

Universal Education and Gender Equality in Mozambique:
How Direct Investment in Girls' Education Will Yield Greater Prosperity For All

The University of Wyoming School of Law International Human Rights Practicum & the Lurdes Mutola Foundation Urge the World Bank to Require Mozambique to Honor its Legal Obligations Regarding Universal Education and Gender Equality.

Mozambique is a party to several binding international and regional human rights agreements, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), The African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights, The Protocol to the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. Collectively, these agreements should ensure that Mozambique improves access to education for all children, with a particular focus on girls, given that girls have historically been excluded from educational opportunities. But between 2007 and 2010, only 14% of girls attended secondary school in Mozambique.ⁱ The University of Wyoming International Human Rights Practicum and the Lurdes Mutola Foundation urge the World Bank and the donor community to require Mozambique to honor its international legal obligations and improve girls' access to secondary education. The following report outlines the present conditions in Mozambique relating to education, explains Mozambique's international legal obligations, and provides examples of ways the international community can encourage and ensure that Mozambique educate current and future generations of girls.

I. The Current Picture

Mozambique's recent development history is dominated by the civil war that lasted from 1977 to 1992. It has taken many years, but Mozambique is showing signs of recovering from the war's ravages. In 2010, Mozambique's GDP grew at an annual rate of 6.5%, with a per capita GDP of \$428, up from \$120 in the mid-1980s.ⁱⁱ In 2011, GDP growth accelerated to 8.1% in the final quarter.ⁱⁱⁱ Yet despite rapid economic growth, over half of the population still lives in abject poverty. The World Bank ranks Mozambique 197th out of 210 countries in per capita income level.^{iv} According to the United Nations' 2012 Human Development Report, only Burundi and Niger have a lower human development index than Mozambique.^v

Poverty in Mozambique is partly attributable to the country's inability to match economic growth to population increase. Mozambique has the eleventh highest birth rate in the world at

39.08 births per 1000 people.^{vi} More than forty-five percent of Mozambique's 22.9 million people are under the age of 14.^{vii} Lack of infrastructure is another factor that contributes to poverty. Eighty percent of the working population of Mozambique still engages in small-scale subsistence farming.^{viii} Fully 71.4% of the country's people live on small settlements in remote areas that are difficult to access due to poor transportation and communication networks.^{ix}

The prevalence of HIV/AIDS is another factor that contributes to Mozambique's status as one of the world's poorest nations.^x The pandemic creates a cyclical problem: poverty increases vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and exacerbates the socioeconomic consequences of the epidemic.^{xi} The poor, given their location and lack of availability of transportation within the interior of Mozambique, are often unable to gain access to facilities that provide health care and anti-retroviral treatment.^{xii} Poor people are also less likely to be educated about HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment.^{xiii} Accordingly, poverty rates have risen in tandem with HIV/AIDS mortality rates in the central zone of the country.^{xiv} Given that women constitute the majority of the world's poorest people – in part due to their lack of access to education – it is no surprise that females in Mozambique aged 15 to 24 are three times more likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS than their male counterparts.^{xv}

But the single most important factor contributing to poverty in Mozambique is the inadequacy of the secondary education system for young women and girls. At the elementary school level, children have a much better opportunity to learn now than ever before. Elementary education in Mozambique is now compulsory for seven years, and school fees have been abolished since 2005.^{xvi} As a result, the enrollment rate is at or near 100% for elementary age children, up from 69% in 2003.^{xvii} However, there is a shortage of elementary schools in most areas and many operate in shifts, which has a direct effect on the success rates of learning

objectives.^{xviii} There is also a shortage of teachers, resulting in a ratio of 67.4 pupils per teacher.^{xix} These flaws may be responsible for the recent declines in learning achievement and the pronounced gender gap in favor of boys.^{xx}

After the compulsory seven years of elementary education, Mozambican students have an option of enrolling in general secondary education.^{xxi} Although the pupil to teacher ratio is better at 35.7 pupils per teacher,^{xxii} the gender gap is more pronounced at the secondary school level. The most recent statistics suggest that the net enrollment rate for females in secondary education is only 14%,^{xxiii} and the gross enrollment rate for females is 12.9% compared to 18.1% for males.^{xxiv}

The reasons for the disparity are varied, but poverty is the primary driver for low school enrollment among children, especially for girls. Secondary education fees and the cost of school supplies and uniforms are prohibitively expensive for families living in abject poverty.^{xxv} Many families cannot afford to send their children to school, and when they can, cultural norms dictate that they prioritize the education of boys.^{xxvi} There are other deeply rooted cultural and sociological patterns at play as well. For example, forty percent of girls aged 15-19 are married or in a similar partnership, and 42% of women have their first child before they reach the age of eighteen.^{xxvii} Girls are also more likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS, which contributes to low enrollment.

The education of young women and girls represents a proven solution to the poverty trap. Education increases marketability and job opportunities, which provides a lifeline of economic opportunities. Over time, education may also remove some of the deeply rooted societal and cultural norms that contribute to girls' low enrollment in schools. Girls who attend school are far less likely to get married or become pregnant during their school-age years,^{xxviii} and secondary

education increases girls' access to sexual and reproductive health education,^{xxix} which, in turn, decreases their chances of contracting HIV/AIDS.^{xxx}

Implementing an education system that recognizes and addresses the widespread poverty and cultural barriers to girls' education will take commitment and focus. The international community, with support from international institutions, including the World Bank and UNICEF, has committed significant resources to development initiatives in Mozambique. The World Bank alone disbursed \$199 million to Mozambique in 2009,^{xxxi} but funds for the education sector have not been focused on gender inequality. The current method of funding allows government entities broad latitude in the use of funds from outside organizations. The World Bank and other donors could exercise more oversight in the disbursement of funds in order to ensure direct investment in girls' education. By so doing, the donor community would assist Mozambique to fulfill its international legal obligations, to advance its economic prosperity, and perhaps most importantly, to ensure equality of educational opportunity.

The goal of this report is to highlight Mozambique's international legal obligations related to education and gender equality and to demonstrate how fulfilling those obligations will advance the country's economic prosperity. This report also addresses the role of international donors and funding agencies and recommends oversight with respect to how funds are disbursed. While not specifically addressed in this report, it is worth noting that Mozambique may become the world's largest exporter of coal within the next decade, which may cause significant economic shifts in the near future.^{xxxii} The oversight exercised by the international donor community to ensure funds are targeted towards universal education and gender equality may provide Mozambique with a model to ensure the same with increased revenues associated with mineral development.

II. Legal Obligations

Mozambique is party to two international agreements and three regional agreements that require the national government to provide universal and equal opportunity to education.^{xxxiii} These agreements seek the realization of equality between women and men by ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life – including the right to vote and to stand for election – as well as education, health and employment.^{xxxiv} To the extent Mozambique fails to adhere to these principles, it violates established international law.

Articles 2 and 10 of The International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) make the elimination of discrimination against women compulsory for all signatory states. Mozambique has been a party to CEDAW since April 21, 1997. States that have ratified or acceded to the Convention are legally bound to implement its provisions; they also commit to submit national reports, at least every four years, on measures taken to comply with treaty obligations.^{xxxv} Mozambique submitted its first and only national report in 2005.^{xxxvi}

The preamble of Article 10 to CEDAW states that member “[p]arties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education.”^{xxxvii} Article 2 provides that such measures may include the abolishment of “customs and practices, which constitute discrimination against women.”^{xxxviii} Each of these articles reflect the principle codified by CEDAW that the signatory state is responsible for ensuring equality of opportunity in an environment where cultural norms divide the population along gender lines.^{xxxix}

Mozambique is also a party to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC).^{xl} Mozambique became a signatory to the CRC on September 30, 1990, and ratified the agreement

on April 26, 1994.^{xli} The CRC commits signatory nations to the goal of protecting and ensuring children's rights and seeks to hold member states be held accountable for this commitment. States Parties to the Convention are obliged to develop and undertake all actions and policies in the light of the best interests of the child.^{xlii} Article 2 states that all parties to the CRC must encourage the development of different forms of secondary education and make them available and accessible to every child.^{xliii} In addition, parties to the CRC are obligated to take appropriate measures so as to provide a free education where possible and to offer financial assistance for those in need.^{xliv} While Mozambique has made great strides in providing a free elementary education to every child, many improvements are necessary before the same can be said for secondary education.

Mozambique is also a party to three regional agreements which support the education of young women.^{xlv} The first of these is the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights, ratified by Mozambique on February 22, 1989.^{xlvi} Pursuant to the Charter, all members have a duty to provide an equitable environment, free of gender and racial discrimination, for all who wish to obtain a secondary education.^{xlvii} Article 62 of the Charter requires that each state party shall submit a report every two years on the actions taken by the state to give effect to the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Charter.^{xlviii} The required report is submitted to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR).^{xlix} The ACHPR website states that Mozambique last met its reporting obligation in 1994, and that Mozambique currently has eight overdue reports.¹

Mozambique is also a party to the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.^{li} The Protocol was signed in December 2003 and ratified in May 2005.^{lii} Article 2 of the Protocol requires Mozambique to promote literacy

among women, to promote education and training for women at all levels and in all disciplines, particularly in the fields of science and technology, to promote the enrollment and retention of girls in school and other training intuitions, and to support the organization of programs for women who leave school prematurely.^{liii} Apart from ensuring basic human rights for women, the Protocol requires Mozambique to actively address social and cultural practices that impede the progress of women.^{liv} At the heart of the Protocol is a call for all member states to create a literate and educated population.^{lv} Like the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights, the Protocol requires reporting every two years.^{lvi} While Mozambique has complied with the reporting requirements, it has a long way to go to achieve the substantive goals of the Protocol.^{lvii}

Mozambique is also a party to the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.^{lviii} Mozambique ratified the Charter on July 15, 1998.^{lix} Article 3 states that “every child shall have the right to an education.”^{lx} Furthermore, the charter provides that Mozambique is obligated to take special measures with respect to girls’ education, gifted or disadvantaged children, and to ensure equal access to education for all sections of the community.^{lxi} Article 45 requires that parties report to the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child every two years with respect to activities taken pursuant to the Charter.^{lxii} Mozambique has never submitted a report to the Committee.^{lxiii}

Collectively, these agreements establish the duties Mozambique owes both to its citizenry and to the international community concerning education. Mozambique is obligated to provide free and compulsory primary education, to ensure universal access to secondary education, and to eliminate discrimination based on sex in the context of education.

Mozambique is likewise required by constitutional mandate to provide secondary educational opportunities for all children. The Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique was

approved and enacted in November 1990.^{lxiv} Articles 52, 57, 66, 67 and 92 require the national government to provide an equal opportunity to achieve a secondary education for men and women.^{lxv} These articles promote an educational strategy, which encourages the inclusion of women in all of the country's political, social and cultural activities.^{lxvi} Furthermore, the Constitution provides that women and men are equal before the law and enjoy equal access to an education.^{lxvii}

In the effort to comply with its own constitutional mandates, the Republic of Mozambique, working through the Ministry of Education, has implemented the Strategic Plan for Education and Culture (SPEC).^{lxviii} SPEC reaffirms education as a basic human right, and acknowledges that universal education is a critical weapon in the battle against poverty.^{lxix} The plan also makes it a priority to achieve the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for 2015, which include "universal education" and "gender equality."^{lxx}

It is evident, as exemplified by SPEC, that Mozambique is aware of its educational shortfalls.^{lxxi} Mozambique has made important expressive commitments to young women by participating in CEDAW, CRC, and the array of regional agreements. By themselves, these commitments are laudable, but they have yet to translate into substantive change for most young women in Mozambique. The international community and donor countries and organizations can help Mozambique achieve real change.

IV. The Next Step

A. UN Women

UN Women, a conglomeration of four separate entities,^{lxxii} can support Mozambique in taking the next step. UN Women is dedicated to helping UN member states set global standards for achieving gender equality. The organization works with governments and civil society to

design laws, policies, programs and services needed to implement these standards.^{lxxiii} Where UN Member States affirmatively seek to achieve universal education and gender equality pursuant to the MDGs, as is the case with Mozambique, UN Women can provide analysis of sex-disaggregated data and indicators that fully account for gender gaps and evaluate a state's progress towards achieving its goals.^{lxxiv} In order to achieve the MDGs, Mozambique might consider either enlisting the assistance of UN Women or following the model UN Women has provided, which includes guidelines for involvement by international bodies, for achieving the MDGs.

B. The Role of the World Bank

"Investing in the health of women and girls is the right thing to do and the smart thing to do for national economies and global stability."

United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon
World Economic Forum, January 2012

The World Bank can support Mozambique in making substantive changes. The World Bank provides substantial funding to Mozambique, which is largely earmarked for the accomplishment of the United Nations' MDGs, including universal education and gender equality. For example, the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), in which the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) participate as observers, committed \$23 billion per year^{lxxv} to supporting gender equality around the world in 2007-2009.^{lxxvi} However, in light of the ways that Mozambique's secondary education system fails young women, it is clear that substantial funding alone will not accomplish the MDGs and that enhanced oversight of spending is necessary. By targeting investment in women and girls and guaranteeing the development

assistance reaches young women, international organizations can assist developing states in promoting access to education and combating institutional or cultural sexual discrimination.^{lxxvii}

There is no question that universal education and gender equality are essential to achieving the World Bank's goal of reducing poverty. The Bank, citing a variety of studies, acknowledges as much, and by so doing, aligns itself with the prevailing authorities.^{lxxviii} Specifically, the Bank has stated that educating women at all levels of maturity and intellectual development yields substantial benefits, monetary and non-monetary, economic and social, to both the society and the individual.^{lxxix} Further, the Bank acknowledges the benefits that flow from educating women are not fully realized when participation in the education system stops before women enter secondary education.^{lxxx} Given the drastic development changes occurring in Africa, it is expected that the effect of girls' education on the economy will be greater in Africa than in any other region.^{lxxxii}

Empirical data supports these conclusions. In *The World Bank Economic Review*, author Stephan Klasen, an economist from the University of Munich, uses a variety of empirical datasets spread throughout various countries to determine how gender inequality in education affects long-term economic growth.^{lxxxiii} The article makes several important findings.^{lxxxiii} First, gender inequality in education undermines economic growth directly by lowering average human capital and indirectly through its impact on investment and population growth.^{lxxxiv} For instance, if Sub-Saharan Africa had started with more balanced education opportunities in 1960 and done more to promote gender-balanced education growth, annual economic growth rates could have been up to 0.9 percentage point faster.^{lxxxv} Second, gender inequality in education has a persistent effect on economic growth.^{lxxxvi} Third, the economic effects of gender inequality appear to be stronger in Sub-Saharan Africa, which suggests that efforts to promote female

education have a higher payoff there than elsewhere.^{lxxxvii} In sum, Klasen demonstrates that promoting gender equity in education can be a “win-win” development strategy.^{lxxxviii} Gender equality in education also advances economic prosperity and efficiency and promotes other essential human development goals (such as lower mortality and fertility).^{lxxxix}

A growing body of sociological, cultural and academic literature supports the proposition that girls’ education leads to economic prosperity. *Girl Rising*, a film by Academy Award Nominee Richard Robbins, illustrates the the positive effects of educating girls.^{xc} The film follows nine girls in nine different countries, each of whom overcome societal and cultural barriers to achieve personal success and affect positive change in their communities by pursuing their education.^{xc1} Likewise, Greg Mortenson, author of *Three Cups of Tea* and *Stones into Schools: Promoting Peace with Books, Not Bombs, in Afghanistan and Pakistan*, and co-founder of the Central Asia Institute, has demonstrated through his work that providing education for girls leads to many positive changes in the surrounding community and culture, including a decrease in infant mortality, birth rates, poverty, and religious extremism.^{xcii} Finally, Pulitzer Prize winners Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, illustrate that the key to economic success lies in unleashing the potential of women through education in *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*.^{xciii} As in *Girl Rising*, *Half the Sky* showcases individual women in Africa and Asia who overcome overwhelming poverty and trauma through education.^{xciv} What’s more, these women become strengths to their communities and models of success.^{xcv} The works listed above, in conjunction with empirical data, offer proof that educating girls not only empowers individuals to overcome personal obstacles and tragedy, but also unleashes the economic potential of the female half of the population, decreasing poverty and increasing prosperity.

V. Example of Success – The Lurdes Mutola Foundation

The Lurdes Mutola Foundation (Foundation) provides a micro example of how direct funding, oversight, and focused efforts to educate young women can affect real change in Mozambique. In response to low rates of girls' enrollment in secondary school, the Foundation has developed and funded its own model for supporting the education of young women in Mozambique.^{xcvi} The girls enrolled in the Foundation's program live in a group home, which is a ten-minute walk from a secondary school in Magude. The group home provides a setting in which the girls can succeed; several foster mothers live in the home and act as mentors.^{xcvii} Among other things, the foster mothers encourage intellectual curiosity, conduct group discussions, and schedule blocks of time for homework. The foster mothers also play a role in breaking down entrenched mores that prevent many Mozambican girls from pursuing their education.^{xcviii} For example, girls are discouraged from dating, early marriage, and experimenting with sexual activity until they reach an appropriate age. The Foundation also pays the girls' school fees and provides them with meals, uniforms and school supplies. Furthermore, the Foundation ensures quality health care for the girls and arranges for transportation at least twice a year for the girls to visit their families.

The Foundation's comprehensive educational program has been a demonstrable success. Of the 20 young women who began the Foundation's three-year program in 2007, 17 will graduate.^{xcix} Within the same time period, of the 22 applicants who were not admitted because of capacity limitation, 17 got pregnant, married, or both.^c These early statistics demonstrate that the hurdles in the lives of most Mozambican girls can be overcome. Unfortunately, the Foundation's resources are limited, and it is only able to service a very small number of Mozambican girls.^{ci}

The program developed by the Foundation could be scaled up through increased funding, or similar programs could be implemented throughout the country in order to affect widespread change. The World Bank and other donors can play a pivotal role in directing government funding to these types of ventures.

VI. Case Study in Contrast – BRAC in Bangladesh

In recent decades Bangladesh, through the extraordinary work of an NGO, has made great strides in education, particularly for young women. As a result, the country has experienced economic growth and a decrease in poverty levels.^{cii} In reference to Bangladesh, Nicholas D. Kristof notes, “women and girls aren’t the problem; they’re the solution.”^{ciii}

The current population of Bangladesh is estimated at 156 million; roughly 40% of people live below the poverty line according to 2010 estimates.^{civ} Bangladesh is substantially more populous than Mozambique but shares many of the same cultural norms regarding the education of women and girls.^{cv} Following its attendance at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in the early 1990’s, the government of Bangladesh welcomed international support to achieve its goals to elevate the living standards and educational opportunities for female citizens.^{cvi} The largest NGO in the world, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), founded in Bangladesh in 1972, has led the charge to affect substantial change for the people of Bangladesh. BRAC has focused its efforts where the government has faltered and fundamentally changed preexisting educational norms in Bangladesh.^{cvii} BRAC has created 40,000 schools attended by 1 million children, 70% of whom are girls.^{cviii} In addition, BRAC actively campaigns for the enrollment of girls in order to battle against the cultural norms that are usually responsible for keeping girls out of school.^{ciix} Ninety percent of BRAC- educated primary school children, boys and girls, continue their education at secondary institutions.^{cx}

BRAC has succeeded in Bangladesh because it has largely accomplished its primary objective: the education of impoverished children. It has done this by providing affordable schooling, and allowing schools to be flexible and responsive to the needs of communities in areas like scheduling. Because of the success BRAC has had at the primary education level, it is currently looking to expand into the secondary education sector.

Although Bangladesh struggles with some gender disparity in its educational programs, circumstances are improving. Bangladesh has seen significant progress in economic indicators and literacy rates among all children due to the work of NGOs like BRAC. In 1975 (very near the time when BRAC initiated its efforts in Bangladesh) the poverty rate among people living in Bangladesh was 83%.^{cxix} By 1999, the poverty rate had dropped to 44%; as of 2010, that number had declined to 31.5%.^{cxii} The literacy rate, which is widely considered to be an important indicator of economic development, has doubled in Bangladesh since 1970.^{cxiii}

The case study of BRAC in Bangladesh and the micro example of the Lurdes Mutola Foundation provide further support to the empirical data and growing literature which stand for the proposition that girls' education leads to economic development. Perhaps more importantly for the government and international donor community, the case study of BRAC in Bangladesh and the micro example of the of the Lurdes Mutola Foundation provide concrete examples of systems that can be implemented to achieve gender equality in education, and how gains in women's education lead to greater prosperity.

VII. Costs and Benefits

In a study conducted by the World Bank in 2003, it was determined that the total unit cost per secondary pupil in Mozambique was 1,204,995 metecais (or about 100 USD) per year.^{cxiv} This figure includes the cost of teacher salaries, non-teacher staff salaries, goods and services, and administration.^{cxv} However, as the study states, the unit cost can vary greatly from year to year depending on multiple policy-related decisions regarding education: (a) the average salary of the teachers, (b) the pupil to teacher ratio, (c) the average salary of nonteaching staff and the student to nonteaching staff ratio, (d) the average amount of resources per student for pedagogical materials, and (e) the average spending per pupil on administration (at the national and decentralized levels).^{cxvi} Accordingly, the unit cost per pupil may now be higher or lower than the estimated cost in 2003.

Also, the unit cost per pupil did not include the cost of actively campaigning for girls' education and against socio-cultural norms that hinder girls' access education, such as occurred in Bangladesh.^{cxvii} Regardless of what the final figure is, the investment in girls' secondary education produces positive returns:

A recent analysis of all low-income countries of the world...showed that countries that demonstrated the best economic performance were those that had previously invested more in education...Education helps to improve the living conditions of individuals by improving their earnings, their health status, and those of their children, and it contributes to reducing fertility rates...The positive effects of basic education on health are large enough in themselves to justify investments in basic education (in fact, the health impact of one dollar spent on girls' education may be larger than that of the same dollar spent on standard health activities).^{cxviii}

VIII. Conclusion and Recommendations

Many of the problems facing Mozambique, including widespread poverty and the HIV/AIDS infection rate, can be alleviated by providing universal education and ensuring gender equality.^{cxix} While much has been done in Mozambique to improve access to primary education, serious deficiencies in providing universal access to secondary education remain. Today, poverty

and deeply rooted cultural norms are the greatest factors in the low enrollment of young women in secondary education. While the picture seems bleak, BRAC in Bangladesh and the Lurdes Mutola Foundation provide different types of examples of how to overcome the hurdles to educate young women, and how providing that education on a national level can lead to widespread economic prosperity. Empirical data taken from various countries throughout the world support the same proposition.^{cxv} The World Bank and other international donors can play a role in affecting change in Mozambique by requiring Mozambique to comply with its legal obligations to provide universal education and gender equality. This will not only change the lives of Mozambican women, but it will also advance the international community's own agenda by spurring economic growth and increasing prosperity.

The following recommendations, largely based on the examples of the Lurdes Mutola Foundation and the work done in Bangladesh, provide concrete avenues for success in achieving universal education and gender equality in Mozambique:

- Mozambique should actively campaign for the enrollment of girls in secondary schools and against the cultural mores that are responsible for the low enrollment of girls.
- Mozambique should require the collection and compilation of sex-disaggregated data and accurately track the proportion and coverage of aid focused on achieving gender equality.
- NGOs operating in the educational sector of Mozambique should work to ensure governmental compliance with international legal obligations, and supplement Mozambique's efforts to campaign for girls' enrollment, campaign against the cultural mores, and assist in data collection.
- The World Bank and other donors should enhance oversight of the government's spending and increase organizational involvement in appropriations to ensure adequate funding for girls' education.

- The World Bank and other donors should consider increasing targeted investments in girls' education, specifically to programs and organizations like the Lurdes Mutola Foundation.
- The World Bank and other donors should assist in scaling up programs, organizations, and operations that are working to ensure universal education and gender equality.
- The World Bank and other donors should consider as a last resort conditioning aid to Mozambique on the government's efforts to comply with its international legal obligations, including the MDGs of universal education and gender equality.

Endnotes

ⁱ http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mozambique_statistics.html#90

ⁱⁱ *Id.*

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/27/mozambique-africa-energy-resources-bonanza>

^{iv} *Mozambique*, The World Bank (2011),

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/MOZAMBIQUEEXTN/0,,menuPK:382138~pagePK:141159~piPK:141110~theSitePK:382131,00.html>

^v <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

^{vi} CIA World Factbook, *Mozambique*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mz.html> (accessed February 2013).

^{vii} *Background Note: Mozambique*, U.S. Department of State (November 2011),

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/7035.htm>, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mz.html>

^{viii} *See Background Note: Mozambique*, U.S. Department of State (November 2011),

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/7035.htm>.

^{ix} *See Education in Mozambique*, SACMEQ (2012), <http://www.sacmeq.org/education-mozambique.htm>.

^x <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTHIVAIDS/Resources/375798-1136997394502/PovertyHIVAIDSInterfaceEnglish.pdf>

^{xi} *Id.*

^{xii} UNICEF, *Mozambique, HIV/AIDS, the picture*,

http://www.unicef.org/mozambique/hiv_aids_2045.html (accessed February 2013).

^{xiii} *Id.*

^{xiv} *Id.*

^{xv} UNICEF, *Life Skills: Girls, HIV/AIDS and Education*

http://www.unicef.org/lifskills/index_8657.html (accessed February 2013).

^{xvi} *See UNICEF, Mozambique: Education, Basic Education Quality*,

<http://www.unicef.org/mozambique/education.html> (accessed April 2013).

^{xvii} *Id.*

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- xviii *Id.*
- xix *Id.*
- xx http://www.sacmeq.org/downloads/Genderpolicybriefs/06_MOZ_Policy_brief%20-%20Gender_NewFormat_June2011_ver5_120305.pdf
- xxi See UNICEF, *Basic Education Quality*, <http://www.unicef.org/mozambique/education.html> (accessed May, 2013).
- xxii *Id.*
- xxiii http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=289&IF_Language=eng&BR_Country=5080&BR_Region=40540
- xxiv See *Education in Mozambique*, SACMEQ (2012), <http://www.sacmeq.org/education-mozambique.htm>.
- xxv See generally Stephen Lewis, *Race Against Time*, at 71-107.
- xxvi *Id.*
- xxvii See UNICEF Statistics on Mozambique, (2010), http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mozambique_statistics.html#79; see also Ava Bell and Samuel Barbosa, University of Wyoming College of Law International Human Rights Practicum, *Interviews with Education Officials in Mozambique and Girls at the Lurdes Mutola Foundation*, available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0iWOS-2AMUg&list=UUqRDfPCL97tJTQZSEa_1sMw&index=4&feature=plcp (March 2011). The interviewees were remarkably uniform in their responses to questions about why girls do not enroll in secondary schools in Mozambique. The most common reasons cited for low enrollment include pressure to marry by age fifteen and poverty and the necessity to work in the fields or assist with domestic chores.
- xxviii <http://mz.one.un.org/eng/News-and-Events/News-Features/UN-Resident-Coordinator-celebrates-International-Women-Day-2012-with-adolescent-girls-in-a-school>
- xxix *Id.*
- xxx See UNICEF, *Life Skills: Girls, HIV/AIDS and Education*, http://www.unicef.org/lifeskills/index_8657.html (accessed May, 2013).
- xxxi http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/moz_aag.pdf
- xxxii <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/27/mozambique-africa-energy-resources-bonanza>
- xxxiii See Overview of the Convention, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>.
- xxxiv See *id.*
- xxxv *Id.*
- xxxvi <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw%20report%20submission%20status%2031Aug2006.pdf>
- xxxvii See United Nations Treaty Collection 2012, http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en.
- xxxviii Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, art. 2, Dec. 18, 1979, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>.
- xxxix *Id.*
- xl See generally Convention on the Rights of the Child, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>.

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- xli *See* United Nations Treaty Collection 2012, http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en.
- xlii Convention on the Rights of the Child, art. 3, § 1 (Nov. 20, 1989), <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>.
- xliii Convention on the Rights of the Child, art. 2, § 1 (Nov. 20, 1989), <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>.
- xliv *Id.*
- xlv *See generally* African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, http://www.africa-union.org/official_documents/treaties_%20conventions_%20protocols/banjul%20charter.pdf.
- xlvi *See* <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/List/African%20Charter%20on%20Human%20and%20Peoples%20Rights.pdf>
- xlvii African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, art. 18, § 2, June 27 1981, http://www.africa-union.org/official_documents/treaties_%20conventions_%20protocols/banjul%20charter.pdf.
- xlviii *See id.* at art. 62.
- xlix *Id.*
- ¹ <http://www.achpr.org/states/>
- li *See generally* Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, <http://www.achpr.org/english/women/protocolwomen.pdf>.
- lii African Union, *List of Countries Which Have Signed*, <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/List/Protocol%20on%20the%20Rights%20of%20Women.pdf>
- liii Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, art. 12, § 1-2, July 11, 2003, <http://www.achpr.org/english/women/protocolwomen.pdf>.
- liv *Id.*
- lv *See id.*
- lvi *Id.*
- lvii *See* African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *State Reporting*, <http://www.achpr.org/states/> (accessed May, 2013).
- lviii *See generally* African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child http://www.africa-union.org/official_documents/Treaties_%20Conventions_%20Protocols/a.%20C.%20ON%20THE%20RIGHT%20AND%20WELF%20OF%20CHILD.pdf.
- lix *See* African Union, *List of Countries Which Have Signed*, <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/documents/treaties/treaties.htm>.
- lx African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, art. 11, § 1-7 July 11, 1990, http://www.africa-union.org/official_documents/Treaties_%20Conventions_%20Protocols/a.%20C.%20ON%20THE%20RIGHT%20AND%20WELF%20OF%20CHILD.pdf.
- lxi *See generally* African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child http://www.africa-union.org/official_documents/Treaties_%20Conventions_%20Protocols/a.%20C.%20ON%20THE%20RIGHT%20AND%20WELF%20OF%20CHILD.pdf.
- lxii *Id.*

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- lxiii ACERWC, *State Reporting Calendar*, <http://acerwc.org/state-reporting-calendar/> (accessed May, 2013).
- lxiv *See generally* The Constitution of Mozambique, Nov. 1990, <http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/moz.pdf>.
- lxv *See generally*, The Constitution of Mozambique, Nov. 1990.
- lxvi *See* The Constitution of Mozambique, art. 57 § 1 & 3, and art. 66, Nov. 1990, <http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/moz.pdf>.
- lxvii The Constitution of Mozambique, art. 67, 92, § 1-2, Nov. 1990, <http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/moz.pdf>.
- lxviii *See generally* Republic of Mozambique Ministry of Education and Culture, *Strategic Plan for Education and Culture*, (2009), <http://www.hifab.se/upload/Terms%20of%20Reference%20Eng.pdf>.
- lxix *See id.*, at pg. 9.
- lxx <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/index.shtml>
- lxxi *See generally* *Strategic Plan*, *supra* n. 67.
- lxxii These include the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, and the United Nations Development Fund for Women.
- lxxiii http://www.unwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/UNwomen_Brochure_en.pdf
- lxxiv *Id.*
- lxxv <http://webnet.oecd.org/dcdgraphs/gender/>
- lxxvi http://www.oecd.org/document/1/0,3746,en_2649_33721_46662849_1_1_1_1,00.html
- lxxvii <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/45/55/45704694.pdf>
- lxxviii For example, The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) considers the issue of reducing gender parity in primary and secondary education the most urgent goal of all established in the MDGs. If the MDGs are achieved, the world can expect to see a decrease in poverty, a reduction in HIV/AIDS in women and men, a decline in child mortality, improved maternal health and an overall positive impact on developing economies. *See* UNICEF, *The State of the World’s Children* 2004, http://www.unicef.org/sowc04/sowc04_jump_start.html (accessed February 2013). Also, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has confirmed that global investment in women and girls yields the highest returns of all development investments, and brings about reduced maternal mortality rates, better educated and healthier children, higher household incomes and enhanced economic growth paths. The OECD and the Millenium Development Goals, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/theoecdandthemillenniumdevelopmentgoals.htm> (accessed February 2013).
- lxxix *Female Secondary School Assistance Project*, Staff Appraisal Report (1993), http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1993/02/16/000009265_3961003170803/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf, pg. 86.
- lxxx <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,contentMDK:20521252~menu PK:738179~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:282386,00.html>
- lxxxi *See* Wycliffe Otieno et. al., *Gender Audit of Education Programs in Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi and Uganda*, UNICEF, Nairobi (September 2007).

cxii *Id.*

cxiii http://www.bids.org.bd/bds/33-1&2/M_K_Mujeri.pdf

cxiv World Bank, *Cost and Financing of Education: Opportunities and Obstacles for Expanding and Improving Education in Mozambique*, 35 (July 2003), http://siteresources.worldbank.org/AFRICAEXT/Resources/ed_cost_moz.pdf.

cxv *See id.* at 35 (Table 3.9).

cxvi *Id.* at 32.

cxvii *See generally id.*

cxviii *Id.* at 60.

cxix *See* UNICEF, *supra* n. 30.

cxx *See* Klasen *supra*, n. 81.