic education (in the evening) does not interfere with primary school success, and that participation in Koranic education seems to be most frequent when the pupils are in the first three grades.

4. THE PUPILS AND THEIR SCHOOL CAREER

4.1 Definitions

In the foregoing sections, it has been established that the background of the pupils is rather heterogenous and that a considerably lower percentage of boys than girls are enrolled in schools. This study has also further established that enrollment rates vary from one ethnic group to another and from one professional group to another, and that this is particularly pertinent to female enrollment.

The questions put to the more than 2.400 pupils who were interviewed in the spring of 1988 centered around what school career they had attained by then, and the variations in their career attributable to their cultural and socioeconomic situation. This chapter will attempt to deal with the question of whether or not the school careers vary in relation to the characteristics of the pupils.

In the original and preliminary presentation of the results (the report "*A carreira escolar dos alunos do ensino basico elementar na Zona 1 da Guine Bissau*"), the movements of *all* pupils were analyzed in relation to various variables. In this study another technique is used. The cohorts of pupils who entered the school system in 1984/85 (Cohort 1), 1985/86 (Cohort 2) and 1986/87 (Cohort 3) are carefully sorted out. This implies that only the pupils who enrolled during the period 1984-1986 are included in the analysis of survival, repetition and dropout. In the previous description of the pupils, all 2.404 were included, and the same number was analyzed in the original report.

In this chapter, only the 1.252 pupils who enrolled between 1984 and 1986 are included. This means that the figures presented in this report will be somewhat different from those presented in the Portuguese version. The results in the present report are more precise, since we do not have to assume anything about the eventual success of those who enrolled before 1984. It also means that we lose some of the "continuous repeaters", that is, pupils who had already entered the school system in 1982 or 1983 and were still in the school in 1988 (some of them still in the first or second grade).

The location and movement of all pupils since 1982 is demonstrated by the percentage distribution of the pupils per grade in each school year (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Percentage Distribution of Pupils Per Grade, Per School Year

LOCATION	SCHOOL YEAR					
	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
Not yet enrolled	93.6	84.8	69.5	54.7	28.3	-
Grade 1	5.9	12.4	19.7	20.5	29.9	41.7
Grade 2	0.4	2.4	9.8	18.1	21.9	27.3
Grade 3	0.08	0.3	1.1	6.1	15.9	17.7
Grade 4	-	0.04	0.08	0.5	3.8	13.2

The pupils' movements and repetitions are not directly visible from this Table, but they will be analyzed in this chapter. Only two features will be mentioned here. First, it is evident that of the more than 30% of the pupils (those in grades 1-4 in 1984/85) who were expected to be in grade 4 in 1987/88, only 13% are there. Secondly, 28% of the pupils technically "not yet enrolled" in 1986/87, had started in the first grade in 1987/88. This grade had nearly 42% of the pupils, implying a considerable amount of repeaters. Most of the repetitions seem to take place in the first two grades. However, there are also indications that most dropout takes place between the second and the third grades. It seems that those who repeat in these grades and do not succeed in attaining the third grade after two or more repetitions drop out.

We also notice, for instance, that about six percent of the pupils who were already in the first grade in the school year 1982/83, were still in the system in the spring of 1988.

4.2 One Cohort

The majority of the pupils repeat at least once, but there is a small minority who repeat many times. In the Table below, we have chosen the cohort which enrolled in 1984/85 and ought to have attained the fourth grade in 1988 (those who are assumed to have dropped out are not included).

Table 4.2 A Cohort Diagram for the 1984/85 Enrollees

GRADE	SCHOOL YEAR				
	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
Not yet enrolled	362				
Grade 1		*362*	123	26	12
		239	97	14	
Grade 2			*239* 64	*161* 65	*79*
			174	96	
Grade 3				*174* 64	*160*
				110	
Grade 4					*110*

Of the 362 who were enrolled in 1984/85, 110 had attained the 4th grade in 1987/88. If we assume that the 362 ought to have been 565, we see that 203 pupils ought to have dropped out. The rate of survival, then, is 19.5 per cent and the rate of repetition is 46.3 per cent. We also find that a small minority repeat many times. For instance, 12 of the pupils who enrolled in the first grade in 1984/85 are still in this grade in 1987/88.

We can also study the pupils who enrolled during the following two years. In addition to this, we can compare the situation of "oldest pupils" (those enrolled in 1984/85, when they should have been in the third grade). All these comparisons are made in Table 4.3 below.

Let us first look at the "oldest pupils". There is no considerable difference between the sexes in the survival rate (20.8% - 17.0%). The boys repeat more, while the girls drop out.
For the second cohort, there is a large difference between the sexes. Of this cohort for instance, 22.8% of the boys attained the third grade, while only 10.8% of the girls managed to do so, while in the third cohort, there is no difference between the sexes. If we compare the oldest cohort (when it should have been in the third grade) with the next cohort (which is in this grade in 1987/88), we find that the situation is worse for the younger ones. They survive to a smaller extent and they repeat more. This applies to both sexes.

Table 4.3 Comparison Between the Cohorts Enrolled in 1984/85, 1985/86 and 1986/87

	PUPILS COHORT 1984/85 IN 1987/88 (a)	COHORT 1985/86 IN 1987/88 (b)	COHORT 1986/87 IN 1987/88 (c)	COHORT 1984/85 IN 1986/87 (d)
BOYS				
Survival	20.8	22.8	34.2	33.7
Repetition	46.0	39.1	55.8	33.7
Dropout	33.2	38.0	10.0	32.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
GIRLS				
Survival	17.0	10.8	35.4	25.0
Repetition	41.5	50.0	64.5	33.5
Dropout	41.5	39.2	0.0	41.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) = the situation of the 1984/85 first grade enrollees by school year 1987/88
(b) = the situation of the 1985/86 first grade enrollees by school year 1987/88
(c) = the situation of the 1986/87 first grade enrollees by school year 1987/88
(d) = the situation of the 1984/85 first grade enrollees by school year 1986/87

4.3 Does Gender Make a Difference?

Although it is evident that gender makes a difference in enrollment, we did not find any considerable difference in survival between the pupils when they are in the system. Among the boys, the rate of repetition is high, while the girls drop out. It seems that girls drop out after having repeated one or more times, while the boys continue in the system. A more detailed analysis reveals that a small minority of girls repeat more times than others in the first grade. In the oldest cohort, the girls

make more than half of all their repetitions in the first grade, and the boys make about 40 % of their repetitions in this grade. This feature prevails also in the other cohorts, and this indicates that the girls drop out after some repetitions in the first two grades.

4.4 Ethnic Group and School Career

"Ethnic group" is a conglomeration of variables that may be assumed to reveal differences in combinations of mode of production, child-rearing pattern, as well as attitude to the primary school. The data gathered in this study do not allow us to go into a detailed analysis of the variations between the ethnic groups, but we rely on the answers that the pupils gave to the question: "To what ethnic group do you belong?".

A general screening of the data reveals, among other things, first that the pupils who are of the Balanta and Mandinga ethnic groups tend to drop out more than those of other ethnic groups. Among the Mancagne and the Manjaco, for instance, there is no dropout in the oldest cohort. Secondly, that the Balanta, Mandinga and Fula seem to enroll girls to a smaller extent than do the others; while the Mancagne seem to have the highest enrollment of girls.

The reasons for not enrolling girls seem to be very different between the Mandinga and the Balanta. For the former, the Koranic school is an alternative, while for the latter, there seem to be other reasons, one of which appears to be the need for female child labor power. On the other hand, a closer analysis of the oldest cohort in relation to ethnic group and gender revealed the following differences.

Table 4.4 Survival, Repetition and Drop Out in the 1984/85 Cohort in Relation to Ethnic Group and Gender

Ethnic group	Survival	Repetition	Drop out	Total	N=
Mancagne					
Boys	29	71	0	100	17
Girls	9	55	36	100	22
Manjaco					
Boys	7	93	0	100	61
Girls	10	90	0	100	31
Balanta					
Boys	24	40	36	100	180
Girls	16	24	60	100	50
Mandinga					
Boys	6	16	78	100	80
Girls	24	9	67	100	21
Fula					
Boys	44	36	20	100	25
Girls	25	75	0	100	12
Papel					
Boys	25	75	0	100	12
Girls	21	50	29	100	14

The number of pupils in some of the categories is too small to permit any firm conclusions, but the Fulas seem to survive more than other categories of pupils. If we rank the pupils according to their ethnic group and gender (within each cohort) and combine the cohorts, however, the following patterns emerge.

Table 4.5 A Combined Cohort Ranking of Pupils by Ethnic Group and Gender

SURVIVAL IN COHORT 2				
SURVIVAL IN COHORT 1	LOW SURVIVAL IN COHORT 2		HIGH SURVIVAL IN COHORT 2	
	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
LOW	Mancagne girls	Manjaco boys and girls		Mancagne boys
HIGH	Balanta boys and girls, Mandinga boys		Papel boys and girls	Mandinga girls, Fula boys and girls

Some of the variations are so large that they must be due to factors within the school such as transfer of teachers (this will be analyzed in the next chapter) while other patterns are stable. The high rate of survival among the Fula children and the low rate among the Balanta children, for instance, seem to be rather stable patterns. On the other hand, the variations between various cohorts among the Manjaco and Papel boys could be attributed to factors within the school itself.

4.5 Father's Occupation and Children's School Career

In order to get some idea about the socioeconomic situation of the pupil, information was gathered on father's occupation (we regret that in this study we did not ask for mother's occupation as well).

Being a "farmer" refers to very different conditions, which is evident if we compare, for instance, the Balanta and the Mandinga. Within the former ethnic group, there are no big differences between the farmers, while considerable variations obtain among the latter. The second category, "worker", included unskilled as well as skilled workers, since the number of pupils in each category is very low. "Tradesman" is the third category, and it also implies varied conditions for the children. The fourth category includes officers, teachers, administrators and so on, who, in Guinea-Bissau, normally have at least four years of primary education. We compared the cohorts in relation

to pupil's gender and father's occupation and found the following.

Table 4.6 Survival, Repetition and Dropout in the 1984/5 and All Cohorts in Relation to Pupil's Gender and Father's Occupation

CATEGORY	COHORT 1984/85 Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop out	N=	ALL THREE COHORTS Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop out	N=
Farmer								
Boys	18	50	32	300	24	50	26	900
Girls	9	51	40	110	16	62	22	358
Workers								
Boys	24	41	35	17	45	50	5	143
Girls	64	18	18	11	45	34	21	38
Tradesmen								
Boys	15	38	46	13	29	37	34	38
Girls	-	-	-	4	23	73	0	22
Civil servants								
Boys	43	26	31	42	41	34	25	134
Girls	28	15	56	39	25	21	54	117

The number of pupils whose fathers are workers or tradesmen is very low in the oldest cohort. It is evident that children of farmers have less school success than other children, and this applies in particular to the girls. An analysis across the three cohorts reveals that these girls drop out mostly between the second and third grades but also between the first and the second grade. The relation between repetition and dropout among the farmers' girls in the three cohorts is shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 The Relationship Between Repetition and Dropout Among Farmers' Girls in the Three Cohorts

	Repetition	Dropout
Cohort 1 (grade 1-4):	51 %	40
Cohort 2 (grade 1-3):	60 %	31
Cohort 3 (grade 1-2):	72 %	0

Among the tradesmen and the civil servants there is also a considerable percentage of dropout, but a large portion of this is due to migrations. This has not been studied here, but

preliminary results from another study (including the period 1975/76 - 1989/90) in the eastern part of the country demonstrate that children of the people employed in the public sector have to move from one school to another after two or three years because the father has been transferred to another place.[5]

It can be said, then, that the children of farmers are less successful than others in elementary education.

4.6 Father's Religion and Children's School Career

In certain areas of Africa that have a long tradition of missionary activity, there usually exists among parents a tradition of formal schooling. We did not try to find out what amount of schooling the parents of the children had, since experience from other studies in Africa show that the children, in general, do not know what education the parents have had. Instead, we assumed a certain degree and type of correspondence between father's religion/occupation and enrollment and success of the children in the school system. In previous chapters, the following tendencies had emerged:

```
Mancagne - Farmer - Civil servant - Catholic - Speaking Kreol
                                                  at home

Manjaco - Farmer - African religion - Speaking Manjaco at
                                        home

Balanta - Farmer - African religion - Speaking Balanta at
                                        home and in the local
                                        community

Mandinga - Farmer - Muslim - Speaking Mandinga at home
                               and Kreol in the local
                               community

Fula - Tradesmen - Civil servant - Muslim - Speaking Fula at
                                              home and Kreol
                                              in the local
                                              community

Papel - Farmer - Civil servant - African religion - Christian -
                                 Speaking Papel or Kreol
                                  at home and Kreol in
                                  the local community.
```

Figure 4.1 Tendencies and Correspondences Between Father's Religion, Father's Occupation and Children's Use of Language

It is against this background that the relationship between father's religion and the school career of the children is analyzed.

In the 1984/85 cohort, the pupils with Christian fathers survived more than the others. However, variations do exist between the sexes, and in the distribution of repetition and dropout.

Among pupils with Muslim parents, the girls survive more than the boys (and even more than boys whose parents have an African religion). The contrary applies to pupils whose fathers have other religions.

The rate of repetition is high among the pupils whose fathers belong to a religion of African origin, but the boys with Christian fathers have a rate of repetition that is fairly even. That is to say, sons of Christians do not drop out, but try over and over again to pass through the system. This tendency persists even when we take all three cohorts together. However, the rate of dropout increases drastically for pupils whose parents have a religion of African origin. These results correspond to those found among the farmers. This implies that farmers have to a large extent an African religion and, further, that interrelationships between various features in the reality of a farmer in Guinea-Bissau have a certain bearing on the school success of the children. The farmers who enroll their children keep them there even if they repeat in the first two grades, but if they do not attain the third grade, the fathers withdraw them from school.

Table 4.8 Survival, Repetition and Drop Out in the 1984/5 and the Combined Cohorts, in Relation to Father's Religion and Pupil's Gender

CATEGORY	COHORT 1984/85				ALL THREE COHORTS TOGETHER			
	Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop-out	N=	Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop-out	N=
African religion								
Boys	20	58	22	235	27	55	7	705
Girls	9	52	39	94	23	61	6	312
Muslim								
Boys	16	23	62	120	19	28	53	360
Girls	26	31	44	39	32	47	21	115
Christian								
Boys	39	55	6	33	38	50	12	118
Girls	29	29	41	41	22	31	47	121

With regard to religion, it is also relevant to find out whether there are differences in the school careers between those who attend or have attended a Koranic school and those who do not or have not done so. In Guinea-Bissau, the general type of Koranic education takes place in the evening, so the children can attend primary school during the day and the Koranic school in the evening. The pupils were also asked whether they attended or had attended a *madrasa* (a more advanced type of Islamic school), but less than one percent answered in the affirmative. Some have argued that participation in Koranic education interferes with primary school success in that the pupils have to divide their energy and attention between two types of school. Others argue that participation in

Koranic education can improve one's career in primary school education (see, for instance, the articles in Brown and Hiskett, 1975).

The proportion of pupils attending a Koranic school does not vary to a significant extent between the cohorts. In all three cohorts, a little less than one-fifth of the pupils attended or had attended such a school.

Table 4.9 Survival, Repetition and Drop Out in the 1984/85, and the Combined Cohorts, in Relation to Participation in Koranic Schools

Participates in Koranic education	The 1984/85 cohort				All three cohorts together			
	Survival	Repetition	Drop out	N=	Survival	Repetition	Drop out	N=
Yes	19	22	59	99	20	25	55	297
No	20	49	31	464	26	54	21	1.403

In the oldest cohort, there is no difference in the survival rate. Those who participate in Koranic education do not repeat as much as other pupils do, but instead, they drop out from the primary school. For all three cohorts, the rate of survival is a little higher among those who do not attend the Koranic schools in the evening. The differences in repetition and dropout is maintained across the three cohorts. The "youngest" cohort may serve as an example:

Table 4.10 Comparison of Repetition Rates Between Koranic and Non-Koranic Schools

School	Rate of repetition	Drop out
Koranic	32	35
Not Koranic	65	0

There is no dramatic difference in the rate of survival, but the reasons for non-survival are quite varied. One-third of those who participate in Koranic education drop out between the first and the second grade, while two-thirds of those who do not participate in it repeat in the primary school.

From the data that have been collected, it is not possible to clearly establish a cause and effect relationship. Those who participate in Koranic education have a Muslim father (mainly

Mandingas and Fulas) and they hesitate in giving their children an education of the Western type. It should also be added that a rather large proportion of those who attend a Koranic school have a father who is a tradesman and who migrates frequently. This implies that to a certain extent, some of the registered "dropout" is probably transfer to another primary school.

4.7 The Linguistic Situation and School Career

4.7.1 Language Used at Home

The mother tongue is, in most cases, the language of the pupil's own ethnic group. Therefore, detailed information about school career in relation to language spoken at home does not contribute very much to a better understanding of the situation. However, some examples given below will serve for the purpose of illustration.

1) Generally, those who speak their ethnic language at home have less school success than others have.
2) This applies in particular to the Mandinga and Fula children, although their number is too small to allow any firm conclusions.
3) For the boys speaking Kreol at home (in the oldest cohort), the rate of survival is about 60% and the rate of dropout is zero. For those speaking their ethnic language, the rate of survival is between 5 and 33%. For the girls, the rate of survival is 31% among those speaking Kreol at home and between 3 and 20% for other linguistic groups.

It should be mentioned that we do not assume that it is the fact of speaking a particular language that makes the difference in survival. We know that a large proportion of the Christians and of the civil servants speak Kreol at home, and it is probably the general home situation that counts in the school career of the pupil. However, no one indicator *per se* reveals such big differences in school career as does the language spoken at home.

4.7.2 Language Used in Contact with Peers

The pupils were also asked which language they used in contact with their peers outside their home compound *(moranca)*, and outside the school. A few pupils mentioned three languages, but the great majority mentioned their ethnic language or Kreol.

Table 4.11 does demonstrate that the percentage of pupils speaking Kreol with their friends varied not only according to ethnic affiliation and father's occupation but also along the grades in school. An analysis of school career seems to indicate that those who use Kreol as the language of communication with their friends outside the home and the school have more success than those who do not. The utilization of Kreol in this context is only to a very small extent explained by:

a) the utilization of this language at home; and
b) the linguistic situation in the local community, where the pupil lives.

It seems that a number of other factors do intervene, but the scope of our data can not permit an obvious explanation as to why the tendency to speak Kreol with one's friends becomes stronger further up the grades, or why those pupils that speak it have more success in school.

Table 4.11 **Survival, Repetition and Dropout in 1984/85 in the Combined Cohorts, in Relation to Language Used at Home and in Contacts with Friends**

Category	The 1984/85 cohort Sur- vival	Repe- tition	Drop out	N=	All cohorts together Sur- vival	Repe- tition	Drop out	N=
Eth.lang. at home/ with friends								
Boys	7	33	59	220	10	37	53	660
Girls	0	28	72	50	7	60	33	166
Eth.lang. at home/ Kreol with friends								
Boys	29	71	0	126	37	60	3	381
Girls	23	58	18	60	27	60	13	191
Kreol at home/with friends								
Boys	57	43	0	47	53	40	6	168
Girls	40	35	25	40	40	44	16	126
(Children of farmers): Kreol at home/with friends								
Boys	0	100	0	13	26	74	0	68
Girls	5	48	48	21	24	50	26	62

4.7.3 Language at Home and Language Used in Contacts with Friends

Those who speak their ethnic language at home and when communicating with their friends outside the home and the school have less school success than others, while those speaking Kreol at home, as well as with their friends have survival rates of up to seven or eight times higher than others. Among children of farmers, those speaking Kreol at home perform a little better than those who do not. But their survival in the primary school is considerably lower than other Kreol- speaking pupils.

What emerges from the foregoing analyses is that there is a positive relationship between school success and speaking Kreol at home and with friends. This assertion, however, is less obvious

for children of farmers, particularly as our sample was not large enough to permit any firm conclusions or generalizations. Nonetheless, the Kreol-speaking children of farmers tend not to drop out, but do repeat to a considerably larger extent than other pupils do.

A detailed analysis of the three cohorts demonstrates that those who do not speak Kreol drop out after repetitions in the first and/or second grade. Those who do not speak Kreol at home but with friends repeat less than the former, but even repeaters stay in the school system.

In summary, then, we have found that:

- girls are enrolled to a much smaller extent than boys;
- girls from the ethnic groups of Balanta and Mandinga have lower rates of enrollment than have other girls;
- in the school system, the rate of survival does not differ very much between the sexes, but boys who do not pass repeat over and over again, while girls drop out after having repeated one or more times;
- children of farmers have considerably less success than children of fathers with other occupations;
- this tendency is still stronger if the farmer is not a Christian;
- those who attend a Koranic school survive at the same rate as other pupils, but those among them who do not survive drop out from the primary school, while others repeat more; and
- those who speak Kreol at home and in contacts with friends have more success than those who speak other languages (if they are not children of farmers).

We do not yet know whether variations in school success are due mainly to the cultural, linguistic and socioeconomic characteristics of the pupils, to characteristics of the schools and the educational system, or to both. In next chapter we will analyze variations between various areas and between the schools.

5. SCHOOL CAREER PER GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND SCHOOL

5.1. Variations Between the Areas

By "area", we mean the schools that, through the sampling procedure, came to be included from each administrative district (sector). The sample was made to represent the whole Zone 1 (which includes three administrative regions and fourteen administrative districts) and not to represent the districts. Schools from 12 districts came to be included, and some districts have one, others have two or three schools in the sample (see Appendix C for the distribution of the pupils). The term "area", therefore, refers to the sampled school/s from a given district. In this section, all pupils are studied.

Table 5.1 Survival, Repetition and Dropout for all Pupils Per Area

AREA	INDICATOR		
	% of pupils who pass at stipulated rate	Number of repetitions per 100 pupils	Dropout 1982/83 1987/88
Prabis	48	58	0
Safim	38	37	26
Cacheu	41	55	6
Sao Domingos	45	46	22
Begene	42	43	28
Canchungo	26	31	19
Farim	15	41	47
Bissora	15	47	34
Mansabá	11	41	30
Mansoa	47	31	27
Nhacra	46	20	20

For the sake of clarity, it is pertinent to emphasize that "survival" has been used in this chapter to mean all pupils who have moved from one grade to another at the stipulated rate. "Repetition" refers to the number of repetitions per 100 pupils, and "dropout" is the sum of the number in each cohort (1982-1987) that is assumed to have left the system. This means that there is no direct connection between the three indicators.

There are large variations between the areas in all three indicators. The rate of survival is highest in the areas were large schools dominate (Prabis, Mansoa and Nhacra), and lowest in areas were the Balanta ethnic group and/or Muslims are in the majority.

The number of repetitions is highest in more urbanized and Papel-, Mancagne- and Manjaco-dominated areas. The dropout rate is highest in areas were Muslims constitute an important element of the school population.

The areas of Canchungo and Nhacra are lowest on both repetition and dropout, while the areas of Begene, Bissora and Mansaba are highest on both these indicators. The rest have various combinations of low and high rates of repetition and dropout respectively.

5.2 The School and the Careers of the Pupils

At the general level on which the foregoing analysis has been done, extreme cases were neutralized and certain variations became invisible. When we come down to the level of the schools, therefore, a number of peculiarities which had hitherto eluded the broad categorizations become more evident. On the other hand, certain phenomena are not possible to study on the level of the school. This applies, for instance, to the career of children who form minorities, such as children of civil servants in small schools or children from ethnic groups which are small minorities in certain districts and so on.

However, at the level of the school, such phenomena as migrations are easily discernible. Some pupils who have not been enrolled in a school before, for instance, enter directly into the second or third grade. Some other phenomena, listed below, also appear on this level:

1. In a remote and isolated school, the majority of the pupils in the first grade passed their final examinations one year (1985), but they had to repeat the grade because no second grade was organized in the following school-year, and the nearest school was situated some 20 kilometers away.
2. In another school, pupils are enrolled in the first grade only every second year.
3. In one school, it seems that many of the pupils enroll in one year, few in the following year, many in the third year, and so on. These variations probably have their explanation in demographic changes or in certain cycles according to the cultural patterns and the rites of transition and circumcision.
4. In a fourth school, there are children from four ethnic groups, of which two are dominating. It seems that pupils from these two ethnic groups are not enrolled in the same year: if ethnic group A enrolls its children one year, ethnic group B has its children enrolled the following year and so on.

The schools differ considerably from each other. Some schools are small and have about 50 pupils, while others have about 300. Some are situated in urbanized areas, while others are located in remote and isolated areas. Some have had the same teachers for five years or more, while others have classes that have had their teacher transferred almost every year. The pupils in some schools have one and the same mother tongue, and in other schools the children have four or five different mother tongues. Some schools have permanent buildings which were constructed during the colonial days, while others are simple huts *(baracas)* which have to be restored every year when the rainy season is over, before the school year begins. During the first years after independence, the parents and the teachers together built these simple huts every year. During visits that the authors have made to many schools from the middle of the 1980s and onwards, the teachers have complained that the parents no longer help in building these huts. The teachers have to do it with the help of the pupils. Sometimes this occurs during the first few days of the school year.

Most of the schools have one thing in common, though, and this is the lack of school materials and textbooks. In some places, only a minority of the pupils have textbooks, while in other schools most of the pupils are well provided. The characteristics of the teachers also vary and, although a detailed description of the teacher corps will not be undertaken here, some variations will be mentioned:

- a small minority of the teachers have appropriate teacher training, while one category has only four years of primary education;
- some teachers had experience in teaching in the schools in the liberated areas during the armed struggle, while others had taught in the schools established by the colonial power;

- the majority of the teachers in Zone 1 are born in the region of the capital, and a large proportion of them have Catholic parents or are Catholics themselves;
- a few schools have houses for the teachers, but in most cases the teacher has to rent a house or a room from somebody in the village or town (in general, a member of the local committee);
- some teachers live with their family in the place where the school is situated. Others have been transferred rather recently and have their family far from the place of the school. Another category of teachers live five to twenty kilometers from the school, and have to travel each day between their house and the school.

How all these factors influence the school success of the pupils is not possible to say. Visits to many schools reveal that many school days are lost in certain schools because the teacher is absent. In the analysis that now follows, we use relatively more limited, but more precise, indicators in studying the three selected cohorts. In Table 5.2, the rate of survival per cohort, school and gender is presented in detail. The Table includes only the biggest schools, in which the number in each cohort is sufficient for the estimation.

Some schools have less than five girls enrolled, and school N had only two girls out of 80 pupils. In schools where there are many girls, the girls are, in general, less successful than the boys. The small scattered minorities of girls (which do not appear in the Table) all survive. We can first look at the cohorts and compare them *within* each school. If the rate of survival increases through the cohorts, it may be seen as a coherent trend, since the pupils in the first cohort are in the fourth grade. On the way to this grade, many repeat or drop out. That is to say, the probability of attaining the fourth grade is lower than that of attaining the third and so on.

The following schools have a coherent trend: *A, F, G, H, I, and J.* The pupils repeat or drop out along the grades. *A* is a school in the core area of the Papel, and no drop outs have been registered in the three cohorts. Instead, the pupils are allowed to repeat over and over again. The decrease in survival is thus explained by the fact that the pupils repeat in the lower grades. School *F* is situated in the northern part of the country in a mixed area (Balanta and Manjaco). The figures show that only a few girls are enrolled, and the boys repeat each grade many times.

In school *G*, which is situated in the frontier area between the Balanta land and the Mandinga land, most of the pupils are from these two ethnic groups. The rate of survival decreases along the grades because the boys repeat and the girls drop out. School *H* is situated in an urbanized area near one of the principal roads. The majority of the pupils are Mancagne or Balanta. There is no dropout in the three cohorts, but a high rate of repetition, mainly among the Mancagne pupils. *J* is a small school in the core land of the Majacos. No drop outs are registered there, but the rate of repetition is between 80 and 90%.

School *B* has a stable trend; the rate of survival is more or less the same through the cohorts. It is a big school situated in the core land of the Papel and not far from the capital. A relatively large proportion of the pupils are children of workers and civil servants. The rate of repetition is high but there is in all grades a certain amount of dropout. It has not been possible to verify it, but it seems that this dropout is to some extent due to transfer of the parents and their families. The coherent pattern (a trend over a three-year period) may be assumed to be related to a stable pattern in the school environment or to a stable relationship between the school and the population.

Table 5.2 Survival in the Three Cohorts (1984/85, 1985/86 and 1986/87), Per School and Gender

SCHOOL	RATE OF SURVIVAL			
	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	All Three Cohorts
A: Boys	6	5	24	12
Girls	..	11	..	16
Both	**5**	**7**	**27**	**13**
B: Boys	23	21	21	22
Girls	6	5	13	8
Both	**17**	**15**	**18**	**16**
C: Boys	10	..	0	9
Girls	8	0	0	4
Both	**9**	**8**	**0**	**6**
D: Boys	0	71	29	47
Girls	..	0	0	0
Both	**0**	**67**	**22**	**42**
E: Boys	22	50	..	36
Girls	..	..	..	..
Both	**22**	**50**	**29**	**33**
F: Boys	0	11	31	16
Girls	..	..	..	..
Both	**0**	**25**	**29**	**20**
G: Boys	0	0	36	11
Girls	..	..	..	..
Both	**3**	**0**	**29**	**11**
H: Boys	21	24	37	28
Girls	14	..	0	14
Both	**19**	**24**	**27**	**25**
I: Boys	14	45	37	32
Girls	5	15	26	18
Both	**10**	**33**	**32**	**25**
J: Boys	7	12	28	15
Girls	0	9	23	13
Both	**5**	**11**	**26**	**14**
K: Boys	11	0	0	4
Girls	..	..	..	..
Both	**27**	**0**	**0**	**9**
L: Boys	11	17	13	14
Girls	5	0	0	2
Both	**9**	**11**	**8**	**9**
M: Boys	..	..	20	22
Girls	..	..	..	..
Both	..	..	**30**	**26**
N: Boys	29	23	..	26
Girls	..	..	..	..
O: Boys	41	15	59	40
Girls	35	10	53	33
Both	**38**	**13**	**57**	**36**
P: Boys	46	47	74	58
Girls	27	23	63	38
Both	**36**	**36**	**70**	**49**

..= The number is lower than 10 0 = No one survived

In short, it may be assumed that a Muslim population, for instance, withdraws their children from school if they repeat in the first two grades. If the school characteristics do not change during the three years, the rate of repetition and dropout does not change either. Schools *E* and *M* do not show a clear pattern. School *E* is situated in Felupe land, where the Catholic mission is very active. However, in 1987/88 a large proportion of the pupils were absent during the last month of the school year in order to participate in the rites of transition

and circumcision. *M* is a small school in Manjaco land. The number of pupils in each cohort is so small that it is not possible to see any clear tendency.

But what about the schools that do not show a coherent pattern? Have important changes taken place in these schools? Our data do not make it possible for us to answer these questions. All teachers in the sampled schools were interviewed, but the data on the teachers have not yet been combined with the data on the pupils. However, a superficial control of the situation of the teachers in the schools with an unstable pattern will be made.

The schools presented below are *D, K, L, N, O* and *P*. School *D* is a rather small school in the land of the Manjaco. School *K* is a small school situated in the eastern part of Zone 1, in an area dominated by Muslim Mandingas. The other three schools are rather big, and they are situated in areas that are dominated by the Balanta. School *N* is an isolated school in Balanta land. School *O* is a big school in a mixed area, where the Balanta are in majority, but the Mancagne and the Mandinga consitute big minorities among the pupils. School *P* is a big school in the area between Balanta and Papel land, and it is situated near the capital.

Table 5.3 Survival, Repetition and Drop Out for All Cohorts in Selected Schools

School	Cohort 1984/85			Cohort 1985/86			Cohort 1986/87		
	Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop out	Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop out	Sur-vival	Repe-tition	Drop out
C: Boys	10	90	0	..	..	..	0	100	0
Girls	8	92	0	0	44	56	0	44	56
D: Boys	..	..	..	71	29	0	29	71	0
Girls	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
K: Boys	11	0	89	0	56	44	0	89	11
Girls	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
L: Boys	11	44	44	17	75	8	13	87	0
Girls	5	5	90	0	25	75	0	55	45
N: Boys	29	49	23	23	0	77	..	..	..
Girls	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
O: Boys	41	20	39	15	26	59	59	27	14
Girls	35	13	52	10	58	33	53	35	13
P: Boys	46	29	25	47	53	0	74	26	0
Girls	27	23	50	23	37	40	63	30	7

In order to find elements of analysis that can further our discussion and clarify the reasons why the survival rates in these schools vary as they do, it is crucial to briefly examine the teachers' situation. Most of the teachers do not have teacher training but they have teaching experience ranging from three to twenty years. From the results obtained from the questionnaires, it was also found that the transfer of teachers does make a difference in the variables under analysis in this study. For instance, when a teacher is new in a school, the number of repetitions tend to decrease while drop outs increase. Although the number of classes and teachers is too low to allow any firm conclusions, it is evident that there are

considerable differences relating to teacher's mobility, not only between the schools but also within one and the same school during various periods.

5.3 The Pupils' Characteristics and the Schools

Do the characteristics of the pupils make any difference in relation to various schools? Do the Balanta children, for instance, have the same chance regardless of which school they attend? Is the school career of farmers' children identical regardless of the characteristics of the schools?

In this section we are going to study what happens to the pupils in various schools in relation to their background: gender, ethnic group, father's occupation, father's religion, and so on. We will also apply the indicators that cover all the 2.400 pupils.

There are two principal problems with such an analysis at the present level. First, the number of pupils with a certain combination of characteristics is very low in certain schools. This means that we can include only some schools every time that we combine the characteristics. For instance, there are practically no Muslims in the districts of Prabis and Cacheu, and there are very few Mancagne and Manjaco pupils in the districts of Farim and Mansaba. Secondly, the assumed rate of dropout becomes more uncertain at this level, since small variations due to migration, for example, may easily contribute to changes in the indicators for one school.

5.3.1 Gender and School

Does the school make any difference in relation to the gender of the pupil? The figures in Table 5.4 seem to indicate an affirmative answer.

It is clear that there are variations between the schools. In some of them, the boys survive to a larger extent than the girls, and in others the contrary is the case. In most of the schools the girls drop out more than the boys. It seems that there is no relation between the girls' and the boys' rates of survival, but a more detailed analysis indicates that the better the "quality" of the school, the more the girls gain from it. The figures may be compared to those presented in Table 4.3 where the career of the three selected cohorts was studied.

Table 5.4 Survival, Repetition and Dropout in Relation to School and the Gender of the Pupil (1982-87)

School	Boys			Girls		
	% who pass	Repeats per 100 pupils	Drop outs	% who pass	Repeats per 100 pupils	Drop outs
A	37	51	0	25	46	0
C	80	74	25	15	30	66
F	24	63	45	..	58	52
B	48	32	17	35	44	27
H	25	46	29	60	42	14
L	44	52	12	5	59	48
O	47	27	29	53	38	28
P	49	11	18	54	26	20

5.3.2 Ethnic Group and School

This section focuses on the question of whether school career and opportunity are the same for the pupils from the same ethnic group located in different schools.

Mancagne: The survival rates could only be studied in one school. The number of repetitions per 100 pupils was found to vary from 48 in school *A* to 16 in school *P*. The rate of dropout was highest (21%) in the latter school and zero in the former. However, in the other schools where the Mancagne children constitute scattered minorities, their accumulated number of repetitions is as high as 60. In other words, it seems that the Mancagne children have the best school careers in the schools that are situated in the core areas of their ethnic group.

Manjaco: The rate of survival varies from 10% in a little school in the core land of the Manjaco to 23% in another school situated in the same cultural area. The rate of repetition is highest in the first-mentioned school and lowest in school *I*. The rate of dropout is highest in this latter school and it is zero in another school in the Manjaco dominated area.

Balanta: The number of Balanta pupils is rather high in seven schools, and therefore we present the figures in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5 Stipulated Survival Rate in All Pupils (1982-1987)

School	% who pass at stipulated rate	Number of repetitions per 100 pupils	Dropouts
B	11	34	24
F	36	76	34
H	9	41	19
L	28	52	17
N	31	43	40
O	58	33	29
P	50	18	19
All other schools	50	27	42
All Balanta pupils	32	42	25

From looking at the last row, in which the general average for the Balanta pupils in all schools is located, the rate or survival seems to be considerably above the average in schools *O* and *P*, as well as in the schools were the Balanta children constitute scattered minorities. It is lowest in school *H*, which is a big school situated in the land of the Manjaco. The rate of repetition varies considerably, and so does the rate of dropout. Thus, the schools make a difference for the Balanta children.

Mandinga: The rate of survival varies from zero in school *O* to 60% in school *P*. The number of repetitions per 100 pupils differs from 18 in school *P* to 59 in a little school in the frontier area between Balanta and Mandinga land in the district of Mansabá.

Fula: Pupils from this ethnic group amount to a number sufficient for an analysis in only two schools, *O* and *P*. Their rate of survival is 73 and 54% respectively. The rates of repetition and dropout are almost identical in these two schools.

Papel: All three indicators can be studied for the Papel children in only one school. The rate of repetition varies from 36% in school *B* to 70% in school *A*. The dropout rate is 6% in the latter school and 29% in the former.

5.3.3 Father's Occupation and School

A presentation and analysis of the children's career in various schools against the background of the father's occupation is given below.

Table 5.6 Survival, Repetitions and Dropout among All Pupils (1982/83 - 1987/88) in Relation to Father's Occupation in Five Selected Schools

SCHOOL	FATHER'S OCCUPATION			
	Farmer	Worker	Trades-man	Civil servant
G: Survival	17	..	..	..
Repetition	52	..	..	57
Drop out	41	..	..	33
H: Survival	15	..	..	..
Repetition	48	22	..	..
Drop out	17	22	..	..
I: Survival	50	..	..	..
Repetition	50	..	80	..
Drop out	9	..	10	..
O: Survival	42	..	..	67
Repetition	41	24	36	17
Drop out	29	32	12	29
P: Survival	47	..	..	45
Repetition	26	32	30	24
Drop out	16	20	7	29

First of all, it is evident that there are differences between the schools. Among the farmers' children, the rate of survival is 17 % in school *G*, while it is 50 in school *I*, for example. Secondly, in schools that have a sufficient number of pupils to permit analysis, the children of farmers in general have a worse career than those from other socioeconomic categories.

5.3.4 Father's Religion and School

It has now been established that children of farmers have less success than other children, although this tendency was rather unclear in the five largest schools first studied. This study has also demonstrated at a general level that a relationship exists between the child's school career and the father's religion, and further, that those children whose fathers are Christians have more success than others. Is this pattern visible at the level of the school? In order to find a sufficient number of pupils in each school, we have, once again, selected the largest schools but also a school (*K*) where there are many pupils with Muslim fathers.

Table 5.7 Survival, Repetition and Dropout Among All Pupils (1982/83-1987/88) In Relation To Father's Religion in Five Selected Schools

SCHOOL	FATHER'S RELIGION		
	African origin	Muslim	Catholic
H: Survival	36	..	..
Repetition	40	..	43
Dropout	13	..	15
I: Survival	24	..	17
Repetition	32	..	41
Dropout	12	..	0
K: Survival	..	43	..
Repetition	34	22	..
Dropout	0	15	..
O: Survival	55	24	23
Repetition	23	50	36
Dropout	0	23	32
P: Survival	50	73	67
Repetition	22	21	13
Dropout	36	19	18

The above table only confirms that the career of pupils varies according to the school within the same religious category. Where comparisons are possible, the children with Catholic fathers are more successful than other children in some schools, but less successful in others. Thus, on the school level no clear picture has emerged. All the indicators that have been presented on the level of the school demonstrate that there are considerable variations between the schools. We will therefore make a final effort to study the "weight" of the school and even that of the teachers in determining the career of the children.

We controlled for gender of the pupil, father's occupation and ethnic group by selecting cohorts of only sons of Balanta farmers in various schools. We chose the children of farmers in the first place because they are in majority, and secondly, because there is a sufficient number of them, at least in the biggest schools. The Balanta children were used for the comparison for two reasons:

1. the Balanta peasantry are probably more homogenous than are the categories of farmers from other ethnic groups; and
2. the Balanta children are in majority in the regions where the study has been made.

Next, we studied those pupils who were enrolled for the first time in 1984/85, 1985/86 and 1986/87, respectively. Our assumption was that if the differences were large, it would be due to the characteristics of the school and the teacher.

Table 5.8 Survival, Repetition and Dropout in Selected Schools in The Three Selected Cohorts

SCHOOL	Cohort 1984/85	Cohort 1985/86	Cohort 1986/87
A: Survival	14	14	14
Repetition	57	86	29
Dropout	29	0	57
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	180	100	70
B: Survival	20	15	25
Repetition	60	5	50
Dropout	20	80	25
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	20	30	70
J: Survival	10	29	47
Repetition	80	71	53
Dropout	10	0	0
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	120	100	50
N: Survival	33	100	..
Repetition	67	0	..
Dropout	0	0	..
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	110	0	..
O: Survival	85	0	32
Repetition	15	54	68
Dropout	0	46	0
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	20	170	70
P: Survival	20	40	..
Repetition	0	60	..
Dropout	80	0	..
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	..	60	..
Q: Survival	12	12	13
Repetition	42	73	70
Dropout	45	15	17
Number of rep's per 100 pupils	130	130	80

It is clear that there are variations in survival rates not only between the schools, but also between different cohorts *within* the same schools. If we follow the cohort of 1984/85 in the different schools, for instance, we note that they were supposed to be in the fourth grade in 1987/88. We found, however, that the rate of survival in general, is about 10 to 20%, except for two schools, *N* and *O*, that have a considerably higher rate. We do not know whether these pupils had the same teachers through the four grades, so we cannot study the influence of the teacher characteristics on their career. Up to this point, we were able to conclude that the school can make a difference (as in the case of the two above-mentioned schools). For the second as well as the third cohort, we found large differences between the schools, and the same applies to the third cohort.

We then attempted to make comparisons between the cohorts within *one and the same school.* Schools *A*, *B* and *Q* were found to have a coherent pattern with no significant differences between the cohorts for the variables under consideration. However, schools *J*, *N*, *O* and *P* appeared to have large variations between the cohorts, and we might assume that these were due to teacher characteristics, transfer of teachers or "cyclical changes" in the environment of the schools.

School *N* was excluded at once not so much because it is situated in an isolated area that is purely Balanta, but because it enrolled a very high number of pupils in 1984/85, a very low number in the following year and no pupils in the first grade in 1986/87. We do not know whether these changes in the number of enrolled children is due to demographic variations or variations in the parents' desire to have their children enrolled. This wish may be related to local circumstances, such as, for instance, the relations between the population and the school and its teachers, but also to the general nature of the education system.

School *P* is a big school but it enrolled so few sons of farmers of Balanta origin that it was not meaningful to use the three indicators on school career. This, in turn, provoked the following question: why did the number of sons of Balanta farmers decrease so drastically in 1986/87? We, however, have no data to provide an answer to this question.

Schools *J* and *O* had had, during the period of this study, a rather smooth input of sons of Balanta farmers, but the rate of survival varied between the cohorts: in *J* from 10 to 47% and in *O* from 0% (in the 1985/86 cohort) to 85% (in the 1984/85 cohort). The changes are due mainly to variations in the rate of repetition. From this we tentatively concluded that this pattern could be related to teacher characteristics.

Farmers' sons of ethnic origins other than Balanta have not been included in the Table above, but we can compare their careers with those of the Balanta children. That is to say, we compare the *boys* of *farmers* of Balanta origin on the one hand and those of other ethnic origins on the other hand.

School A: Farmer's sons of "other" ethnic origin (mainly Papel and Mancagne) have almost the same pattern as those of Balanta origin, when we compare the cohorts, but the latter have a lower rate of survival due to a higher rate of dropout.

School B: While the boys of Balanta origin increase the rate of survival along the cohorts, the boys of other ethnic origins decrease theirs. We find variations in both the rate of repetition and the rate of survival. In the 1985/86 cohort, for instance, 80% of the sons of Balanta origin drop out, while none of those from other ethnic group do. Schools *J* and *N* have too few farmers' sons of other ethnic origin for us to use the indicators for them. In school *O* the rate of survival among boys from other ethnic groups varies (along the cohorts) in a way that is completely different from that of the Balanta boys:

From Table 5.9, the following can be observed:

1. In the 1984/85 cohort: while the Balanta farmer boys survive, those of other ethnic origin drop out.

2. In the 1985/86 cohort: while the Balanta boys repeat and drop out, the others have the same rate of repetition but a higher rate of survival.

3. In the 1986/87 cohort: while the Balanta boys repeat to a large extent, those of other ethnic origin survive.

Table 5.9 Survival Among Boys From Different Ethnic Groups

	Survival	Repetition	Dropout
Cohort 1984/85:			
Balanta	85	15	0
Others	38	8	54
Cohort 1985/86:			
Balanta	0	54	46
Others	23	54	23
Cohort 1986/87:			
Balanta	32	68	0
Others	83	17	0

In school *P* there are certain differences between the boys in relation to their ethnic background, but they are not of the same magnitude as those in school *O*. What explanations can we find for these differences? Are they due to the techniques that have been used for construction of the indicators? First, it should be said that we are not too certain when we deal with the rate of dropout in the 1984/85 cohort. But for the 1986/87 cohort, we are rather certain. Instead, we suppose that the variations we find within this school are due both to teacher characteristics and transfers and changes outside the school. School *O* is a big school with many classes in each grade, particularly in the first two grades. In the first grade, for instance, there were seven teachers in 1987/88. Still, with available data, we were not able to positively establish the "weight" of the teacher characteristics in the career of the pupils.

Table 5.10 A Comparison of Repetition Rates in the First Grade: Balanta Boys vs Others

SCHOOL	COHORT 1984/85		COHORT 1985/86		COHORT 1986/87	
	Balanta	Others	Balanta	Others	Balanta	Others
A	18	16	10	13	7	10
B	9	11	3	5	7	1
J	12	..	10	..	5	..
N	11	..	0	..	..	..
O	1	4	17	10	7	1
P	0	5	6	7	..	3
Q	13	3	12	13	8	1

In the following section, we will try to analyze the *number of repetitions per pupil enrolled in the first grade* in each cohort and per school. This means that we do not know the rate of repetition among those who have dropped out, but it gives some indication of the significance of the teachers in pupils' school career. In order to control for as many factors as possible, we still study Balanta boys who are sons of farmers. If we concentrate on this measure and include Balanta boys on the one hand and those of other ethnic origins on the other, the figures as show in the Table above emerge:

Two broad patterns emerge:

a) the degree of repetition is the same regardless of the ethnic origin of the boys (see Schools *A* and *B*, for instance); and
b) the variation in repetition is larger for the boys of Balanta origin than for those of other ethnic origins (see Schools *O* and *Q*).

If we compare the pupils within the same cohort, we find the following, for example:

- In the 1984/85 cohort, the repetition varies in the same way from one school to another, except in the case of school *Q*. That is, the difference between the schools is larger than that between the boys (of various ethnic origins) within the same school. The differences that we find ought to be due to teacher characteristics. For school *Q* we are not able to say why, among the boys who have repeated, the Balanta boys have repeated much more than others between 1984/85 and 1987/88.
- In the 1985/86 cohort, the differences are related to the schools. That is to say, the number of repetitions seems to be due to teacher characteristics. In none of the cases, do we find any considerable difference between the boys (of various ethnic origins) within the same school
- In the 1986/87 cohort, the pupils were enrolled in the first grade in 1986/87 and we followed their career in the school year 1987/88. The variations follow the schools in cases *A* and *B* but not in the cases of *O* and *Q*. In the two latter schools, the rate of repetition is higher among the Balanta boys than among other boys.

Once again, these two schools are big and have many classes in the first grade, so we do not know (a) which teacher taught in what class, and (b) whether the classes were homogenous or not in ethnic composition.

When all indicators are taken together, however, variations in factors which have to do with changes in the local community on the one hand, and in the relation between the school/teacher and the local community on the other hand, seem to create variations in the dropout rate. Secondly, variations in school factors and teacher characteristics seem to cause variations in the rate of repetition.

In the first case, we have studied in different schools such factors as the gender and ethnic group affiliation of the pupil, the language that the pupil uses at home and in contacts with friends in the local community, and father's occupation and religion. In the second case we have been able to study only the general situation of the school and not the teacher characteristics more specifically.

5.4 The Results of the 1988 National Exams

This study was conducted in January - May 1988. We do not know what happened to each pupil in the national examinations which took place in June of that same year. From the documents at the Ministry of Education, we were able to collect data on results in these examinations, but only up to the level of the school. This meant that we could relate these results to the previous career of the pupils we had studied, not on the individual level, but on the aggregate levels of the grade and the school.

We also assume that each school has its culture or tradition, so that in a school in which the pupils have had a high rate of survival during the studied period (1982/83 - 1987/88), this tendency ought to continue also in the national examinations in 1988. If breaks occur in this trend, we assume that they are due to changes in the teacher characteristics (mainly transfer of teachers).

In the first place, we examined the percentages of approval in the national examinations, repetition and dropout per school and compared in each school the results in the national examinations with previous results (1982-1987) in these schools.

In the Figure below, the schools have been classified according to their "tradition of repetition" during the period 1982-1987 and their results in the 1988 examinations. When all the indicators for the school year 1987/88 were constructed, we subtracted it from the number of pupils that were enrolled in the beginning of the school year. Then we added the number that had been enrolled during the school year and subtracted the number of pupils that had been transferred to other schools. Our way of estimating the indicators differs from that used at least until 1988,by the Ministry of Education in Guinea-Bissau (see Appendix K).

REPETITIONS AFTER 1988	REPETITIONS 1982-1987	
	Few	Many
Few	D, H, K, N, P	A, L, R, S
Many	B, F, I, J, O	C, G, T, M

(The median is used as the dividing line between "few" and "many").

Figure 5.1 Repetitions 1982-1987 and 1988

For schools *E* and *Q*, the statistics had not been sent to the Ministry of Education when the present estimations were made at the end of 1988. Certain schools have maintained a "tradition" of few repetitions, while others continue the trend of sizeable repetitions. In the face of a lack of detailed data on the schools and teachers or case studies, we have had to rely on other types of information. However, we can see that there are certain differences between the schools in relation to their size.

Table 5.11 Repetition Rates (1982-1987 and 1988), in Relation to the Size of the Schools

RATE OF REPETITION		AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS PER SCHOOL
1982-1987	1988	
High	High	59
High	Low	51
Low	High	188
Low	Low	131

It seems that in the long perspective, the schools with the lowest rate of repetition are the biggest schools. We may also study the changes in the rate of dropout and thus find the following combinations:

RATE OF DROPOUT DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR 1987-1988	DROPOUT DURING THE PERIOD 1982-1987	
	Low	High
Low	A, C, F, I	G, M, O, P, R
High	B, D, J, L, S	E, H, N, T

Figure 5.2 Rate of Dropout: 1982-87 and 1988

We also see that some schools maintain their pattern of dropout, while others change. As to which schools are successful and which are not, we combined the two indicators and focused on the schools that maintained their ranking on the rates of repetition and dropout. We called those with low rates "successful schools" and those with high rates "unsuccessful schools". It might be useful to point out that no schools were low on both indicators during the period 1982-1987 as well as in 1988. We therefore shifted our focus on the long period (1982-1987), and combined the rates of repetition and dropout, and found that schools *B*, *D*, *F*, *I*, and *J*, have *relatively* low rates on both indicators.

The schools have been described to some extent in sections 5.2 and 5.3. Here we will only mention that *B* and *I* are big schools with several hundred pupils and they are situated in more populated centers. The other schools are small; *D* has less than 100 pupils, *F* less than 50 and *J* slightly more than 100. All four of these schools are situated in remote, rural areas.

6. ELEMENTS OF ANALYSIS

6.1 Summary

The principal findings of this study may be summarized as follows:

- The majority of the pupils are children of farmers, and this occupational category constitutes the majority in each ethnic group.

- The professional composition within each ethnic group varies. The percentage of farmers is lowest among the Mancagne (58%) and highest among the Balanta, Manjaco and Felupe with between 80 and 90%.

- There is a certain relationship between occupation and religion. That is, the Muslim religion is over-represented among the tradesmen, while the Catholic religion is so among the employees in the public sector.

- The percentage of girls varies with grades and also with ethnic group. In general, the proportion of girls decreases from the first grade to the fourth, but the Mandinga pupils deviate from this pattern. The percentage of female enrollment is highest among the Mancagne and lowest among the Balanta.

- When the children are enrolled for the first time in the first grade, their age varies according to their ethnic affiliation. The Mancagne and Manjaco children have the lowest age and the Balanta and Mandinga children the highest. The higher age among the latter is due mainly to the proportion of children that enroll at above ten years of age.

- The utilization at home of the language of one's own ethnic group varies from about 60% among the Fula and Mancagne to about 90% among the Balanta, Felupe and Manjaco.

- The utilization of Kreol outside the home and the school also varies according to ethnic group and father's occupation and not so much in relation to the linguistic composition in the local community. That is to say, the utilization of Kreol seems to be as much a question of status and motivation as a real need in the communication process. The Mancagne use Kreol most and the Balanta least. Within each ethnic group, the percentage utilizing Kreol is larger among children of tradesmen, workers and employees in the public sector than among children of farmers.

- Pupils with Islamic fathers to a large extent attend Koranic schools in the evening. The percentage of boys attending these schools is twice that of the girls. The proportion of pupils participating in Koranic education is almost the same in grades 1-3 but decreases drastically in the fourth grade.

- There are complex inter-relationships between ethnic group, occupation and religion. Children with Catholic parents have more success in the school than other children have (even if we control for father's occupation).

- When we study three cohorts (enrolled in first grade in 1984/85, 1985/86 and 1986/87, respectively), we find that the rate of survival decreases during the period that has been studied. In other words, the proportion of repeaters and dropouts increases.

- The overall rate of survival (including all pupils) is lower for girls because they drop out to a larger extent than the boys do. They seem to repeat in the first two grades and then drop out, while the boys continue even if they have to repeat.

- In the cohort of 1984/85 there are gender differences in the rate of survival within each ethnic group: the girls survive to a smaller extent, except among the Mandinga.

- With all three cohorts taken together: Mancagne girls have the lowest rate of survival, while Mandinga girls and Fula of both sexes have the highest.

- Children of farmers survive to a smaller extent than other children, and this applies in particular to girls.

- Boys whose fathers are Muslims survive less than others because they drop out to a larger extent. Boys whose fathers are Catholics are most successful. Among the girls, those with Muslim fathers have the highest rate of survival. They repeat more than girls with Catholic fathers, while the latter drop out more (migrating families).

- Those who participate in Koranic education have a lower rate of survival than those who do not because they drop out in the third or fourth grade.

- School success varies in relation to the language that the pupils speak at home and in the local community. The ranking order in school success in relation to utilization of language is as follows:

  a) Kreol at home - Kreol in contacts with friends;
  b) ethnic language at home - Kreol in contacts with friends; and
  c) ethnic language at home - ethnic language in contacts with friends.

  However, children of farmers who speak Kreol at home are less successful than children of other linguistic backgrounds in the school.

- The career of the pupils varies considerably in relation to the school and the teacher. All three cohorts taken together, the variations may be summarized in the following way (see Table 6.1):

Table 6.1 Pupils' Career Variations in Relation to School and Teacher

	Schools with minimum rate of survival	*Schools with maximum rate of survival*
Boys	4%	58 %
Girls	0%	38 %
Both	6%	49 %

This means that in one of the 24 schools in the sample, none of the girls passed from one grade to the next during the period 1984/85 - 1987/88.

- When gender, father's occupation and ethnic group are controlled for, we still find large variations between the schools. We analyzed the career of Balanta boys whose fathers are farmers, and in the seven schools where there was a sufficient number of pupils of this category, there were large variations not only between the schools but also between the cohorts. This means that the teacher is a key in the school career of the pupils. However, we do not know if the differences between the cohorts within the same school are due to transfers of teachers or to the functioning of the one teacher who accompanies the cohort through the grades.

- Finally, the previous career of the pupils was compared with the results in the national examinations which took place one to three months after the interviewing had been conducted. We were able to make this comparison on the level of the school and the grade. Some schools continued the previous trend of a low or high rate of survival, while others changed.

6.2 Some Central Themes and The Context

We are convinced that these findings, when put in combination with a number of other case studies done and with those still under way in Zone 1, will contribute greatly to the understanding of why the pupils' education functions as it does in relation to the local communities and the various factors that, together, constitute the differences in pupils' school careers. In the meantime, we will make some reflections particularly in relation to the context of our study.

6.2.1 The Intentions of the Politicians to the Pupil's Learning in the Classroom

We mapped out the entire process from the formulation of the goals and objectives of the education system made by the politicians, to what is going on in the heads of the pupils in the classroom, and came up with the following chart (see Figure 6.1).

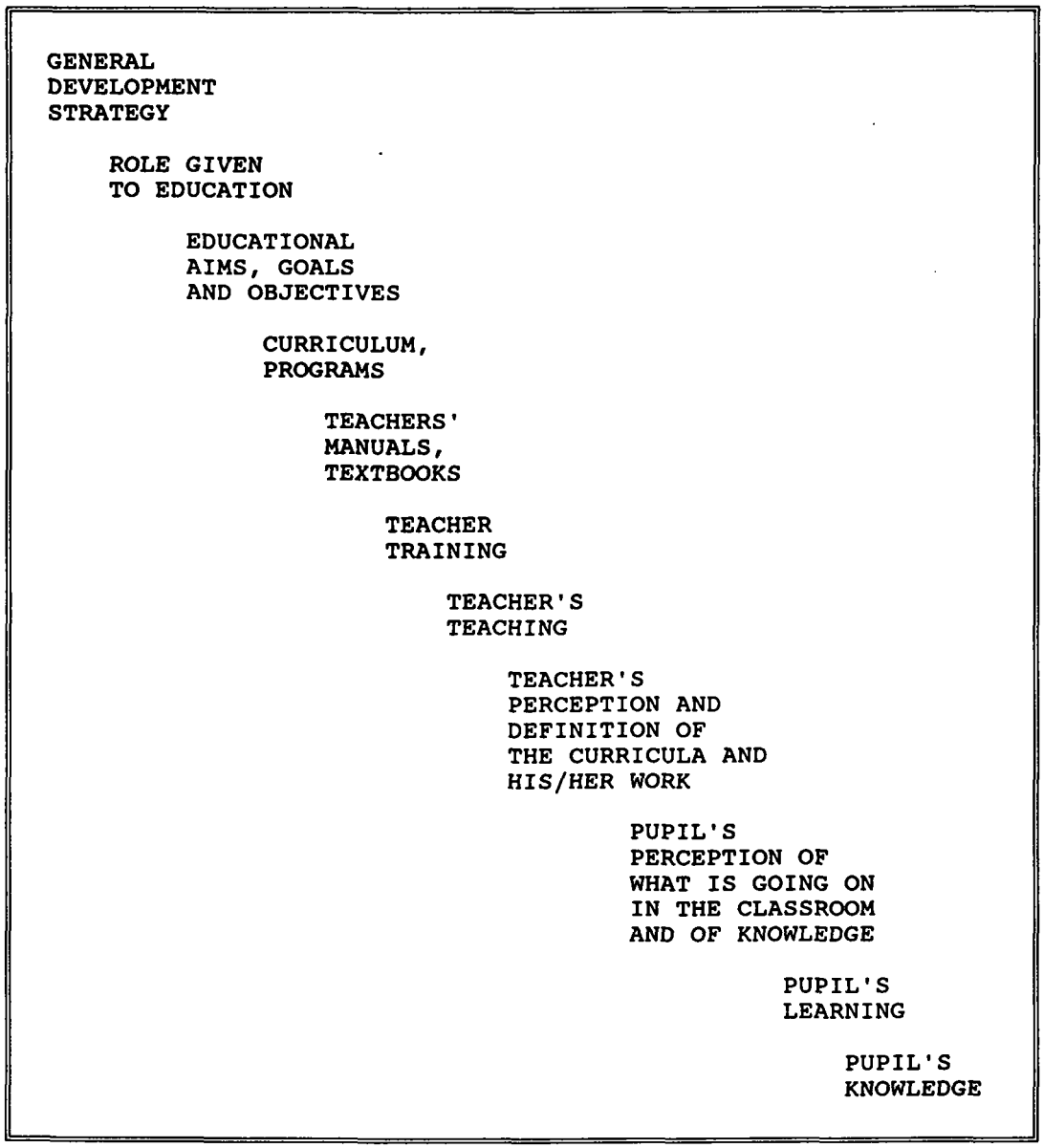


Figure 6.1 The Whole Process of Education-Learning

6.2.2 Goals, Objectives, Curricula, Programs and The Realities

All the steps in this process may be studied more in detail.

Goals and objectives:

Educational systems in the Third World are in general given the triple role of:
- preserving and revitalizing local cultures,
- creating a national culture, and
- contributing to the radical change of the society.

Documents from the PAIGC and the government reveal that this applies also to Guinea-Bissau. The principal features in the directive documents were established by the militants in the party. These texts were then to be interpreted and "operationalized" into curriculum work by civil servants and in relation to a strong educational tradition that had been established by

the Portuguese colonialists. What this means is that the content of the directive documents is *filtered* through concerned sections of the Ministry of Education. The pertinent question then, is, "how relevant is the context of the documents and the content of the curriculum and programs:

- to the existing cultural patterns;
- to the overriding development goals established by the government;
- to the interests of various categories, classes, and to various individuals?

The curriculum, the programs and the textbooks:

How are the intentions and the content of the programs reflected in the textbooks? Do the pupils have textbooks? The latter question was put to about 140 teachers that were interviewed in relation to the present study. The textbooks seemed to be unequally distributed among the schools. How this affected the career of the pupils has not been analyzed in the computer, but a manual and provisionary estimation of the relationship between availability of textbooks and the results in the national examinations seems to indicate no clear tendency. One possible interpretation of this lack of correlation might be that good teachers can make the pupils learn, even if they do not have textbooks and that bad teachers cannot make the pupils learn even if they have good textbooks.

The realities of the local community and the school:

Although Guinea-Bissau is a small country, there are incredible differences not only between the schools but also between the local communities. In some cases, there is, during certain periods, a need for child labor; in other cases there is not. Moreover, in the countryside, the children have a large number of sociocultural obligations which prevent them from participating in primary education during the course of the school year.
In the schools, large spheres of realities do not seem to be relevant. For instance, the fact that a majority of the population consult medicine men (sometimes in combination with visits at the district medical center) when they are sick is not at all dealt with during the lessons.

6.2.3 The School and the Teacher

School culture:

The system of knowledge, the values and norms and accepted or forbidden behavior, among other things, in a school represent a certain culture. It may differ from the culture of the local community and when it does, there is a cultural conflict. The more different the two cultures are from each other, the more severe is the cultural conflict.

Culture includes values and standards for behavior, and in the long run the cognitive style of the participants in the culture is more or less conditioned by them. That is to say, that culture, to a large extent conditions what is reasonable to perceive, think and believe and reasonable ways of perceiving, thinking and believing.

If we assume that success in the first grade is one principal result of what happens in the confrontation between the child and the school, then the rate of repetition in this grade may be an indicator of the cultural conflict. According to the results in this study, the cultural conflict is most severe for:

- girls, if we study only gender differences;
- children of farmers, if we study only differences between occupational categories; and
- children whose fathers have a religion of African origin, if we relate school career to father's religion only.

Among the pupils that were interviewed (not considering the assumed rate of dropout) we found differences in the percentage:

a) of all repetitions that takes place in the first grade, and;
b) in the total number of repetitions per 100 pupils (see below).

Table 6.2 Percentage Repetitions in First Grade and Total Repetitions per 100 Pupils

	Cohort 1984/85		Cohort 1985/86		Cohort 1986/87	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
Boys	43	96	70	81	62	62
Girls	51	102	72	112	65	65
Boys of farmers	50	86	73	83	66	66
Girls of farmers	61	115	80	123	66	66
Boys of civil servants	46	46	23	62	44	44
Girls of civil servants	26	46	69	87	36	36

In short, the cultural conflict is more severe for children of farmers than for children of civil servants, and more for girls than for boys.

With a superficial analysis of the educational programs and many hours of observation of classes up to 1989 as a point of departure, we find that:

a) what a child has learnt before enrollment in the school is more or less defined as "non-knowledge" and does not have very much value in the school, and
b) the school (more concretely, the teacher) imposes the school culture that has been hinted upon above. The pupil has to "swallow" passively what the teacher presents in the class;
c) there is little place for reflection, analysis, dialogue and comparison between everyday and school knowledge.

The language of instruction:

When we study the situation on the level of the school, we notice that two to four different linguistic groups are represented in most of the classes. There is a need for a common language of communication. Portuguese is the language of instruction, but only a small minority master this language. Because language constitutes an important (perhaps the most important) aspect of a culture, from a pedagogical and psychological point of view, learning is most effective in the mother tongue.

The teachers:

A questionnaire containing more than 100 questions was distributed to the teachers in the sampled schools. The data from this study have not yet been linked to the data on the pupils, but from a cursory examination, it is possible to mention some of the results:

a) many of the teachers are not able to survive on their salary, and usually they have other income-generating activities beside their teaching duties. They have their own rice fields, they are drivers, artisans, etc.; and
b) the teachers are so busy with their own life situation and with that of their family that the development of education seems to come second in their minds.

Apart from these two points, we will bring up some other themes in relation to the teachers.

The system of transferring the teachers:

At least until 1990, a teacher served in one school for one to three years before he or she was transferred to another school. Common indications are that with a new teacher, repetitions and dropouts increase in the class.

Professionalization of the teacher:

A profession is, from a sociological and sociocultural point of view, one of many occupational categories. Every category has its economic position, its power, its status and so on. A person who is a member of a certain category may have advantages or disadvantages due to being in this category. The teachers in Guinea-Bissau seem to constitute a category that has a low position in all regards. This implies that every single teacher has to make many individual and personal efforts in order to improve his or her situation and the perception that the population has of his or her professional category.

In a study conducted by a researcher in DPOL, the teachers in the basic cycle of primary education were asked to describe their general situation. One of the teachers said that he had to go in the village and ask people to lend him rice. "But what image does the population then have of me?" he asks. "A beggar?".

Every person needs to be a part of a network of solidarity. Theoretically, we may find three types of solidarity in Guinea-Bissau:

- kinship solidarity,
- solidarity based on vicinity; and
- professional solidarity.

Kinship solidarity implies that a person may have advantages from the members of his kinship group. In return, he or she has to contribute something to the other members. This "mutual exchange" is often the most difficult for the teacher to maintain, especially when he or she is transferred and relocated in an area where he or she is unknown and not related to anybody.

The type of professional solidarity that exists in many industrialized countries (within a professional category through a trade union or the work place) does not have any significance in Guinea-Bissau, where the trade unions are controlled by the government.

The teacher, therefore, has to create a solidarity based on vicinity. If he or she does not

live in the village where the school is situated, the creation of this solidarity is very difficult. If he or she lives in the place where the school is situated, two conditions must be fulfilled if he or she is to be successful in creating this solidarity:

1) the teacher must have something to exchange for the eventual favors that he receives from the population; and
2) he or she must have cultural competence.

Generally speaking, the teacher does not have anything to give in return. He can demonstrate his professional competence, but very often this is not possible because he is situated in a vicious circle centering around the search for money and rice, bad teaching, and ultimately, a bad image. The possible option left to him, is to exchange "automatic passing of the pupils from one grade to the next" for rice from the population.

Cultural competence implies not only professional knowledge in a strict sense, but also the ability to understand the population (at least the elders in the village) and to establish good contacts with the villagers. The teacher training that still took place in Guinea-Bissau in 1989 did not create the conditions necessary for forming a cultural competence in an ordinary village; rather, the years of training in the urban area tended to make more difficult the teachers' integration into a rural area and particularly, the thinking of the farmers.

6.2.4 Parental Strategy in Relation to Schooling

In Guinea-Bissau (and other West African countries, where the rate of enrollment is low), it has been debated whether the parents resist enrolling their children in school or whether the school expels the pupils. Resistance in its true sense is a cultural phenomenon, not necessarily related to the need for a child labor force, for instance.

Arising from some of the findings of this study, there seem to exist various types of resistance, some of which are outlined below:

1) **complete resistance**: the parents do not send any child to the primary school;

2) **partial resistance**: the children participate one or more years but are withdrawn before they have completed the EBE (even if they did not have to repeat);

3) **selective resistance**: the parents send one or some of the children to the primary school for some period.

A complete study of parental strategy demands data of both a cross-sectional type and of a longitudinal type. For example, we would have to follow the parents' choice for their children during the whole life cycle of the adults. In an African context (such as in Guinea-Bissau) we find men who marry four women and have children with each of them. This means that a man may have children to raise over a period of 20 to 25 years. We do not have data of this type, or data on children who were not enrolled. Neither did we collect data on the children that had once been enrolled and then dropped out. Therefore, we are not able to rely on empirical findings in all aspects of what we are going to discuss, but based on various findings in this study:

1) Only 30% of the pupils who enrolled in the first grade in 1987/88 were girls, although girls consitute about 50% of all children in the actual ages.
2) 15-16% of the boys, and 1-6%of the girls are not enrolled in the first grade until they are 11 years or older.

3) A considerably larger proportion of the girls than boys are six years or younger when they are enrolled in the first grade.
4) Girls drop out earlier and to a larger extent than do boys.
5) Some percentage of the pupils repeat four times, and 2-3% repeat three times.
6) There is a decrease of boys in grade 4 (at least among whose who have Muslim fathers).

The parents choose not to enroll a large proportion of the girls. This is an indication of selective resistance. They also seem to withdraw the girls from the school even if these have had a "good career". This is an indication of partial resistance, and the choice of strategy varies according to the gender of the child. Another indication of this differentiated strategy is that the girls are, to a large extent, younger than the boys when they are enrolled and younger when they drop out. To some extent, Muslim parents seem to also withdraw their boys from the school before they reach the fourth grade, which is an indication of partial resistance. The resistance can also be differentiated in relation to:

- the educational system as such,
- the school in question (the school situated in the community), or
- the teacher functioning in the actual class where the child has to receive his/her instruction.

We have met Muslim fathers who hesitate in sending their children to a class where a very young teacher is teaching, or to send the *girls* to a class where *a male* teacher is in control. This does not mean that these parents also reject schooling, although there are also parents who condemn the "school of the whites".

On the other hand, a small minority of parents make heavy economic, cultural and psychological investments in keeping their children in the school, even though the children repeat three or four times. We found, for instance, a few children who were enrolled in the first grade in 1982/83 and still were in this grade in 1987/88 (see Section 5.1.).

In short, there are "two sides of the coin": there are parents who do not want their children to be enrolled or want to enroll them for a shorter period, and there are parents who want to maintain or succeed in maintaining their children in the school although the education system is not adapted to these children. All this leads us to the question: is it possible to *reform* the educational system so that the majority of the children learn to become citizens who produce and have a national and cultural identity?

6.2.5 Educational Reform Revisited

What does a reform of the educational system mean? In relation to cultural and economic conditions, an educational reform always has its limitations as well as possibilities. What we will attempt in this section is to present some theoretical reflections based on the findings of this study, to consider the possibilities of educational reform in Guinea-Bissau. In order to clarify the role of an educational reform a little more, it is necessary to deal with certain questions, such as:

a) what is the role of the education system in the dominant "development philosophy" in the country?
b) which interests are "condensed" in the process of the formulation and implementation of the reform?
c) which socioeconomic categories, strata, classes or groups have the opportunity to articulate their interests in the reform process?

6.2.5.1 Development Philosophy

Some of the essential features of a development philosophy are linked to the general perception and conceptualization of "development" and of the relationships between the educational system and the particular society. On the one hand, development may be perceived in a narrow sense and be given a definition identical to economic growth. On the other hand, development can be seen as a broad process -- including popular participation in decision-making, an increase in equality, better health and so on -- in which economic growth is just one element which does not have a value *per se*. In the perception of the role of the educational system in the development process, it is possible to distinguish at least three categories of assumptions:

1) the educational system is the principal motor of development. Expansion of education and investment in this sector will, more or less automatically, lead to economic growth, a better health situation, etc.;
2) the educational system is *one of* the motors, but its force is dependent on the rhythm of changes and reforms of other societal sectors; and
3) the educational system is just a reflection of societal structures, cultural patterns and ideological constellations, and as such, it adapts itself to other changes (planned or not, intended or not) in the society.

If an educational reform is to have success, it has to be accompanied by other types of reforms. The low enrollment and the high dropout rates of girls do not seem to depend only on the characteristics of the education system but also on factors in the local community and in the society at large. An educational reform *per se* does not liberate the Muslim girls or Manjaco girls from their heavy work load. Neither does it adapt to the labor market so that children and the younger generation halt their migration to Senegal in search of seasonal work during the dry season. Thus, even though a reformed educational system might stimulate parents to enroll more of their children in the short or medium run, it does not change the labor market.

In relation to the interests that are articulated in the process of reform, it is relevant to mention that in all societies there are various material and non-material interests. Farmers, with their economic positions and kinship relations as a point of departure, have certain interests in common that are different from those of tradesmen and businessmen, and which are also different from those of employees in the public sector. This differentiation emerged in Guinea-Bissau particularly in the latter part of the 1980s.

Guinea-Bissau, as a country, is situated in an international context, in which the following are distinguishable:

- an international economic order and division of labor, production and consumption;
- an international division of technological knowledge; and
- an international division of socially and culturally constituted knowledge.

In the present international economic order, there is no need for competent and well-educated labor power in Guinnea-Bissau. In a global perspective, the "export of brains" from this country is negligible. The forces that have interests to defend in Guinea-Bissau (mainly those who import products from this country or export products to it), have no interest in the massive schooling of their population.

The forces that control the division of technological knowledge are ambivalent. On the one hand, they have an interest in the export of technological knowledge in itself and in

maintaining this dependency on international expertise. On the other hand, an augmentation of the technological level in Guinea-Bissau may decrease this dependency but at the same time stimulate the demand for more technologically-advanced equipment. The international donor agencies are in various degrees implied in these forces.

In the control of the division of socially and culturally constituted knowledge we find the religious (Christian and Islamic) movements and humanitarian aid agencies. They have no conscious and deliberate interest in maintaining the present educational situation in a country such as Guinea-Bissau. However, their existence has contributed to a standardization and homogenization of knowledge, a process which is noticeable in relation to:

a) the definition of educational problems;
b) the search for causes of these problems;
c) the suggestions of solutions of these problems;
d) the definition of educational reforms;
e) the definition of necessary knowledge; and
f) the definition of the ideal competence of a person who is the product of an educational system.

We hope that the present study has demonstrated how complex the local realities are in a country like Guinea-Bissau. We also hope that the publishing of the results of the case studies conducted by the research department in the National Institute for Education Development will make us understand better the complexity that has been touched upon in this report.

FOOTNOTES

(1) World Bank, 1983.

(2) When we followed the pupils and teachers in the school of Co in the Spring of 1989, one teacher was absent during April and May in order to participate in *fanado*, the rites of circumcision. Another example is a school in the Felupe area. Two-thirds of the pupils left the school during the school year of 1987/88 in order to participate in *fanado*.

(3) We find the term "animistic religion" or "animism" misleading and use instead the term "religion of African origin".

(4) The study was conducted by Mario Cissoko, DPOL, and it covers all pupils enrolled from 1975 and onwards in about ten selected schools in the extreme eastern part of the country.

(5) See the study conducted by Mario Cissoko, DPOL, in the eastern part of the country (above).

APPENDIX A: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Sector:.....School:.....Teacher:.....

PUPIL'S NAME	AGE	ETHNIC GROUP	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	FATHER'S RELIGION
1				
2				
3				

PUPIL'S NAME	GENDER	WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR MOTHER?	WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR FATHER?	WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR FRIENDS IN THE SCHOOL?	WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR FRIENDS OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL?
1					
2					
3					

PUPIL'S NUMBER	DISTANCE BETWEEN HOME AND SCHOOL	DO YOU ATTEND A KORANIC SCHOOL?	DO YOU ATTEND A MADRASA?
1			
2			
3			

APPENDIX B: CLASSIFICATION OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION

CATEGORY:	EXPRESSIONS USED BY THE PUPILS
Farmer	Farmer, peasant, fisherman, hunter
Worker	Worker, employee, electrician, mechanic, carpenter, driver, etc.
Tradesman	Businessmen, tradesman, *djila*
Civil servant/ employee in the public sector	Civil servant, teacher, soldier, policeman, etc.

APPENDIX C: GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE SCHOOLS

The following schools came to be included in the sample: Cumura II, Bumine, Bisslanca, Mata, Bajobe, Barambe, Catao, Atanque, Barro, Sanu, Pundame, Sao Vicente, Utiacor, Bajope, Cuntima, Sitato, Bricama, Dandu, Encheia, Bantanjan, Ngharon, Bissa, Corca Sow and Nhacra.

The percentage distributions of the pupils per district in the school register and in the sample respectively were as follows:

DISTRICT	REGISTER %	SAMPLE %	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN THE SAMPLE
Quinhamel	6	0	0
Prabis	7	6	2
Safim	6	9	1
Cacheu	9	6	3
Sao Domingos	7	4	2
Ingore	7	7	2
Bula	9	5	2
Canchungo	10	16	3
Caio	4	0	0
Farim	6	4	2
Mansaba	5	2	2
Bissora	9	13	2
Mansoa	9	18	2
Nhacra	5	10	1
TOTAL	100	100	24

APPENDIX D: ESTIMATION OF INDICATORS OF SCHOOL CAREER FOR ALL PUPILS (1982/83 - 1987/88)

The pupils that were enrolled in the academic year 1987/88 constituted the point of departure. One hundred pupils were enrolled in the first grade this year. We assume that the same number were enrolled in each year before.

GRADE	SCHOOL YEAR										
	1982/83		1983/84		1984/85		1985/86		1986/87		1987/88
Not yet enrolled	80	*70* *10*	70	*55*	55	*45*	45	*30*	30		
GRADE 1	20	*10*	20	*15* *10*	25	*10* *15*	25	*15* *15*	30	*30* *20*	50
GRADE 2		*10*	10	*10* *5*	15	*10* *10*	20	*10* *10*	20	*10* *15*	25
GRADE 3				*5*	5	*5* *5*	10	*10* *5*	15	*5* *10*	15
GRADE 4								*5*	5	*5* *5*	10
	100		100		100		100		100		100

The point of departure is the school year 1987/88. One hundred pupils, 30 of whom were enrolled in the first grade, were in the school system. We assume that the same number (30) had been enrolled in the first grade each preceding year:

1987/88	30
1986/87	30
1985/86	30
1984/85	30
1983/84	30
Total	150

That is, 150 pupils are assumed to have entered into the system during the years concerned. Of the pupils who were enrolled in 1983/84, ten are still in the system. We *make the unrealistic but not too pessimistic assumption* that the rest (20) have been successful and, thus, completed the fourth grade in 1986/87.
150-20 = 130. Only 100 are still in the system. This means that 30 are assumed to have dropped out. The rate of dropout is then:

$$\frac{30 \times 150}{100} = 45$$

The number of repetitions are:

82/83 - 83/84 10/20
83/84 - 84/85 10/20 + 5/10
84/85 - 85/86 15/25 + 10/15 + 5/10
85/86 - 86/87 20/30 + 15/20 + 10/15 + 5/5

All repetitions:

$$\frac{10 + 10 + 5 + 15 + 10 + 5 + 15 + 10 + 5 + 20 + 15 + 10 + 5}{20 + 20 + 10 + 25 + 15 + 5 + 25 + 20 + 10 + 30 + 20 + 15 + 5} =$$

$\frac{135}{230}$. The number of repetitions per 100 pupils:

$\frac{135 \times 100}{} = 59$. This figure indicates the *amount* of repetition that has taken place and not the number or percentage of repeaters.

The rate of passing is estimated on the number of pupils who have passed without repeating:

in 1987/88, ten pupils proceeded to the second grade of the 30 who are assumed to have been enrolled in the first grade in 1986/87. In 1987/88, five pupils proceeded to the third grade of the 30 who are assumed to have been enrolled in the first grade in 1985/86, while in 1987/88, five pupils made it to the fourth grade of the 30 who are assumed to have been enrolled in the first grade in 1984/86, etc.

The rate of passing, then, is:

$$\frac{\text{the number passing} \times 100}{\text{the total number enrolled (150)}}$$

APPENDIX E: ESTIMATION OF INDICATORS OF SCHOOL CAREER IN THE THREE SELECTED COHORTS

Grade	1982/83	1983/84		1984/85		1985/86		1986/87		1987/88
Not yet enrolled	250	250		..		..		150		-
			100						*150*	
Grade 1				100	*50*	50	*25*	25	*10*	160
					50		*25*		*15*	
Grade 2						50	*15*	40	*30*	45
							35		*10*	
Grade 3								35	*5*	15
									30	
Grade 4										30

Dropout: 150 pupils are enrolled in the first grade in 1987/88. The same number (150) is assumed to have been enrolled in 1984/85, but only 100 are. The missing 50 are assumed to have dropped out. The rate of dropout is:

$$\frac{50 \times 100}{150} = 33$$

Survival of the 1984/85 cohort: 30 have reached the fourth grade of those 150 who are assumed to have been enrolled in the first grade in 1984/85. The rate of survival is:

$$\frac{30 \times 100}{150} = 20$$

The rate of repetition:
150 are assumed to have been enrolled in 1984/85.
150 - 50 (dropouts) = 100
100 - 30 (survivors) = 70

Repetition: $\frac{70 \times 100}{150} = 47$

APPENDIX F: DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUPILS PER GRADE IN THE SAMPLE AND IN ZONE 1

GRADE	SAMPLE		ALL PUPILS IN ZONE 1 (Grades 1-4)	
	Number	%	Number	%
1	1,004	41.7	11,792	41.4
2	657	27.4	7,604	26.7
3	427	17.8	4,979	17.5
4	316	13.1	4,111	14.4
TOTAL	2,404	100.0	18,486	100.0

APPENDIX G: ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUPILS IN THE SAMPLE AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN ZONE (1) IN 1979

ETHNIC GROUP	% OF THE PUPILS IN THE SAMPLE	% OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
Mandinga	11.9	12.4
Manjaco	25.0	19.9
Papel	5.2	13.9
Balanta	38.2	35.0
Mancagne	7.2	2.9
Felupe	7.0	4.1
Fula	7.0	3.6
Others	2.0	7.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX H: DISTRIBUTION OF FATHER'S RELIGION WITHIN EACH ETHNIC

RELIGION	ETHNIC GROUP							
	Man-cagne %	Man-jaco %	Fe-lupe %	Ba-lanta %	Man-dinga %	Fula %	Papel %	Others %
African	74	88	68	85	4	2	69	17
Muslim	2	2	0	2	94	97	1	67
Catholic	21	10	32	11	1	1	26	17
Protest.	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	101
Number	173	602	56	919	286	169	124	48

APPENDIX I: FEMALE ENROLLMENT IN RELATION TO: ETHNIC GROUP/FATHER'S OCCUPATION; ETHNIC GROUP/FATHER'S RELIGION; FATHER'S OCCUPATION/FATHER'S RELIGION

ETHNIC GROUP	% OF GIRLS IN EACH CATEGORY		
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION		
	FARMER	TRADESMAN	CIVIL SERVANT
Mancagne	52	-	46
Manjaco	35	42	51
Balanta	17	36	26
Mandinga	22	-	27
Fula	33	41	50
Papel	32	-	60

(The number of children from other combinations of ethnic group and father's occupation is not high enough for an estimation in terms of percentage.) In each ethnic group, the female enrollment is higher for daughters of tradesman and civil servants, but the order between the ethnic groups is still visible.

ETHNIC GROUP	FATHER'S RELIGION		
	AFRICAN	MUSLIM	CATHOLIC
Mancagne	51	-	46
Manjaco	34	-	42
Felupe	13	-	44
Balanta	17	-	34
Mandinga	18	25	-
Fula	-	37	-
Papel	30	-	59
Others	-	37	-

Catholics (except in the case of the Mancagne) enroll their girls more than parents of other religious categories do. Among the fathers with an African religion the same "ethnic" order as before is more or less maintained. When father's occupation and religion are combined however, the following pattern emerges.

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	FATHER'S RELIGION		
	AFRICAN	MUSLIM	CATHOLIC
Farmer	26	26	36
Worker	37	44	61
Tradesman	43	39	40
Civil servant	37	33	45

The clear tendency that is evident is that farmers enroll their girls less than those in other categories do. Religion, however, does make a certain difference, as Catholics enroll their girls more than others do (see above).

APPENDIX J: LANGUAGE USED AT HOME BY ETHNIC GROUP AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

ETHNIC GROUP	% using lang.of own ethn. group	% using Kreol	Number
MANCAGNE			
Farmer	80	10	99
Worker	50	44	16
Civil serv.	39	56	41
MANJACO			
Farmer	95	5	505
Worker	78	22	24
Civil serv.	64	31	39
FELUPE			
Farmer	100	-	49
Civil serv.	Seven who all speak Kreol at home		
BALANTA			
Farmer	93	6	750
Worker	78	22	32
Civil serv.	45	50	92
MANDINGA			
Farmer	74	23	206
Worker	47	41	17
Civil serv.	46	52	33
FULA			
Farmer	58	38	97
Tradesman	78	22	32
Civil serv.	41	59	22
PAPEL			
Farmer	80	19	84
Civil serv.	27	73	

APPENDIX K: CATEGORIES OF PUPILS AND ESTIMATION OF REPETITION IN USE BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, GUINEA-BISSAU

All the pupils in a class in the beginning of the school year

Those who stay in the system during the school year				Those who drop out during the school year
Those who are advised by the teacher to participate in the national examinations		Those who are advised by the teacher not to participate in the national examinations		A
Participates	Does not participate	Participates	Does not participate	
	B		C	
Pass D		E		
Fail F		G		

Thus, we have seven categories of pupils. In the statistics on the results in the national examinations, the Ministry of Education's computation was based only on categories D, E, F and G, when repetition and survival were estimated.
In making our analysis, we estimate survival, repetition and dropout with all categories (A-G) as the base.

$$\textit{Rate of survival} = \frac{(D+E) \times 100}{A+B+C+D+E+F+G}$$

$$\textit{Rate of repetition} = \frac{(B+C+F+G) \times 100}{A+B+C+D+E+F+G}$$

$$\textit{Rate of drop out} = \frac{A \times 100}{A+B+C+D+E+F+G}$$

In short, the rates of survival, repetition and drop out are estimated on the number of pupils who have been enrolled in the class any time during the school year.

SOME REFERENCES

Achinger, Gertrud. (1986) "Um estudo em curso: O projecto de Malafo II. Parte". *Boletim de Informacao Sócio-Económica*, No 2. INEP. Bissau.

Achinger, Gertrud. (1986) "Teoría e prática da educacao rural na Guiné-Bissau". *Boletim de Informacao Sócio-Económica*, No 3. INEP, Bissau.

Andersson, Mary B. (1988) "Improving Access to Schooling in the Third World: An Overview". *Bridges Report Series*, No 1.

Berman, Edward, (ed.) (1975) *African Reactions to Missionary Education*. New York.

Brito, Eduino. (1956) Festas religiósas do Islamismo Fula. *Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa*, Vol. XI, No 41.

Brown, Godfrey and Hiskett, Mervyn (eds.). (1975) *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa.* London.

Bull, Marianne. (1987) *Situacao das mulheres manjacas e mandingas. Relatório de um pequeno estudo de campo realizado em duas tabancas da Guine-Bissau.* Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm, Stockholm.

Cabral, Vasco. (1988) "Colonizacao e religiao: Da primeira evangelizacao à colonizacao dos povos da Guine". *Soronda*, Nu. 5. INEP. Bissau.

Callewaert, Gustave and Callewaert-Sjöberg, Inger. (1978) *Le Développement dans l'Enseignement de Base en Guiné-Bissau. Analyse et Propositions*, SIDA, Stockholm.

Carr-Hill, Roy and Rosengart, Gunilla. (1982) "Education in Guine-Bissau 1978-81. The Impact of Swedish Assistance". An evaluation made jointly by the Ministry of National Education, Bissau, and SIDA. *Education Division Documents*, No 5, SIDA. Stockholm.

Carreira, Antonio. (1960) "Regiao dos manjacos e dos brames". *Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa*, Vol. XV, Nu 60.

Carreira, Antonio. (1961) "Símbolos, ritualistas e ritualismo animo-feiticistas na Guine Portuguesa". *Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa*, Vol. XVI, Nu 63.

Carreira, Antonio. (1961) Populacao autocone segundo os recenseamentos para fins fiscais. *Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa*, Vol.XVI, Nu 62.

Cissokho, Mario. (1987) "Bunau - Povo e cultura". In *DPOL: A realidade social e o sistema educativo em Bunau.* Ministry of Education, INDE. Bissau.

Cissokho, Mario. (1989) "La question Balante". Unpublished manuscript. INDE. Bissau.

Castilho Soares, Amadeu. (1960) Acerca de educacao de Base. *Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa*, Vol. XV, Nu 59.

Coombs, Philip. (1988) *The World Crisis in Education: The View from the Eighties*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Daun, Holger. (1980) "Contradiction and Correspondence in Education: Cases from Senegal and Guine-Bissau". *Report No. 48.* The Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm. Stockholm.

DPOL. (1987) *A realidade social e o sistema educativo em Bunau.* Ministry of Education, INDE. Bissau.

Ferreira, Mendes and José Luis Morais. (1969) "Problemas e perspectivas do desenvolvimento rural da Guine". Centro de estudos da Guine Portuguesa.

Hochet, Anne-Marie. (1983) *Paysannerie en attent: Guine-Bissao.* Bissau.

Landerset, Simoe. (1935) *Babel negra: Etnografía, arte e cultura das indígenas da Guine.* Lisbon.

Lima Handem, Diana. (1986) *Nature et fonctionnement du pouvoir chez les Balanta Arassa.* INEP. Bissau.

Lima Handem, Diana. (1986) "O arroz ou a identidade dos balanta brassa". *Soronda*, No 1. INEP. Bissau.

da Mota, Texeira and Neves, Mario G. (1948) "A habitacao indígena da Guine Portuguesa". *Centro de Estudos da Guine Portuguesa*, No 7. Bissau.

"Pesquisas histórico-geográficos sobre o povo Brame". *Centro de formacao e superacao de professores, Maximo Gorki,* Co.

Ribeiro, Rui. (1988) "Arroz na mentalidade Balanta". *Boletim de Informacao Sócio-Económica*, No 2. INEP. Bissau.

da Silva, Artur Agusto. (1983) *Direitos civil e pena dos mandingas e dos felupes da Guine-Bissau.* DEDILD. Bissau.

SODETEG & Ministerio do Plano. (1987) "Etude adequation formation/activités productives". Ministry of Planning. Bissau.

World Bank. (1983) *The World Bank Annual Report 1983.* Washington.

World Bank. (1984) *Toward Sustained Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action.* Washington.

World Bank. (1987) *Education Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion.* Report No 6934. Washington.

The Education Division at SIDA initiates and implements a large number of studies regarding education and training, especially in SIDA's programme countries.

A selection of these studies is published in the series "Education Division Documents". Copies can be ordered from the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, P O Box 1703. S-751 47 Uppsala, Sweden.

Included in this series:

No. 1-14: Out of stock except 5, 9, 12

No. 5: "Education in Guinea-Bissau 1978-81" by R. Carr-Hill, G Rosengart.
No. 9: "Adult Education in Tanzania" by A.I Johnsson, K. Nyström, R. Sundén.
No. 12: "Education in Zambia. Past Achievements and Future Trends" by I. Fägerlind, J. Valdelin.
No. 15: " Education in Mocambique 1975-84". A review prepared by A. Johnston.
No. 16: "Primary Education in Tanzania". A review prepared by R. Carr- Hill.
No. 17: " Report on Teaching of Technical and Science Subjects in Sri Lanka" by A. Dock, S. Salomonsson.
No. 18: " Swedish Folk Development Education and Developing Countries" by J. Norbeck, F. Albinson, T. Holgersson, R. Sundén.
No. 19: "The Indian Non-Formal Education and Feasibility Study by O. Österling, G. Mellbring, U. Winblad.
No. 20: " Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secondary Schools". General Report by J. Lauglo.
No. 21: "Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secondary Schools". Tracer Study by A. Närman.
No. 22: "Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secon dary Schools". Background Papers by K. Lillis, C. Cumming, M. Davies, Ben Nyaga.
No. 23: " Public Service Training, Needs and Resources in Zimbabwe" by a joint TMB-SIDA mission, N. Maphosa, E. Manuimo, G. Andersson, K-A Larsson, B. Odén
No. 24: Human Resources Development in Sri Lanka". An Analysis of Education and Training J. I Löfstedt, S. Jayweera, A. Little.
No. 25: "Skill Development for Self- Reliance. Regional Project in Eastern and Southern Africa. ILO/ SIDA". Evaluation Report by M. Hultin.
No. 26: " Technical Secondary Schools in Kenya". An Assessment by J. Lauglo.
No. 27: "O Desafio da Alfabetizaçao" by A. Lind with a summary in English.
No. 28: "Study on Fishery Training in Angola" by A. Lubbock, S. Larsson.
No. 29: " Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production. ZIMFEP". A follow-up Study by I. Gustafsson.
No. 30: "Educaçao em Moçambique 1975-84". Uma resenha preparada por A. Johnston.
No. 31: "A Pilot Study of Effects of Primary Schooling in a Rural Community of Ethiopia" by R. Sjöström.
No. 32: " Adult Literacy in the Third World". A rewiew of objects and strategies by A. Lind, A. Johnston.
No. 33: "Education in Zanzibar" by U. Göransson.
No. 34: "Vocational Education in Developing Countries". A review of studies and project experiences by M. Hultin.
No. 35: " Education in Botswana 1981-86 with Swedish Support". Evaluation and ideas for future support by J. Lauglo, M. PT Marope.
No. 36: "Adult Education in a Village in Tanzania" by A. N. Kweka.
No. 37: "Primary School Textbooks in Tanzania". An Evaluation of their quality by Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaam.
No. 38: " Education and economic crisis - the cases of Mozambique and Zambia" by A. Johnston, H. Kaluba, M.Karlsson, K. Nyström.
No. 39: "Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secondary Schools". Tracer Study II Industrial Education by A. Närman.
No. 40: "Teaching Teachers through Distance Methods". An Evaluation of a Sri Lankan Programme by A. W. Dock, W. A Duncan, E. M. Kotawala.
No. 41: " The Development of Competence in three industrial rehabilitation projects in Mozambique" by C. Norrbin, B. Wallberg, L. Wohlgemuth.
No. 42: "O Desenvolvimento de Conhecimentos no Conceito de Empresas Irmas" by C. Norrbin, B. Wallberg, L. Wohlgemuth.
No. 43: " Swedish Public Administration Assistance in Tanzania" a Study by J. Samoff, M. Wuyts, B. Mothander and K. Flodman.
No. 44: "Supporting Zambian Education in Times of Economic Adversity" by C. Mc Nab, A. Idemalm, I. Fägerlind, B. Mweene, S. Chidumayo.
No. 45: " Teaching and Teacher Training in Namibia: Today and Tomorrow" by S Callewaert, D Kallós.
No. 46: "Vocational and Technical Education and Related Teacher Training in Namibia", by M Hultin Craelius.
No. 47: "Multigrade Schools in Zambian Primary Education: A Report on the Pilot Schools in Mkushi District", by G. Lungwangwa.
No. 48: "Vocational training in Tanzania and the role of Swedish support" by Jon Lauglo.
No. 49: "Assistência à Educação num Contexto de Reforma", by Lillemor Andersson-Brolin, Maria Emília Catela, Raúl Mendes Fernandes, Lars Liljeson.
No. 50: "Education in Zimbabwe. Issues of Quantity and Quality", by C. Colclough, J-I. Löfstedt, J. Manduvi-Moyo, O.E Maravanyika, W. S. Ngwata.
No. 51: "Formação no Sector de Construção e Águas, Moçambique", de Anton Johnston.
No. 52: "Primary Education in Bangladesh". Review, Analysis and Recommendations by Styrbjörn Gustavsson.
No. 53: "Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective". Summary Report by Majorie Mbilinyi, Patricia Mbughuni, Ruth Meena and Priscilla Olekambaine.
No. 54: "School Career in Lower Primary Education in Guinea-Bissau" by Bertil Ahlenhed, Gustave Callewaert, Mario Cissóko, Holger Daun.

Cover Photo:
Anders Gunnartz

Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA)
Education Division
S-105 25 STOCKHOLM

Printed on environment friendly paper.
Kommentus 171 1095
ISSN 0283-0566
Bratts Tryckeri AB, Jkpg 56570