

# PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION AND WAYS TO IMPROVE INCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR 



## FOREWORD

This national study on school exclusion and ways to improve primary school inclusion was conducted at a time of great difficulty and uncertainty for Madagascar. The crisis that the country is currently experiencing, has had a considerable impact, particularly on the health and nutritional status of children and access to potable water. The education sector is also paying a very heavy price for this situation and, to date, more than one child in four does not have access to primary school education. Short-comings in the Malagasy education system, combined with the daily plight of households, means that over one million children lack access to basic education. We are therefore at a crossroads. Either we carry on in the same direction and run the risk of ruining the future of a very large number of children and the country in general, or we use this crisis to create a sustainable, inclusive, quality education system. The Government and all partners working in the education sector, at the local, national and international level, should make it a priority to develop the necessary mechanisms to include the most vulnerable children in the primary education system, in the face of this crisis. We should also make use of this occasion to build a society that is prepared to fight against all forms of inequality and promote diversity. Education has a key role to play. Schools should not be content with teaching children only how to read and write, but should play a vital role in promoting cultural diversity and fighting against all forms of discrimination.

While this study highlights the amplitude and mechanisms of primary school exclusion, it also underlines the efforts taken by all community stakeholders, schools and households to make the educational system more inclusive. A certain number of methods and tools already exist to promote primary school inclusion but this study must lead to specific actions. To enable all children, even the most marginalised, to have access to basic quality education, the fight against all forms of exclusion, in a coordinated and joint manner is necessary. However, without extensive mobilisation of all actors involved and a comprehensive strategy, it will not be possible to fight effectively against all forms of school exclusion. Only a fully inclusive education system will have the capacity to build the knowledge-based society that Madagascar needs for its future. In supporting the country's efforts to develop a bona fide inclusive education system, the international community has a key role to play.The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) places particular importance on equity and therefore has a specific responsibility to encourage and help all children who do not have access to basic education. In collaboration with all education actors in Madagascar, one of our priorities is to enrol all out-of-school children as quickly as possible. Even though we are at a crossroads, we must have the courage and the determination to chose the path that will allow all children to fully exercise their right to quality education.


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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY




Every year in Madagascar, hundreds of thousands of children drop out of primary school and over a quarter of these are ultimately deprived of any other educational opportunity. With over one million children out of school, primary school exclusion is undoubtedly one of the biggest challenges of the Malagasy educational system. Although education is essential for the future for every parent, worker and citizen, a large majority of Madagascar's children are deprived of a complete cycle of quality primary education.

The Millennium Development Goal (MDG) for Universal Primary Education (UPE) - to be achieved by 2015 - is still far from being reached even though education is central to all sustainable development issues a country may face.

UNICEF therefore commissioned a national quantitative and qualitative survey to evaluate the actual status of primary school exclusion and put forward action strategies for a more inclusive educational system.

The key stakeholders of school exclusion were broken down into three groups (households, schools and the community), as were the children (those who go to school, dropouts and those who have never been to school). The parents, teachers, principals, parent associations and communities were interviewed individually and in groups. Children with disabilities were questioned separately given their particular situation and the limited information available about them.

A total of 87 public primary schools in 15 communes throughout Madagascar took part in the survey (909 children and parents, 84 principals, 163 teachers, 87 FRAM presidents and 82 Fokontany leaders) and 16 focus group discussions were conducted. Workshops, before and after the study, allowed key officials from the Ministry of Education (MOE) to be involved and consulted, along with various international organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other civil society stakeholders working with school exclusion and inclusion.

## What is the status of primary school exclusion in Madagascar?

Primary school exclusion, which was already a concern, has considerably worsened since the start of the crisis in 2009. The net primary school enrolment rate in 2010 was only $73.4 \%$ compared to $83.3 \%$ in 2005 (Enquête Auprès des Ménages - EPM - 2005 and 2010). This therefore shows that more than a quarter of primary school children or more than one million children in other words, are currently out-of-school. In 2010 alone, almost 700,000 children dropped out of the school system between CPl (first grade) and CM1 (fifth grade), or $16.7 \%$ of those enrolled. Even if the majority of children start primary school, completion of the primary education cycle appears to be the main challenge for the Malagasy educational system. In fact, out of 100 children who start primary school ( CPl , first grade), 25 do not make it to the second grade (CP2), barely 45 reach the last grade of primary school (CM2) and only 33 enrol in the first year of secondary school. What is more, this average of $55.4 \%$ for the overall primary school dropout rate hides huge disparities between regions, municipalities and institutions. Extremely isolated rural areas and those with the poorest quality of education have the highest dropout rates.

## Who are excluded from primary school?

According to our quantitative survey, children who never enrol in primary school are, more often than not, orphans, children who are subject to income generating activities or children who live far away from any school. Children who enrol in primary school but drop out before completion, tend to be either orphans, children who have to work harder and longer hours to earn money, the eldest child in their family, children living a long way from school, or children who have lower academic achievement levels and receive less support from their parents than those children who are still in school. Disabled children who reach up to third grade (CMI) are often those who have a less severe disability than other disabled children, and they also started primary school earlier and went to the doctor more often. The education level of the parents and other children in the household, the degree of importance placed on education by the parents and the quality of housing, are all significantly lower for families of those children who have dropped out of school. Compared with children who go to
school, those that do not also do not have frequent meals. Children who drop out of primary school come from households with lower income levels, or from households that have experienced sudden reductions in income. The number of meetings with the principal, housing quality and the degree to which the school can adapt to a child's disability, positively influences a disabled child's education. In half of the cases studied, it was the child who made the decision to drop out of school; most of the time this decision was made abruptly and the child did not go on to pursue further studies. From what teachers observe in their classrooms, a tenth of the students are absent daily and this figure doubles during the lean season, from January to April; the time of most absenteeism and dropouts. Information collected from Fokontany leaders shows that an estimated $27.5 \%$ of children between 6 and 12 years are currently out of school and $5.5 \%$ of the overall total are children with a disability. Based on observations in schools, children with disabilities represent only $0.62 \%$ of overall enrolment. Thus, just over one tenth of disabled children are enrolled, representing a little less than a fifth of those children excluded from primary education. Girls with disabilities face double discrimination as they represent less than one third of disabled children enrolled in school.

## Which primary schools and communities have the highest exclusion rates?

Dropout rates are higher in community schools and schools with fewer staff, but more students per teacher, as well as in schools that have a low Primary School Leaving Certificate (CEPE) success rate, poor quality buildings, lower school fees, and in schools that do not follow the « school contract for success programme » (CPRS) ${ }^{i}$ and which do not monitor or control student enrolment. The actions of FRAM (parent association) towards children who have never attended or who have dropped out of school have had a positive effect. Urban areas have lower dropout rates, as do those areas that receive external support for their primary schools. Natural disasters such as floods, cyclones or droughts significantly increase dropout rates. Even if the difference in the average dropout rate between girls and boys is small, most girls drop out in rural areas and from community schools, while most boys drop out of schools in urban areas. School principals estimate that they, or the FRAM, send away about $5 \%$ of children due to the non-payment of school fees or behavioural problems.

[^1]
## What are the main causes of school exclusion?

Opinions gathered through focus group discussions show that economic difficulties associated with family issues, children's health problems and a poor opinion of education, explain a significant part of the school exclusion phenomenon at the household level. These issues trigger phenomena such as child labour, create embarrassment and demotivation, and ultimately lead to the differential treatment of children when it comes to school enrolment, birth order, gender, disability or level of educational performance. Other important factors of the school exclusion phenomenon from a schools' pointof viewincludeschoolfees, poorqualityeducation and study conditions such as the distance to, and accessibility of, schools. Discriminatory treatment, or even violence, from principals, teachers and other students is also put forward as an aggravating factor. At the community level, preconceptions of social roles, administrative bottlenecks, low levels of commitment to combat school exclusion, insecurity and susceptibility to natural disasters, all lead to high levels of school exclusion. Lack of external support from the State also affects cost, quality and access to schools thus leaving communities despondent in the face of school exclusion.

## What are the current attitudes and practices of inclusive education?

Opinions gathered through focus group discussions reflect a certain number of attitudes and practices from which an inclusive education policy could be developed. At the household level, the huge investments made by parents to educate their children must be recognised along with their strong disapproval of the non-enrolment of children in primary school. Education is seen as a means to achieving life goals and ensuring independence, especially for girls and disabled children. Perceived interest in education can therefore be seen in the parents and child's desire and predisposition to return to school. Within schools, the administrative and financial departments were seen to address household difficulties. Affirmative actions for vulnerable children by the principal, teachers and other students were also observed along with efforts to promote enrolment and improve learning conditions and teaching practices. With regard to community attitudes, their efforts and initiativestopromote inclusive educationaswellastheir favourable perception of educated people and diversity must be highlighted.

## What roles and responsibilities are necessary to promote inclusion?

Focus groups were asked to think about and make suggestions for the different roles necessary to promote inclusion of all children in primary school. According to these groups, parents should be responsible for the guidance and supervision of their children, they should provide financial support and study materials, deal with any communication with the principal and teachers, as well as provide outreach services for those parents with out-ofschool children. Apart from respecting guidance from their teachers and parents, students should play a role in raising awareness and identifying out-of-school children as well as supporting and encouraging other students not to drop out. The teacher's main role is to educate and interact with the children and their parents, to improve the school environment and to keep an eye on individual students. Principals' tasks involve educating and collaborating with parents, supervising teachers and students and working to improve study conditions. In addition to educating parents and children, the parents' association should be responsible for all communication and school dynamics as well as provide support for the principal, teachers, parents and children. The community should be responsible for controlling and sanctioning school exclusion and for raising external support. Lastly, the State should deal with the management of teachers, provide schools with financial and material support and encourage local initiatives.

## Which tools already exists to improve inclusive education?

Tools which already exist include financial support (school funds, subsidies for FRAM presidents, CPRS), in-kind support (classrooms, textbooks, school canteens, dormitories...), pedagogical support (training, materials for teachers and principals), management support (CPRS, training for principals and MOE officials...), humanresources(primaryschool networks, peer support, mapping of excluded children... or even awareness-raising activities (girls, disabled children, nutrition). Given the special circumstances of some children in terms of schooling, other additional one-off educational support exists for some children in mainstream schools (remedial and reinsertion classes),putting certain children together in special classes in mainstreamschools(integratedclasses), ortemporarily

grouping children together in special schools to be integrated in mainstream schools at a later date. Finally, a number of other tools address the issue of school exclusion through actions geared towards communities such as outreach and community mobilisation, identification of children who are not in school, as well as literacy classes and the creation of income generating activities.

A review of the main tools used to address, directly or indirectly, the issue of school exclusion in Madagascar was carried out. A number of these tools are specifically aimed at households. Parents or children may receive direct financial support (scholarships, resource transfers, back to school loans) as well as in-kind support (school kits, uniforms, nutritional support, health care). Some personal support also exists (mentors, foster families) and awareness campaigns (education, disability, health) are regularly carried out. Programmes to create income-generating activities and combat poverty may also lead to a number of positive spin-offs in terms of access to and retention in primary school. A number of tools aimed at improving inclusive education target schools directly.

## How to enrol, and retain, children in primary school

This quantitative and qualitative field study, combined with meetings and work sessions with key stakeholders, allows for a number of actions to be put forward to achieve inclusion of all children up
to the end of primary school. First of all, it seems appropriate to have an overall view of school exclusion, widespread mobilisation and a comprehensive strategy to be able to deal effectively with school exclusion in all its forms. The main idea is to tackle all forms of exclusion in a joint and coordinated manner, through preventive measures and a more formal approach to keeping children in school, in what could be a multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder 'national plan to combat school exclusion'.

Given the importance and the transversal nature of this issue, the creation of a 'National Office to Combat School Exclusion' within the MOE, could help with the implementation of management strategies for inclusive education and the fight against exclusion, in collaboration with responsibilities assigned to the DREN, CISCO, ZAP and primary schools. It is essential to promote a culture of inclusive education at both the central and decentralized levels to foster diversity among students and endorse their right to return to school. An appropriate tool could therefore be the creation of a 'National Day of Action Against School Exclusion' and awareness campaigns to challenge stereotypes and propose concrete actions. A pro-vulnerability regulatory framework should be developed to put a stop to school exclusion wherever possible; a welcoming atmosphere should prevail in schools and all administrative bottlenecks to enrolment should be removed. To meet the quantity and diversity of inclusive education needs, it is essential to get support from NGOs and other existing private organisations.
Expanded partnerships, to promote innovative
programmes, need to be created. Public-private partnerships and a nationwide competition to explore new ideas for improving inclusive education could be developed. Some ideas that could be used for inclusive education teaching and training include: training and tools for inclusive education and for combating exclusion for teachers, a quota of teachers who come from excluded groups, revision of the academic calendar, textbooks that are sensitive to all stereotypes, and a flexible curricula and certification for certain categories of children. The inclusion of disabled children in local mainstream schools presents a number of obstacles and should therefore have its own awareness campaigns and specific tools. Disabled children could be given trial periods in a regular local school to assess whether they could be integrated in a regular classroom while awaiting additional support, if deemed necessary. A system of collecting disaggregated data should be set up to provide more accurate information on exclusion and its different forms. Advocacy efforts and interactions with staff responsible for statistics as well as updated survey forms and statistics from the MOE should be developed.

A platform for communication and information dissemination could be set up through a special website to create and diffuse resources, support new initiatives and share best practices. In this fight against school exclusion, it is essential that interventions are multiple, targeted and direct. As far as households are concerned, financial transfers and in-kind contributions, in addition to local humanitarian assistance, as well as support and specific training for families of disabled children, are all possibilities. Some of the actions that could be implemented in schools include: free comprehensive or targeted primary education, activities and support for students to identify excluded children, revision of the CPRS and the Partnership for School Development (FAF) programme on inclusion and quality, institutionalising affirmative action, standardisation of community schools, the creation of infrastructures that are sensitive to gender and disabilities, canteens, school health programmes and peer mentoring. Outreach programmes, support for community initiatives, identification of excluded children and the creation of networks and support systems for FRAM are other activities that should be set up by communities.



## I. INTRODUCTION

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## I.1. Background and issues:

In Madagascar in 2010, the net primary school enrolment rate was estimated to be about $73,4 \%$ (EPM, 2010), meaning that more than a quarter of the country's children are deprived of primary education. Even if the majority of children start primary school, the biggest challenge of the Malagasy educational system appears to be the survival rate; out of every 100 children who start primary school, about 45 reach the final grade of primary school (CM2) and only 33 go on to the first year of secondary school. This average drop out rate of $55.4 \%$ before the last year of primary school hides huge disparities between regions as well as between communes within the same region. Without considerable effort it will be impossible for Madagascar to achieve the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of Universal Primary Education (UPE), by 2015. To achieve this national goal of universal quality primary education, it is essential to target those children who are actually excluded by the education system and offer them appropriate solutions. UNICEF and its partners have therefore decided to place particular emphasis on equity and to provide the most vulnerable children with the opportunity to go to and complete primary school.

## I.2. Objectives of the study and expected results:

The objective of this study is to accurately capture the situation of those children who are not in primary school in Madagascar in order to come up with appropriate strategies to improve their inclusion. The issue of school exclusion is handled in a very broad manner in order to take into account all forms and categories of exclusion. This study contains elements of both research and fieldwork. With regards to the research aspect, it highlights the quantitative and qualitative knowledge of educational exclusion in primary schools in Madagascar. From this research on exclusion, the idea is to identify the most relevant
channels for improving the inclusion of all excluded children. At the operational level, it involves supporting local actors to improve the relevance and quality of their activities to improve the inclusion of children at the primary level. An overall census of tools and activities for inclusive education in Madagascar has been made to illustrate existing achievements in this field. Special attention is paid to the issue of disabled children, as very few studies exist on this subject. An additional objective of this study is the preparation of guidelines for an impact assessment of UNICEF interventions in terms of school inclusion ${ }^{1}$. The overall aim of this study is to support the Government of Madagascar and its technical and financial partners in making informed decisions regarding the design and implementation of strategies related to Education For All (EFA). The expected results of this study therefore are:

## 1. A comprehensive diagnosis of the situation of primary school exclusion in Madagascar; <br> 2. Propositions for realistic and general inclusive educational strategies to improve the inclusion of all children in primary school.

## I.3. Methodology:

All activities were organised by an international consultant and implemented in collaboration with a local team. Technical staff from the Ministry of Education, responsible for Inclusive Education, was involved right from the start of the study. The team in charge of the study also worked in close collaboration with the Education Officer and two national consultants from UNICEF responsible for Inclusive Education. The study was designed and carried out by a local organisation that was responsible for the logistics of the field survey, data compilation and the analysis of qualitative data.
The work was carried out in several consecutive stages. The first stage consisted of conducting a

[^2]thorough analysis of national and international documents on issues related to primary school exclusion and inclusion. Educational statistics and any available databases were used to identify issues in the context of Madagascar. National research already undertaken on these issues were documented and analysed. On this basis, a conceptual framework and a comprehensive literature review was carried out and the guidelines for the field survey were developed. A preliminary workshop was then conducted to involve and consult with key officials from the Ministry of Education (MOE), various international organisations, NGOs and other civil society actors working with issues of exclusion and inclusion at the primary school level.

The objective of this workshop was to validate the conceptual framework of the study, the guiding principles and the main survey tools. Based on preliminary research and recommendations made at this workshop, it was possible to develop the survey and tools, train the interviewers and conduct a pre-test survey. The survey began in the middle of June 2011 and was carried out over four weeks (see Annex A). A preliminary report was submitted in October 2011 during a workshop that brought together some 60 officials from the MOE as well as national and international organisations working in the field of inclusive education. On the basis of feedback gathered during this second workshop, it was possible to draw up the final version of the study report.

## I.4. National survey in primary schools in Madagascar

The methodology for this survey was designed in collaboration with officials from the MOE and organisations supporting primary school inclusion, at the preliminary workshop on the basis of earlier work. The methodology used combines quantitative and qualitative methods and addresses all forms of school exclusion. According to the conceptual framework selected, the survey targets all those directly or indirectly involved in school exclusion. Given their specific problems and low numbers, children with disabilities were interviewed separately ${ }^{2}$.

## I.4.1. Reasons behind the selection of survey sites

For this study, a number of public primary schools, spread throughout Madagascar, were selected to characterise the national development context of public primary schools. Due to cost and logistical reasons, stratified random sampling was used; 15 communes were drawn at random and six primary schools (public or community) from these communes were randomly selected to take part in the survey. In order to be representative of the whole country, communes were divided according to two criteria: the six provinces and urban or rural communes ${ }^{3}$. With the strata thus formed, ten communes were randomly chosen. In addition to these ten communes, five other communes in areas where UNICEF is working on inclusive education were surveyed (see Annex A.1 and A.2). The MOE's database of public schools 2010-2011, was used as a reference for the selection of communes and weightings for the study.

## I.4.2 Survey population and methodology

Public schools selected to take part in the survey were interviewed in the following manner: a first questionnaire was given to the school principal during the course of an individual interview, a second was given to the president of the parent association (FRAM), a third questionnaire was given to the school's village or area (Fokontany) leader and a fourth was given to two, grade five teachers at the school. One grade five class (CM1) was selected in each school and four students were randomly chosen from this class. At the Fokontany level, four children who had dropped out of primary school 6 to 24 months ago, as well as two children who had never been to school and two disabled children, all between 10 and 15 years old, were randomly selected. Selected parents and students were then given specific questionnaires. Data from this study therefore takes into account those households with a child between 10 and 15 years in a Fokontany having at least one public primary school. The final quantitative study involved 87 primary schools throughout 15 communes. A total of 909 parents and children, 247 teachers and principals ( 84 male, 163 female), 87 FRAM presidents and 82 Fokontany leaders answered our questionnaire (see Annex A.3). In addition to these individual quantitative questionnaires, qualitative surveys were

[^3]conducted through focus group discussions (FGDs), which were carried out on the basis of interview guidelines that were designed for this study. The qualitative survey sites were chosen to cover the six provinces and urban and rural communes. A total of 16 focus group discussions were conducted under the following categories: children in school, children who have never been to school, children who have dropped out of school, parents of school children, parents of children who do not go to school, primary school staff (principals, teachers) and community members (Fokontany leaders, Fokontany staff, community leaders...).

The 16 focus discussion groups were made up of at least two members from each of the categories involved bringing together 6 to 12 individuals. They were split into two focus groups per commune (see Annex A.3). All tools produced and used for this survey were translated from French into Malagasy. ${ }^{4}$

## I.4.3 Representative household information

The survey was carried out in 87 primary schools, throughout 15 communes. At the household level, one or both of the parents were interviewed followed by the child on his/her own. The quantitative survey was designed to enable comparison of the different groups of children with regards to school, namely those currently enrolled in CM1, those who started school but later dropped out (for more than six months but less than two years) and those who have never been to school. In order to take into account their specific circumstances, children with disabilities were interviewed separately and split up in the same way; those currently in school, those who dropped out and those who have never enrolled. At the household level, 909 parents with their children were interviewed, 760 with children without disabilities and 149 with disabled children. The children without disabilities can be divided into the following three groups: 343 children currently enrolled in primary school, 294 dropouts and 143 children who have never enrolled. For the disabled children, they can be divided as follows: 71 currently enrolled, 22 dropouts and 56 never started. Out of the total number of households interviewed, 287 were from UNICEF's intervention areas. To ensure national representation, the household data was weighted by number of students per strata and number of students in secondary school per Fokontany. UNICEF intervention areas were not taken into account in the descriptive statistics so
as not to influence the results, ${ }^{5} 622$ households were therefore used to get an idea of the national averages. However, econometric methods of analysis means that data collected from all 909 households can be used. Quantitative data from this survey should be used with caution, as the data poorly reflect those children living far away from schools; representation is only really assured for the number of children enrolled in school. Due to a lack of reliable demographic data, it was not possible to estimate the national population by strata of children who have dropped out of school, children who have never enrolled in primary school or even numbers of disabled children. For these three categories, the same weighting as for enrolled children was used. Household data is only representative of those households having a child old enough to be in CM1 and living in a Fokontany with a primary school. For the qualitative survey, 10 focus group discussions were carried out at the household level. These groups were organised into five categories namely: children enrolled in school; children who have dropped out of school; children who have never been to school; parents of children who go to school and parents of children not in school. A total of 77 individuals participated in these focus group discussions.

## I.4.4 Representative school information

With regards to schools, the quantitative survey provides information gathered from 84 primary school principals and 163 teachers. Out of the total number of principals interviewed, 22 work in urban primary schools, 33 in rural areas and 29 in UNICEF's areas of intervention. Of these, 15 principals work in community primary schools. For the teachers, 43 come from urban areas, 66 from rural areas and 54 are from those areas selected by UNICEF for inclusive education programmes. Out of all the teachers, 57 are civil servants and 106 are community teachers. To ensure data is representative, information collected from the principals is weighted by the number of primary schools (total, urban, rural, community or not) in each stratum, while information collected from teachers is weighted according to the number of teachers (total, urban, rural, civil servants and $\mathrm{FRAM}^{6}$ ) in each stratum. To enable this data to be used in the national context, schools surveyed in UNICEF intervention areas were left out despite econometric analysis. Private schools were not included in the survey. Therefore this study is only representative of public institutions. For the qualitative survey, three focus discussion groups were conducted with principals and teachers. These groups brought together a total of 26 individuals.

[^4]
## I.4.5. Representative community information

For this study, communities were organised according to Fokontany. Originally a Fokontany was a village but today serves as a basic administrative subdivision in Madagascar. It comprises a village, an area or a neighbourhood. Eighty-two Fokontany leaders were interviewed as part of the quantitative survey: 22 from urban areas, 33 from rural areas and 27 in UNICEF intervention areas. To find out more about community involvement in schools, the presidents of the parents associations (FRAM) were also interviewed. Thus 87 FRAM presidents took part in the survey: 22 from urban areas, 36 from rural areas and 29 from UNICEF intervention areas. Out of the total FRAM presidents, 18 are from community schools. The data is weighted by the number of Fokontany in each stratum for the Fokontany leaders and number of primary schools for FRAM presidents. Data collected in UNICEF intervention areas were left out to enable the data to be used in the national context. This study is therefore only representative of those Fokontany that have a public primary school ${ }^{7}$ (or a community primary school). In terms of the qualitative survey, three focus group discussions were conducted involving 18 community representatives.

## I.4.6. Limitations of the study

Because of the conceptual framework chosen and the methodology of the field survey, a number of limitations must be taken into account for this study. Firstly, all the information collected relates to the individual opinions of the stakeholders and is taken from their interviews with a member of the survey team. For example, the notion of disability does not relate to any medical diagnosis but is based on the perceptions of local stakeholders. The survey does not provide any information on private primary schools or on households and communities in Fokontany that do not have a public primary school. Children living far away from schools are barely considered. Similarly, primary schools that do not have a full cycle are not taken into account unless grade six (CM2) is the only one missing. This study is therefore only representative of those households having a child old enough to be in grade five (CM1), living in a Fokontany with a public or community primary school, which have principals, teachers, FRAM presidents and a Fokontany leader. Given the relatively small number of observations collected during the quantitative survey along with weighting problems, the findings should obviously be used

with caution. The weighting of data for those children who have dropped out of school, those who have never been to primary school or children with disabilities is particularly questionable; however, it is not possible to do any better with the current data. The fact that our results are quite similar may provide some degree of confidence; however, data from the Enquête Auprès des Ménages 2010 (EPM, Household Survey) or statistics from the MOE are comparatively better. The qualitative data here did not purport to be representative but rather to enable a better understanding of the mechanisms of school exclusion. Hence there could be contradictions between the quantitative and qualitative results, the latter often representing the more extreme cases.

## I.5. Structure of the report

After the introduction, the context and analysis framework for primary school exclusion in Madagascar will be presented. Thereafter, educational strategies, consideration of inclusive education, and the status of education in Madagascar, followed by an overview of the situation based on the latest statistics from the MOE, will be presented. Existing literature on educational exclusion and a conceptual framework for the analysis of exclusion and inclusion in primary schools in Madagascar will follow. Section 3

[^5]provides an explanation of primary school exclusion according to the results of our study. The data collected is organised according to the quantitative and qualitative results from households, schools and communities. Section 4 takes a look at the other side of exclusion presenting the inclusive
attitudes observed among households, schools and communities. Section 5 looks at ways to promote inclusion, namely roles and responsibilities, existing tools and appropriate courses of action. Finally, section 6 puts forward a conclusion based on the main results and findings of this study.



## II. CONTEXT AND ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK OF PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR




## II.1. THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN MADAGASCAR

## II.1.1. The overall strategies established for education in Madagascar:

With $85 \%$ of its population living below a poverty line set at US $\$ 2$ per day (World Development Indicators, 2008), Madagascar is one of the poorest countries in the world and ranks 135 th out of 169 countries in the Human Development Index (Human Development Report, 2010). The latest demographic statistics (EPM, 2010) estimate the population of Madagascar at about 20 million people, of which $20 \%$ live in urban areas and $80 \%$ live in rural areas. Forty-nine per cent of the population is below 15 years old and the literacy rate for people over 15 years is set at 71.4\%.

In the early 2000 s , Madagascar decided to approach a new phase of its educational development with an Education For All plan (EFA, 2003). The strategies involved in this plan called for a change in curriculum, teaching materials, teaching methods as well as a change in the way of assessing student achievements. After a revision of the Education for All plan in 2007, the main focus was placed on the following objectives:

- universal primary education by 2015 ;
- improving the efficiency of basic education through lower dropout and repetition rates;
- reducing disparities between girls and boys, between social classes and between regions;
- improving access to post-primary education of a satisfactory quality, to prepare students for higher education or for integration into the workforce.

The political crisis of early 2009 however, interrupted efforts to implement these strategies. Pending resolution of this crisis, foreign aid was frozen and only a few aid agencies continue to provide some humanitarian assistance.

## II.1.2. Inclusive education in Madagascar:

## A. Definition and rationale for inclusive education

The concept of 'inclusive education' has varied considerably over time; it was originally used to refer to the education of children with 'special needs' in mainstream schools. Following the World Education Forum in Dakar (2000), it was reiterated that Education For All must take into account the needs of all children. The concept of inclusive education has been widened to promote access to and retention in formal education systems for all children with special needs, whether these are health related, socioeconomical, geographical, cultural or related to learning difficulties (UNESCO, 2010). Inclusion is therefore seen as a process of recognising the diverse educational needs of all children in local schools. The idea is that the mainstream education system must not exclude any child. The notion of providing quality education is thus strongly highlighted since the main aim is to promote the strengths and potential academic, social, emotional and physical characteristics of each child. Inclusive education seeks to ultimately respond, in a positive manner, to the different needs of students and considers diversity as an opportunity to enrich learning. A number of rationales underlie this approach for inclusive education. Socially, educating all children together is one way to change attitudes and foster a society without discrimination. The economic rationale emphasizes that it is less costly to create and maintain schools that educate all children together rather than developing a complex system of special schools for different groups of children. From an educational standpoint, this need to educate all children together
involves developing teaching methods that respond to individual differences. An inclusive education system can only exist if mainstream schools adopt a more inclusive approach, that is to say, they succeed in educating all children in their communities. The overall goal of inclusive education is ultimately to strengthen the education system's ability to reach all learners and is therefore a key strategy for achieving EFA.

## B. Inclusive education policy in Madagascar

The general policy for inclusive education was set out in a decree dated 4 September 2009, by the Ministry of Education (MOE). The basic principle adopted is that inclusive education "involves promoting access to formal education for all children with special needs, whether these are health related (physical, sensory, developmental), socio-economical, geographical, cultural or related to learning difficulties." All children under 16 years are affected by this decree which aims to put "all children, who are outside the formal education system, in local public or private primary school classrooms and keep them in school" as well as "enhancing the personal development of children through shared learning to develop their full potential." Due to the inter-sectoral nature of inclusive education, the MOE facilitates and coordinates the actions of local, national and international stakeholders working in this sector. The decree also sets out standards for quality educational services for students as well as the roles of parents, NGOs, specialized institutions and training structures. The responsibility for inclusive education within the MOE has been assigned to the "Pedagogy and School Life Service" which falls under the "General Direction of Basic Education and Literacy." This Service is in charge of setting out the general policies of inclusive education, standardizing sites and tools, as well as the development of modules of inclusive pedagogy. In terms of sector coordination, a group was created to facilitate information exchange and a number of meetings have been initiated by ProVert, UNICEF, and the MOE. Due to the pending resolution of the 2009 crisis, very few resources have been put in place at the MOE to implement strategies for inclusive education.


## II.2. THE STATUS OF EDUCATION IN MADAGASCAR

## II.2.1. The overall status of primary education:

In the early 2000s, the primary education sector in Madagascar made great strides in terms of access to all levels of education. The various measures introduced since the EFA plan in 2003, such as the elimination of school fees for primary school and the distribution of textbooks and school kits, saw enrolment increase considerably. The number of students in primary school in Madagascar almost doubled from 2.2 million students in 1999-2000 to 4.3 million in 2008-2009. The 2009 political crisis has caused some serious repercussions; 2009-2010 saw a major slowdown in the growth of primary school enrolment for the first time in decades, the number of students enrolled in primary school in 2010-2011 was also down compared to the previous year.

Graph 1: Number of children enrolled in primary school, 1999-2009


School statistics show repetition rates, which went down by one third since 2004, were still at almost $19 \%$ in 2010-2011. At $49.4 \%$ of enrolments, the number of girls in primary schools is just slightly lower than that of boys. Private education is a key contender in the Malagasy context; it accounts for about $18 \%$ of primary school enrolment and is often concentrated in urban areas. Community schools, ${ }^{8}$ that is to say those almost entirely supported by student's parents, represent about $19 \%$ of the total public primary schools. ${ }^{9}$ Schools with incomplete primary cycles still account for $29.3 \%$ of primary schools and those with multi-grade classes represent
$68.5 \%$ of all functional establishments (MOE, 2009). In 2010-2011, $34 \%$ of teachers were public servants and $46 \%$ were community teachers (FRAM), subsidized by the State. Community teachers, paid only by parental contributions, represent $20 \%$ of the total of 81,800 public primary school teachers. The most recent educational statistics show a ratio of 43 students per teacher, 47 students per classroom and 162 students per primary school. Regarding the quality of primary students learning achievements, assessment results in Madagascar are relatively modest compared with similar countries (PASEC, 2009). Pre-school attendance is still low in Madagascar and is predominantly an urban phenomenon; 200,000 students, $82 \%$ of which are in private institutions.

## II.2.2. Primary school exclusion levels

The latest population census (EPM, 2010) shows a net enrolment rate (NER) of 73.4\% for children aged 6 to 10 years. Thus, over a quarter of primary school aged children are currently subject to exclusion. The situation has worsened considerably since 2005 when the net enrolment rate was set at $83.3 \%{ }^{10}$ (EPM, 2005). Net rates are higher in urban areas ( $78.9 \%$ ) compared to rural areas ( $70.8 \%$ ) and certain regions in the south and west of the country have very low rates. Levels of exclusion are highest in the regions of Atsimo Atsinanana, Melaky, Atsimo Andrefana, Androy and Anosy, where the NER is less than $55 \%$. Net rates are slightly higher for girls, but the gap between the girls and the boys decreases as the grade level increases. Similarly, the overall dropout rate during the primary cycle hardly varies between boys and girls, but is considerably higher in public schools (44\%) compared to private schools (38\%).

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of excluded children due to a lack of demographic data per age group. In fact, the last population census dates back to 1993; population data may not have been estimated accurately over the years. However, it is possible to find out the actual age of school children, as this data is collected annually from schools by the MOE. At least two other methods exist to estimate the number of excluded children.

[^6]Figure 1 : Net primary enrolement rate by region


The method adopted by the MOE involves the comparison of enrolment figures for $6-10$ year olds with the estimated population figures for $6-10$ year olds from demographic data. This method gives an NER of $88.8 \%$ and a total of 392,096 excluded children. ${ }^{11}$ This figure is far from the estimated NER of 73.4\% found in the EPM (2010). The second method uses the estimated NER from the EPM and compares this with the number of $6-10$ year olds currently enrolled to give the number of children excluded from primary school. This second method estimates the number of children excluded from primary school, aged between 6-10 years, to be approximately 1.13 million. This figure increases substantially if the age group is widened. ${ }^{12}$ According to information and feedback from the field survey undertaken for this study, the second estimate is closer to reality. ${ }^{13}$

- Table 1 : Estimated number of children excluded from primary education in Madagascar

| Source | Net Enrolment Rate | Number of children enrolled in school (6 -10 yrs ) | Estimated total number of children (610 yrs ) | Estimated number of children excluded from school (6-10 yrs) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { MOE } \\ & (2010-2011) \end{aligned}$ | 88,82\% | 3116826 | 3508922 | 392096 |
| Calculations based on EPM (2010) | 73,40\% | 3116826 | 4246357 | 1129531 |

## II.2.3. The evolution of primary school dropouts

Dropout rates from primary school are of particular importance in Madagascar. By looking at the figures of two consecutive school years, it is possible to calculate the number of children who have dropped out of the system. These children who drop out therefore do not repeat the year and do not move up into the next grade. Between 2009-2010 and 2010-2011, more than 700,000 children dropped out of the system between CP1 and CM1. If CM2 and entry into secondary school are included, this figure increases to 840,000 . Figures since 2002 show a sharp increase in dropouts after 2003 and the 2009 crisis, the number of dropouts has also increased significantly and has reached record levels even though numbers are decreasing. The percentage of children dropping out of school between two consecutive years rose from $7.9 \%$ in 2002 to $16.7 \%$ in 2010.

Graph 2: Number of dropouts between CP1 and CM1, 2002-2010


[^7]The survival rate to the final grade of primary school can also be used to measure primary school dropout rates. It is just a question of estimating the proportion of children reaching the last grade of primary school. ${ }^{14}$ Survival rates, between entry in first grade (CP1) and entry in the final year (CM2) significantly deteriorated after 2003, and since the 2009 crisis. In 2010, the primary survival rate was only $44.5 \%$ causing an overall primary school dropout rate of nearly $55.5 \%$. Moreover, these figures are underestimated since they do not take into consideration any dropouts in the final year of primary school. In the context of Madagascar, it is also worth noting that educational achievements vary considerably according to the region. The most rural regions appear to be the most disadvantaged. The overall primary dropout rate ${ }^{15}$ varies between 24 and $66 \%$ per region (see Annex B.2).

Graph 3: Survival rate to the final grade of primary school, pseudo-longitudinal method, 2002-2010


Looking more closely at survival rates over the course of the primary cycle, several facts may be noted. The first year of primary school ( CPl ) is particularly costly in terms of student numbers; out of 100 children enrolled, 25 will not reach the second year (CP2). Subsequently, 9.9 children drop out between CP2 and the third and forth grades (CE), 9.6 drop out between CE and CM1, and 11 drop out between CM1 and CM2. Out of 100 children enrolled in the first year of primary school, only 44.5 will arrive at the final year and only 33.5 manage to go on to secondary school. Thus two thirds of children who start primary school drop out before reaching secondary school, the first year being the most costly in terms of student dropouts.

Graph 4: Percentage of children starting school and grades reached, pseudo-longitudinal method, 2010


In short, if the system remains the same in the future as in 2010, more than one in two children, currently enrolled in school, will not complete the primary cycle. Despite significant improvement in primary school enrolment, the Malagasy educational system still faces challenges of retention and quality. The strongly induced effects of the 2009 crisis on primary education further compound these challenges. The restoration of school fees in a large number of public primary schools, combined with fewer distributions of textbooks and school kits, probably played a role in reduced numbers of enrolment and higher dropout rates.

## II.2.4. The characteristics of school districts with the highest primary school dropout rates

It is useful to examine in detail the characteristics of those regions that have the highest primary school dropout rates. To do this, the school statistics for each school district (CISCO) in Madagascar are used (see Annex B. 6 and B.7) and are aligned with the statistics of the Madagascar Commune Census. ${ }^{16}$ Through the simple correlation between the dropout rate over the course of the primary cycle (between CPl and CM 2 ) and a number of variables available from the CISCO, the characteristics of those areas with particularly high dropout rates can be analysed.

[^8]- Table 2: Simple correlations between the dropout rate, percentage of repeaters and percentage of girls, and selected variables from school districts, 2008-2009

|  | Dropout rate | \% repeaters | \% girls |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Remoteness index from infrastructures and services | 0.4927 *** | 0.3348 *** | -0,1017 |
| Road blocks | $0.3695 * * *$ | 0.2482 *** | -0.2152 ** |
| Level of insecurity | 0.2164** | 0,0647 | -0,1461 |
| \% Farming population | $0.2528 * * *$ | $0.3241^{* * *}$ | -0.2956 *** |
| Duration of lean period | 0.1578* | -0,0125 | -0,0981 |
| Population | -0.2236 ** | -0.2287** | -0,0151 |
| \% Students in private institutions | -0.5240 *** | -0.3912 *** | 0,0629 |
| Students per institution | $-0.5600^{* * *}$ | -0.1616 * | -0,0265 |
| Students per class | 0.4921*** | 0,0849 | 0.3668 *** |
| Students per teacher | $0.4437 * * *$ | 0.1681 * | 0.2051 ** |
| \% FRAM teachers | $0.3977 * * *$ | $0.2034^{* *}$ | 0,0013 |
| \% Repeaters | -0,0114 |  | -0,1381 |
| \% Girls | 0,0848 | -0,1381 |  |

Notes: * significant correlation at 10\%; ** significant correlation at 5\%; *** significant correlation at $1 \%$.

The simple correlation analysis of dropout rates related to school district shows that the most isolated school districts, those undertaking the most agricultural work and the most sparsely populated, have the highest primary school dropout rates. On an educational level, it appears that CISCOs with a lower percentage of students in private institutions, a smaller number of students per school, but a large number of students per class have higher dropout rates. Similarly, CISCOs with a large number of students per teacher and a high proportion of

FRAM teachers, exclude a higher proportion of children. There are no correlations between dropout rates and percentage of repeaters, but many variables that influence dropouts also influence repetition. Likewise, the CISCOs with the highest dropout rates are not those with the lowest percentage of girls; however, some variables influence both.Ultimately, it appears that it is in rural areas and in areas with poor quality education that dropout rates are the greatest.

## II.3. LITERATURE ON SCHOOL EXCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR

Given the importance of the issue of school exclusion in Madagascar, a number of studies have been carried out to investigate the causes of problems related to access to and retention in primary school. In urban areas, including the disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Antananarivo, observations (Coury, 1996, Andrianjaka and Droy, 2003) put forward, for the most part, that households lack financial resources and that costs associated with schooling (tuition fees, supplies, clothing) are too high relative to disposable income. A large number of children from these areas have small jobs to do, which leads to irregular school attendance and sometimes results in the child dropping out completely, the informal sector being the largest employer of children who have dropped
out of school. Academic failure, exceeding age criteria due to late enrolment or too many repetitions and difficulty in providing certain administrative documents appear to be other important reasons for school exclusion. In these urban areas, however, households very much associate the importance of school with escaping from poverty. Through econometric estimations, Andrianjaka and Droy (2003) show that socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, as well as the student's age, have a significant impact on the risk of non-enrolment birth order and gender having no effect. Household size has an influence only above a relatively high threshold, while the existence of a child under 5 years old penalizes the school attendance of other children
in the household (Coury, 1996). A mother with a good education or the head of a household working in the public sector are factors that would improve primary school retention (Ramilison, 1998).

In rural areas, a sense that going to school is futile is sometimes observed and some households do not see the point in further studies beyond the acquisition of basic skills (reading and writing). A repeated criticism is that schooling does not prepare students to become farmers (Ramilison, 2000). In rural areas, the problem is usually a trade-off between the costs and benefits of going to school. In a quantitative study on the demand for primary education with a large sample of rural households, Glick and Sahn (2005) highlight the significant impact of tuition fees, infrastructure quality, multigrade classes, the distance between the home and school, household income and parental education. In southern Madagascar, observations (MOE, 1995) emphasize the importance of the household's accommodation (chair, table, light), parental opinion and children's views on education, the household food situation, ancestral religious practices, the remoteness of schools, ethnic or political conflicts or even natural disasters. Linguistic difficulties appear to be a dropout factor for less educated households (Randriamasitiana, 2010). In rural areas, the academic calendar and the lean season between harvests are sometimes blamed (RESEN, 2008) as are those schools that do not have complete primary cycles; these are numerous in remote areas. Temporary shocks to income due to severe weather conditions also have a significant impact on the probability of children leaving school early (Gubert and Robillard, 2006).

Child labour is put forward as both a cause and an effect of school dropouts (ILO, 2007; PACT, 2009). The integration of children in the labour market is indeed far from insignificant particularly in rural areas where nearly one child out of ten aged 5 to 10 years and almost $30 \%$ of children aged $10-14$ years are economically active (EPM, 2010). Results from a national survey on child labour (ILO, 2007) also indicate that the involvement of children in economic activities is very serious, that a number of these activities proved dangerous to a child's health, that rural areas are more concerned by this than urban areas, that it increases with age of the child and interferes significantly with a child's education. Results show that the majority of economically active children are forced to perform harmful tasks. Economically active children go to school only half as often as children who do not work. The vast majority of children carry out domestic chores, which appears to significantly increase the likelihood of dropout (MOE, 1996). Dropping out of school
is five times more common in children subject to harmful work (child labour) compared with those who are not. Children often give the need to work as the reason for stopping their studies (PACT, 2009). The phenomenon of child sexual exploitation is also linked to school dropouts (ILO, 2007).

On the specific issue of gender disparity (UNICEF, 2011), national statistics show that there are, on average, as many girls as boys in primary education; however, their situation becomes problematic from the secondary level onwards. Nonetheless, national averages hide real disparities between boys and girls in certain provinces including Fianarantso, Antsirana and Mahajanga. Certain aspects of mainstream education, such as the distance between the home and school, educational costs, the qualification of teachers and their type of contract, the quality of infrastructure and equipment, teacher-student relations or even peer relationships, appear to weigh more on girls than on boys. Gender stereotypes are still present in the school environment where they appear in illustrations and exercises in textbooks and in the expectations and subjective behaviour of teachers. Gender stereotypes are still widely conveyed in schools, girls often expressing more diminished self-esteem than boys. School violence appears to be a major phenomenon and even though it affects both boys and girls, the latter are much more affected by it and it is usually a factor that causes them to drop out of school. As in school, perceptions and behaviour within households are also significantly influenced by gender differences. Even if boys are perceived as more disruptive, they are considered to be more intelligent and having a better chance of academic and professional success. When faced with the costs of schooling, households say they are more willing to bear such costs for a boy than a girl (UNICEF, 2011).

Health problems, particularly those related to disabilities are also frequently to blame (Handicap International, 2010). A considerable number of parents refuse to enrol their children because of motor, sensory, developmental or intellectual impairments. Justifications reveal that they are ashamed of their child's disability and there is a perceived loss of time and money for the education of a disabled child (Focus, 2011). Some principals refuse children in their schools because of their disabilities; moreover, such discrimination appears to have increased in recent years (Handicap International, 2010). For those children with disabilities, the reasons for dropping out of school, in order, are as follows: lack of funds, the distance to school and a lack of educational supplies. Disability-related complexes are not widely emphasized by disabled children. Within schools, assertions of exclusion and
harassment frequently occur from other students and to a lesser degree from school staff. Cases of students being refused registration for examinations due to disabilities have also been reported. Even in Antananarivo, the educational integration of disabled children is extremely poor, and girls and children with sensory disabilities are particularly discriminated against (Rafitoson, 2009). The educational issues of these children ultimately appear to be economic, social and medical.

When the question is directly asked of children who have dropped out of primary school (Glick et al., 2005), reasons for dropping out mainly concern the need to help their parents, poor academic performance and the inability to pay school fees. Children who have dropped out of school usually express regret and say it was not because they did
not wish to stay in school (UNICEF, 2011). The periodical household surveys (EPM, 2005 and 2010) offer some clues to understanding the reasons for the non-attendance of some children. Answers frequently given blame the school environment, in particular the distance to school, the lack of teachers and the cost of education. The need to involve children in economic activities and household chores is also widely cited. The home-school journey, urban or rural area, and schools without full cycles, all significantly influence primary school retention rates (RESEN, 2008).As highlighted in this literature review, a large number of interrelated factors to explain school exclusion exist. While many of the elements of these existing observations overlap, few studies provide a complete picture or have put the various factors of school exclusion into perspective.

## II.4. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR

To better understand the complexity of primary school exclusion in Madagascar, it is necessary to construct an all-inclusive, systematic conceptual framework. This involves incorporating all key stakeholders, their affiliations and the strategies they are implementing. For this study, the analysis is structured according to three perspectives namely household, school and community. These three perspectives and their relationships are combined in one environment leading to either school exclusion or inclusion. The household perspective assumes that household members are the main decisionmakers when it comes to matters of education within the household. Depending on the household's internal objectives and constraints, there are a number of choices, trade-offs and strategies that can be implemented for the education of the children. This involves understanding the internal logic of the household by identifying with the perceptions and behaviour associated with educating a child. Key actors in the household unit are primarily the parents, or equivalent, and the children. The school perspective considers the school as a key area for issues of access, retention, quality and educational equity. As a complex collective unit, with specific standards and values, school is a key
driver for these issues, notably through its facilities and the pedagogy used. Depending on the activities implemented, available resources, its own constraints or the attitudes and behaviour of its staff, the school may have considerable influence on enrolment and retention rates. The school unit primarily consists of the school principal, teachers and students. The community perspective brings together the local community as an essential platform to support the educational efforts of the schools and households. The community then becomes an area for cooperation and resource mobilisation for education. It is essential to grasp the attitudes and activities carried out within a community in order to understand school exclusion. The community includes all individuals in the same geographic area; influential stakeholders on these issues include the parents association and community representatives. These three perspectives interact within an environment consisting primarily of the State, NGOs and international organisations working in the field of education. It is within this environment that some of the human, material and financial resources may be found to act as educational strategies for households, schools and the community.

Figure 2: Key stakeholders and their relationships in the process of primary school inclusion and exclusion


Households, schools and the community interact among themselves within their environment and combine to create a process of school exclusion and inclusion. School inclusion and exclusion are therefore considered to be fluctuating, and progressive processes. Exclusion is therefore not a fixed state, but takes place in phases and times that need to be identified. Whether it is a shift from exclusion to inclusion or vice versa, the steps in this process need to be analyzed together with the weight of decisions and actions of each stakeholder. The combination of these three perspectives (household, school, community) and their relationship leads to three specific situations: a child who has never been to school, a child who went to school but later dropped out and a child who is still in school. The idea is to better understand the cause of these three situations and identify the most vulnerable populations. The strategic actors comprising the household, school and community units are, for the most part, children (currently
enrolled, dropouts or those who have never been to school), parents, teachers, principals, parents associations and community representatives. The environment consists predominantly of the State, NGOs and international organisations working in the field of education.For each stakeholder, multiple dimensions come into play, specific characteristics, standards, representations and perceptions, relationships with other actors as well as the motives and strategies concerning the exclusion and inclusion phenomena. For each stakeholder, multiple dimensions come into play: specific characteristics, standards, representations and perceptions, relationships with other actors as well as motives and strategies concerning the exclusion and inclusion phenomena. The idea is to integrate raw data taken directly from the stakeholders, to understand what it is that they can not see, i.e. the whole triangulation of relations among stakeholders, but also the norms and representations that drive their perceptions and therefore their actions.


## III. PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION

## III. PRIMARY <br> SCHOOL EXCLUSION

## III.1. HOUSEHOLD PERCEPTIONS OF EXCLUSION

Various categories of households and children were interviewed about school as part of this study, including those currently enrolled in primary school (CM1), those who started primary school and later dropped out, (from 6 months to two years) and those who have never been to school (aged between 10 15 years). In order to take into account their special circumstances, children with disabilities were studied separately and divided up in the same manner. Unless noted otherwise, the data presented refers to the parents' answers. Quantitative data are presented first, followed by the qualitative results of the focus group discussions.

## III.1.1. Household characteristics

## A. The child:

The same numbers of girls as boys were interviewed for the quantitative survey and the average age was ultimately set at around 12 years. On average, children enrolled in school tend to be the youngest of the siblings and have fewer health problems than those children who are not in school. Children with disabilities who have never been to school have had fewer medical visits than children with disabilities who have been to school.

- Table 3: Characteristics of the children

| Children | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out <br> of school | Never <br> enrolled in <br> school | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out <br> of school | Never <br> enrolled in <br> school |
| Girls (\%) | 48,8 | 44,5 | 47,6 | 48,3 | 51,6 | 38,2 |
| Age | 11,6 | 12,5 | 10,9 | 11,3 | 12 | 11,7 |
| Birth order among siblings | 3,1 | 3 | 2,3 | 2,5 | 3,1 | 2,8 |
| Number of health concerns during the year | 1 | 1,4 | 1,3 | 1,8 | 1,5 | 1,4 |
| Consultations with doctors (\%) | 27,5 | 30,4 | 33,8 | 49,6 | 73,4 | 25,7 |

Note: The number of health concerns and visits to the doctor are since the beginning of the year (January 2011), the survey took place from mid June to mid July

Disabled children who go to school are, for the most part, those who are hard of hearing or who have a motor disability with their arms or legs. Visually impaired children or those with mild developmental disabilities however, represent many of those children who have dropped out of school, while children who never enrolled in school are, on average, those who have more serious disabilities. Many of the children who have never been to school have severe motor
disabilities - often both arms or legs - are blind or deaf or are severely intellectually impaired. The estimated level of the child's disability in everyday life according to their parents is significantly higher in children who have never been to school compared with other disabled children. Disabilities are more likely to originate from early childhood illnesses or trauma in those children who were previously or who are currently enrolled in primary school.

| Children with disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| Motor disability | One leg (\%) | 15,5 | 10,5 | 11,3 |
|  | Both legs (\%) | 9,1 | 0,6 | 26,4 |
|  | One arm/hand (\%) | 5,8 | 4,3 | 4,8 |
|  | Both arms/hands (\%) | 4,5 | 0 | 14 |
| Visual impairment | Visually impaired (\%) | 6,9 | 23,6 | 15,9 |
|  | Blind (\%) | 0 | 0 | 16,6 |
| Hearing impairment | Partially deaf (\%) | 41,1 | 25,7 | 16 |
|  | Deaf (\%) | 4 | 0,9 | 13,9 |
| Developmental disability | Mild (\%) | 13,1 | 3,4 | 18,8 |
|  | Severe (\%) | 0,6 | 1,6 | 9,7 |
| Physical disability | Mild (\%) | 0,9 | 20,5 | 0 |
|  | Severe (\%) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Origin of the disability | Born disabled (\%) | 26,1 | 27,1 | 50,4 |
|  | Early childhood illness (\%) | 21,6 | 39,7 | 13 |
|  | Trauma (\%) | 12,3 | 17 | 6,8 |
|  | Harmful environment (\%) | 0 | 0 | 10,6 |
|  | Witchcraft (\%) | 1,8 | 9,1 | 11,4 |
| Person who initially detected the disability | Doctor/nurse (\%) | 17,3 | 24,6 | 13,5 |
|  | Teacher (\%) | 8,7 | 0 | 0 |
|  | Healer (\%) | 3,4 | 9,1 | 15,3 |
|  | Parents/Guardian (\%) | 70,2 | 66,3 | 71,2 |
| Estimated level of child's disability in everyday life |  | 2,1 | 1,8 | 2,7 |
| Special care required for disability |  | 28,5 | 44 | 30 |
| Special equipment required for disability |  | 2,1 | 1,8 | 1,3 |

Note: Estimated level of child's disability in everyday life: $1=$ low, $2=$ average, $3=$ high.

Disability at birth is more common in those children who have never enrolled in primary school. Out of those children who have never been to school, nearly one-tenth of the parents interviewed blame the child's disability on witchcraft. It is the parents who usually diagnose a child's disability; it is rarely diagnosed by a physician. For a small percentage of the disabled children who go to school, it was the teacher who detected the disability. Children who have never been to school are more likely to have had their disability detected by a healer. Special care for
disabled children is infrequent and in a quarter of cases it involves traditional care. Hardly any children have special equipment to help them overcome their disabilities.

## B. The family

Children who go to school usually come from families that have both parents. Both parents tend to have jobs and they have more revenue than families of children who do not go to school. There is not
much difference in parental age and the number of dependent children between the different categories of households. Children who have dropped out of school usually have one parent who is absent and an inadequate diet. Of those children who do not go to school, the majority only have one parent who, more often than not, is the mother. However, these children usually live with their families throughout the whole year. Similarly, children who go to
school, despite their disabilities, tend to come from wealthier families who do not work in agriculture. Children who go to school have better housing, notably without a dirt floor and with better access to health and media services. Those children who are not in school have moved more often than others; the reasons most given for moving are to look for work or fertile land.

- Table 5: Characteristics of the household and housing arrangements

| Household and housing | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| Head of household is a guardian (\%) | 15,1 | 12,2 | 14,1 | 24,4 | 21,5 | 17,1 |
| Head of household is the mother (\%) | 7,5 | 12,6 | 20,8 | 13,4 | 19,9 | 14 |
| Head of household is the father (\%) | 77,4 | 75,2 | 65,1 | 62,3 | 58,6 | 68,9 |
| At least one parent deceased (\%) | 7,9 | 13,2 | 28,1 | 17,9 | 20,7 | 8,8 |
| At least one parent absent (\%) | 9,1 | 14,9 | 6 | 9,8 | 0,2 | 13,9 |
| Living with parents all year (\%) | 89,6 | 88,4 | 95,3 | 87,3 | 100 | 91,1 |
| Average age of parents | 40,5 | 41,6 | 37 | 38,6 | 42,5 | 39,9 |
| Number of dependent children | 4,7 | 4,7 | 3,8 | 4,1 | 5,8 | 4,2 |
| Dependent children aged 6-12 years | 2,4 | 2,2 | 2,2 | 2,2 | 2,7 | 1,8 |
| Working in agriculture, farming or fishing (\%) | 88,7 | 88,8 | 84,8 | 90,8 | 97,8 | 94,4 |
| Parents both employed (\%) | 8,3 | 3,2 | 4,6 | 3,5 | 0 | 9,8 |
| Monthly salary (Ariary) | 70 052,60 | 43 567,40 | 55 435,40 | 60 201,30 | 43 000,10 | 42914,10 |
| Meals per day | 2,9 | 2,8 | 2,8 | 3 | 2,7 | 2,7 |
| Meals per day during the lean season | 2,6 | 2,5 | 2,3 | 2,6 | 2,5 | 2,3 |
| Diet considered inadequate (\%) | 29,9 | 33,5 | 30,5 | 25,8 | 39,1 | 22,1 |
| Moved to a new district over the course of the last two years (\%) | 2,4 | 3,4 | 7,7 | 13 | 0 | 2,8 |
| Housing with a dirt floor | 40,6 | 44,7 | 45,5 | 32,2 | 40,2 | 44,7 |
| Housing near source of potable water (\%) | 62,4 | 62,6 | 62,6 | 64,5 | 38,2 | 58 |
| Housing near sanitation facilities (\%) | 62 | 52,5 | 46,7 | 66,3 | 37,2 | 52,3 |
| Housing near media services (\%) | 72,1 | 47,4 | 38,3 | 51,5 | 35,7 | 58,1 |

Note: The currency in Madagascar is the Ariary (MGA); the exchange rate is US \$1-2170 MGA (February 2012)

The average education level of the parents, the highest level of education achieved by other children in the household and the percentage of children in the household who went to school, are all significantly higher for those children that go to school. Children who have never been to school tend to come from households with less education. Similarly, positive educational experiences, the degree of importance given to education and the educational level deemed
necessary are higher in those households of children enrolled in school than in households where the children have never been to school. The education of disabled children is closely related to the level and perception of education in the household. The majority of parents ultimately put forward the fact that education is more important nowadays than in the past.
table 6: Educational achievements and perception of education in the household

| Education in the household | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| Education level achieved | 1 | 0,8 | 0,6 | 1,1 | 0,7 | 0,6 |
| Educational experience described as positive by the parents (\%) | 72,4 | 65,2 | 52,3 | 73,6 | 50,4 | 56,6 |
| Maximum level of education attained by other children | 1,3 | 1,1 | 0,7 | 1,2 | 1,1 | 0,8 |
| Child aged 6-12 years who never went to school (\%) | 15 | 58 | 75,1 | 10,6 | 60,4 | 63,4 |
| Degree of importance given to a child's education | 3,5 | 3,3 | 3 | 3,6 | 3,1 | 3,3 |
| Level of education deemed necessary | 2,7 | 2,6 | 2,4 | 2,6 | 2,6 | 2,2 |

Note: The level of education achieved: $1=$ primary, $2=$ secondary school, $3=$ college, $4=$ further studies. The degree of importance given to a child's education: $1=$ not important, $2=$ a little bit important, $3=$ important, $4=$ very important.

## C. Parent-child relationship:

The results of our quantitative survey show that children in school work less whether in the home or outside. Children who do not go to school are more subject to income generating activities and spend more time doing domestic chores per week. Income-generating activities are primarily related to crops, livestock or sales. The consequences of these activities on the child, as described by the parents,
are fatigue, lack of free time and ill health. The mother and father of the student usually pay the school fees, guardians rarely pay; a few scholarships were also reported. Children who have dropped out of school are more likely to put forward the fact that domestic chores and income generating activities prevent them from going to school.

- Table 7: Child labour

| Child labour | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in <br> school |  | Dropped <br> out of <br> school | Never <br> enrolled in <br> school | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped <br> out of <br> school | Never <br> enrolled in <br> school |
| Income generating activities carried out by the <br> child (\%) | 12,8 | 25,1 | 29,8 | 5,2 | 23,5 | 6,9 |  |
| Number of hours spent on remunerative work <br> per week | 17,8 | 21,1 | 27,6 | 6,8 | 30,9 | 11,7 |  |
| Unpaid domestic activities carried out by the <br> child (\%) | 82,4 | 80,4 | 78,6 | 84,9 | 96,4 | 50,1 |  |
| Number of hours spent on domestic chores per <br> week | 9,8 | 15,4 | 14,1 | 10 | 13,6 | 12,7 |  |
| Child states that income generating activities <br> prevent school attendance (\%) | 8,3 | 49,7 | 1 | 7,7 | 34 | 1 |  |
| Child states that domestic chores prevent <br> school attendance (\%) | 6,1 | 14,4 | 1 | 7,7 | 2,6 |  |  |

The survey shows that children who go to school interact more with their parents. Children who have dropped out of school were asked about their situation before they dropped out and this was compared with that of those who were still in school; it was found that the latter were praised more often
by their parents when they had good grades and were asked more often about and received helped with their homework. Children who drop out of school are more likely to perceive their parents' financial difficulties to pay school fees. $\nabla$

- Table 8: Parent-child relationship in the household

| Parent-child relationship in terms of education | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school |
| Number of discussions between the child and parents per week | 2,9 | 2,3 | 3,3 | 2,2 |
| Amount of help with homework received from parents per week | 1,8 | 1,1 | 2,4 | 0,9 |
| Child states he/she is praised by parents when receives good grades (\%) | 93,3 | 80,2 | 92,4 | 76,5 |
| Child states that his/her parents ask questions about their homework (\%) | 76,5 | 65,2 | 88,2 | 52,7 |
| Child perceives parents have difficulty paying school fees (\%) | 54,7 | 75,5 | 71 | 83,2 |

Note: Number of discussions between the child and parents and help received with homework: $1=$ never, $2=$ once per week, 3 = several times per week, $4=$ every day of the week

## III.1.2. Household relations with the school and community

A. The child at primary school

The age that a child starts primary school and the number of repetitions does not vary significantly between those children who have dropped out and those who are still in school. However, disabled children who have dropped out of school, started later than those children who are still in school. Children who have dropped out of school report that they were quite often absent, they did not like school very much, did not ask questions in class and did not have very good relations with peers, compared
to those children who are still in school. With regard to the teachers, even if the vast majority of children said they were nice, giving everyone the same level of attention and participation, half of the children stated that the teacher sometimes used physical violence. Children who dropped out of school were more likely to find that the teacher sometimes discriminated against certain students. According to these children, it was mainly boys and older students who were penalised the most by the teacher.

- Table 9: The child's status at school

| The child's status at school | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school |
| Age when started school | 6,1 | 6,1 | 6 | 7,8 |
| Number of repetitions | 1 | 0,9 | 1,3 | 1 |
| Number of days absent from school | 2,3 | 3,4 | 3,6 | 4,7 |
| Student's level is less than average (\%) | 5,3 | 22,8 | 31,1 | 24,4 |
| Number of years of studies expected of the child by the parents (from elementary dass - grade 3) | 10,3 | 1 | 8,5 | 1 |
| The child likes going to school | 99,9 | 93 | 92,5 | 87,7 |
| The child has good relationships with his/her peers (\%) | 98,9 | 95,1 | 88,6 | 82,7 |
| The child states that the teacher is nice (\%) | 98,3 | 95,2 | 94,5 | 98,9 |
| The child states that the teacher hits the students (\%) | 52 | 52,5 | 45,9 | 28,6 |
| The child states that the teacher gives some students preferential treatment (\%) | 14,7 | 15,4 | 14 | 17,8 |
| The child has difficulties with his/her studies (\%) | 23,62 | 1 | 44,99 | 1 |
| The child states that he/she does not feel comfortable siting next to a disabled child (\%) | 17,19 | 1 | 15,07 | 1 |
| The child thinks that disabilities are contagious (\%) | 10,6 | 1 | 12,5 | 1 |
| The child has already had a disabled child in his/her school (\%) | 19,4 | 1 | 40,1 | 1 |
| The child has good relationships with disabled children in the school (\%) | 79,7 | 1 | 93,3 | 1 |

Parents of children with disabilities reported that their children had more difficulties with their studies and they expected that the child would not go to school for as long as other students. Nearly $17 \%$ of students said that they would be uncomfortable with the idea of sitting next to a disabled child and $10 \%$ believed that disabilities are contagious. Less than a fifth of the students said, however, that they have had a disabled student in their school. Compared with those children still at school, children with disabilities, who have dropped out of school, are much less likely to have studied with other children with
disabilities. Parents of disabled children who are still in school generally consider the school to be suited to the child's disabilities more than those parents whose child has dropped out of school do. Parents of disabled children who never enrolled their child in school however perceive the school to be not well suited to the child's disability. Disabled children who are still in school said that they were treated well by other children; abuse might range from mockery to physical and emotional abuse. Disabled children who have never been to school appear to be abused the most by other children.

- Table 10: The status of the disabled child at school

| The disabled child at school | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| Parents feel that the school is well adjapted to the child's disability (\%) | 80,3 | 70,3 | 29,4 |
| The child states that he is treated well by the other children (\%) | 89 | 74,5 | 68,4 |
| The child states that other children make fun of him/her (\%) | 10,2 | 25,5 | 21,3 |
| The child states that other children physically abuse him/her (\%) | 3,2 | 0,7 | 4,8 |
| The child states that other children emotionally abuse him/her (\%) | 1,2 | 0,5 | 7,8 |

B. The household and primary school

At the primary level, the majority of children, whether disabled or not, are enrolled in the school nearest their home. Households that chose a school further away claim to have done so due to the cost of the school and the quality of the teachers.

Children who are still at school live slightly nearer to the school and spend more on school fees, books and supplies than those children who have dropped out of school. ${ }^{17}$ It also seems that the latter had more difficulties to enroll in the first year, and even more so, if the child is disabled.

- Table 11: Characteristics of the school in relation to the household

| Situation of the school | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out of <br> school | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out <br> of school |
| The primary school is the one nearest to the <br> house (\%) | 94,8 | 98,5 | 94,9 | 100 |
| Another child in the household is at the same <br> primary school (\%) | 62,7 | 52,4 | 65,3 | 34,1 |
| Difficult to enroll in the primary school (\%) | 16,5 | 20,1 | 13,7 | 34,4 |
| Distance away from the primary school (in <br> minutes) | 12,7 | 13,9 | 21,8 | 10,2 |
| Total school fees (MGA) | 8372,50 | 7101,30 | 8691,30 | 6428,60 |
| Additional expenses for books and school <br> supplies (MGA) | 10447,20 | 7989,30 | 7478,00 | 6368,80 |

[^9]The majority of parents stated that they have a good relationship with the school principal and teachers and felt that they were good at their jobs. Parents of those children who have dropped out of school were less likely to have had good relationships and reported less annual meetings, either with the principal or the teacher. Parents of disabled children who are still in school reported that they had a substantial number
of meetings with the principal and teachers, whereas those parents whose child has dropped out of school only met with them a couple of times before the child dropped out. Most parents are satisfied with the work of the school; there is very little difference here between the opinions of those parents with a child still in school and those with a child who has dropped out.
$\checkmark$

- Table 12: Relationship between the parents and the school

| Parent-school relationship | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out <br> of school | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out <br> of school |
| Level of satisfaction with the work of the school | 2,9 | 2,3 | 3,3 | 2,2 |
| Number of meetings with the principal per year | 1,8 | 1,1 | 2,4 | 0,9 |
| Good relationship with the principal (\%) | 93,3 | 80,2 | 92,4 | 76,5 |
| Number of meetings with the teacher per year | 76,5 | 65,2 | 88,2 | 52,7 |
| Good relationship with the teacher (\%) | 54,7 | 75,5 | 71 | 83,2 |

Note: Level of satisfaction with the work of the school: $1=$ not satisfied, $2=$ a bit satisfied, $3=$ satisfied, $4=$ very satisfied

## C. The household and the community

Almost $20 \%$ of the parents stated that they had not heard of the parents association (FRAM) and when it was known, only one in two households stated that they had a good relationship with it. Parents of children who have dropped out of school were less aware of the parents association and were significantly less likely to describe good relations with it. While the majority of parents find FRAM to be effective, many also find that it needs improvement. Most parents believe that
all children have equal access to primary school, however a minority of parents say that they would refuse access to certain categories of children. Children that some parents do not want their offspring to associate with include children with behavioural problems, students with mild or severe developmental disabilities, older students and those who do not receive parental support. A significant number of parents think that disabilities could be contagious and that some children bring bad luck.

- Table 13: Household - community relationship

| Parent - school relationship | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out of <br> school | Enrolled in <br> school | Dropped out of <br> school |
| Knowledge of the parents association (\%) | 80,9 | 72,2 | 81,5 | 73,3 |
| Good relationship with FRAM (if known \%) | 51,9 | 51,2 | 54,5 | 23,3 |
| Fellow students feel that the child does not fit in <br> well (\%) | 0,1 | 2 | 9,2 | 12,9 |
| Abusive behaviour from other students (\%) | 9,3 | 7 | 14,5 | 34,7 |
| Believe that all children have equal access to <br> primary school (\%) | 71,9 | 73,7 | 67 | 73 |
| Would refuse access to primary school for certain <br> categories of children (\%) | 7,8 | 10,1 | 21,1 | 0,6 |
| Consider that disabilities are contagious (\%) | 10,5 | 6,6 | 8,6 | 0 |
| Consider that some children bring bad luck (\%) | 17,5 | 18,7 | 21,2 | 24,2 |

## III.1.3. Household attitudes towards school exclusion

## A. Decisions for exclusion:

It is the father and the mother who make decisions concerning the child's education; the child has very little say in the matter. However, it seems that the decision to drop out of school is made initially by the child, followed by the mother and father. It is rare that the teacher and principal are mentioned as having decided to stop a child's education. The
majority of children drop out of school during or just after the lean season (January to April). In nearly $80 \%$ of these cases, the decision to drop out was made abruptly and the studies were stopped immediately afterwards. In cases where parents feel that the child dropped out gradually, warning signs such as absenteeism and lateness, difficulties in the classroom and behavioural problems were reported. Nearly two thirds of the parents of disabled children consider the child's disability as the reason behind their dropping out of school.

- Table 14: Educational strategy for children who have dropped out of school

| Educational strategy for those children who have dropped out of school |  | Student who has dropped out of school |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Without disabilities | With disabilities |
| Made the decision to stop the child's education (\%) | Father | 37,6 | 49,7 |
|  | Mother | 38,1 | 39,4 |
|  | Child | 50,3 | 42,8 |
| In which month was the child at school for the last time (\%) | January | 11 | 11 |
|  | February | 14,8 | 7,4 |
|  | March | 12,8 | 11,4 |
|  | April | 9,4 | 30,1 |
|  | May | 12,1 | 0 |
|  | June | 11,9 | 11,3 |
|  | July | 4,8 | 3,3 |
|  | August | 0,3 | 0 |
|  | September | 3,2 | 12 |
|  | October | 3,5 | 1,5 |
|  | November | 8,4 | 9 |
|  | December | 7,9 | 3 |
| Decision made abruptly (\%) |  | 78 | 78,5 |
| Consider the child's disability as the reason for dropping out of school (\%) |  | 1 | 67,9 |

Concerning those children who have never been to school, it appears that the parents usually know the primary school principal and teachers personally. Some parents state that they often tried to enrol the child but were unsuccessful; they also said that other children in the household were enrolled in the school. Most of the children who have never been to
school have friends in primary school, but feel that it is too expensive for their parents. Children with disabilities who have never been to school were less likely to view going to school as too expensive for their parents.

- Table 15: Education strategy for children who have never been to school

| Educational strategy for those children who have never been to school | Student who has never been to school |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | Without disabilities | With disabilities |
| Other children enrolled in the school (\%) | 23,4 | 53,7 |
| Tried to enroll the child (\%) | 41,6 | 37,3 |
| Quality index of the school | 3 | 2,9 |
| Know the primary school staff (\%) | 79,3 | 80,5 |
| Child states that he/she has friends at school (\%) | 70,6 | 59,4 |
| Child states that school is too expensive for the parents (\%) | 74,1 | 52,9 |

Information gathered by the survey shows that two thirds of households report having experienced a sudden reduction in income over the last three years. The reasons given include, for the most part: a lost harvest, illness or accident of an active member of the household, loss of sales, falling prices, job loss or the death of a family member. Some families who experienced this kind of shock state that they took their child out of school following this event. Families of children who have dropped out of school appear to
be more vulnerable to these kinds of income shocks and have often taken the child out of school after such events. A number of households state that they put the child back in school at a later date; families of children who have never been to school however, rarely did this. About one tenth of the households whose children have never been to school state that they are waiting until another child finishes studying before they put another one through school.

- Table 16: Educational strategies and the financial status of the household

|  |  | Children | without dis | abilities | Childre | with dis | ilities |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ucational strategy | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Enrolled in schoo | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| Has experienced | sudden drop in revenu (\%) | 66,6 | 71,9 | 71,8 | 61,7 | 64,3 | 45,5 |
| Has taken a child drop in revenue | out of school following a sudden | 4,5 | 50 | 24,2 | 12,3 | 22,9 | 9,3 |
| Has put the child | back in school at a later date (\%) | 74,8 | 6,9 | 10,1 | 18,5 | 0 | 5 |
| Is waiting for on enrolling anothe | child to finish their studies before one (\%) | 4,7 | 2,8 | 10,4 | 4 | 19,5 | 7,9 |
|  | Boys | 7,1 | 5 | 4,7 | 5,6 | 0,2 | 2 |
|  | Girls | 8,8 | 10,6 | 24,2 | 8,3 | 0 | 10 |
|  | Disabled children | 0,2 | 3,8 | 2,1 | 3,2 | 8,3 | 19,5 |
| The child taken | Older children | 6 | 9,8 | 15,6 | 14,8 | 3,1 | 10,3 |
| in case of a | Younger children | 2 | 2,1 | 5,4 | 14,8 | 3,1 | 10,3 |
|  | The eldest children | 26,2 | 33,4 | 37,9 | 37 | 44,8 | 9,9 |
|  | The youngest children | 7,5 | 7,4 | 3,7 | 4,1 | 1,6 | 0,2 |
|  | The children in the lowest grade | 2,9 | 2,8 | 2,8 | 3 | 2,7 | 2,7 |
|  | The children in the highest grade | 31,9 | 24,8 | 21,2 | 11,4 | 25,1 | 25,1 |

Parents were also questioned on which child they would take out of school if they were suddenly faced with a sudden drop in revenue. Those chosen on average were the girls, the eldest children or those over a certain age, and those in the highest grade. In answer to the same question, parents of disabled children who go to school rarely chose to take out the disabled child, in contrast to those who have a child who has never been to school or has dropped out.

## B. The immediate effects of exclusion:

The majority of parents with children who do not go to school do not feel comfortable with the situation. When a child has dropped out of school, a significant number of parents said they tried to
put the child back but were unsuccessful; parents of disabled children however were found to be less likely to have adopted this behaviour. Finally, most parents reported that it would be possible to put their child back in primary school if it was completely free. While all the children who are in school say they would like to carry on with their studies, three quarters of the children who have never been to school say they would like to go and two thirds of those who have dropped out of school say they would like to go back.When the children were finally asked how they felt about their everyday lives, children going to school were found to be the happiest and children who have never been to school were the most miserable; disabled children however, were the unhappiest.

- Table 17: Reactions to non-enrolment

|  | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in schoo |
| Uncomfortable with the fact that their child does not go to school (\%) |  | 54,3 | 58,1 |  | 53,6 | 76,3 |
| States it would be possible to put their child back in school if it was free (\%) |  | 88,3 |  |  | 84,1 |  |
| Tried to put child back in school after he/she dropped out (\%) |  | 71,3 |  |  | 54,2 |  |
| Child would like to stay in school / go back to school / start school (\%) | 99,9 | 68,8 | 75,2 | 91,8 | 76 | 89,2 |
| State of well-being as indicated by the child | 3,5 | 2,8 | 2,1 | 2,6 | 1,2 | 1,1 |

Note: State of well-being as indicated by the child: $1=$ very unhappy, $2=$ quite unhappy, $3=$ happy, $4=$ very happy

## C. Parental reasons for exclusion

As part of the quantitative survey, parents of children who have dropped out of school were also asked what they believed were the main reasons for this. Similarly, parents of children who have never been to school were asked about the main reasons for not enrolling their child in school. These were open-ended questions and the interviewer had to place the answers in one of 30 response categories that were drawn up during the pre-test phase. ${ }^{18}$ All this is, of course, relative to the parents' perception, and based on the degree of information provided. For those children who have dropped out of school, the main reasons given, in order, were: financial problems, the child's lack of will, the child chose to stop studying to help his parents, food problems, behavioural issues, performance, health, fatigue, the
need for the child to carry out income generating and domestic work and lack of encouragement from the family. After financial issues, families of children with disabilities who have dropped out of school put forward issues of the child's disability and health. For children who have never been to school, the parents first cite the family's financial problems, lack of encouragement from the family, non-registration of their civil status, problems of will, ability, behaviour and the child's health, food issues and the need for the child to undertake income generating and domestic activities, as well as distance, cost, quality and inadequacy of the school. Disability issues are mentioned first by families of disabled children who have never been to school.
${ }^{18}$ The category "other, to be specified" was also available-


- Table 18: Parents answers on the reasons for dropouts and non-enrolment

| - Main reasons for: <br> - dropping out of school <br> - never enrolling in school | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| RELATED TO THE CHILD |  |  |  |  |
| Child lacks intellectual capacity | 8,61 | 14,11 | 2,86 | 7,14 |
| Child lacks will and makes no effort to work | 17,28 | 19,19 | 10,21 | 9,87 |
| Child has health problems | 8,59 | 10,31 | 30,5 | 40,45 |
| Child is too tired | 4,32 | 3,49 | 0 | 5,55 |
| Child has behavioural issues | 9,11 | 9,19 | 17,71 | 13,24 |
| Child's disability is the issue | 1 | 1 | 45,29 | 68,58 |
| RELATED TO THE CHILD'S FAMILY |  |  |  |  |
| Child decides to stop studying to help his/her parents | 17,09 |  | 1,11 |  |
| Lack of encouragement from the family | 4,95 | 18,91 | 0 | 7,34 |
| Family's financial problems | 47,78 | 58,16 | 47,02 | 40,87 |
| Food related problems | 16,37 | 11,72 | 1,36 | 15,86 |
| Child is too busy with domestic chores | 2,32 | 10,22 | 0 | 1,27 |
| Child is too busy with income generating activities | 3,75 | 12,29 | 0 | 1,86 |
| Parents feel that the level reached is sufficient | 1,5 | 1,24 | 0 | 1,27 |
| Death of one of the parents | 4,01 |  | 0 |  |
| Not registered at the Fokontany |  | 9,44 |  | 7,04 |
| Civil status not registered |  | 15,06 |  | 14,21 |
| RELATED TO THE CLASS AND THE TEACHER |  |  |  |  |
| Uncomfortable in class due to peers | 1,38 | 1 | 14,33 | 1 |
| Too many students per class | 0 | 1,2 | 0 | 0 |
| Uncomfortable in class due to teacher | 0,49 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Teacher does not provide sufficient attention or explanations | 0,39 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Teacher is not competent | 0,03 | 2,16 | 0 | 1,27 |
| Relationship with the teacher is not good | 1,2 | 2,97 | 0 | 1,27 |
| RELATED TO THE SCHOOL |  |  |  |  |
| School is too far away | 0,89 | 9,01 | 0 | 8,26 |
| School is not adapted to the child's needs | 0,59 | 5,44 | 0 | 7,27 |
| School buildings are of poor quality | 0,13 | 5,33 | 0 | 5,93 |
| School is too expensive | 0,69 | 8,43 | 1,36 | 5,43 |
| FRAM refused the child due to non-payment of fees | 0,64 | 2,71 | 10,42 | 0,34 |

Note: Some other categories were available but have not been included here as they did not exceed $1 \%$.

Due to the large number of reasons given for school exclusion by parents, it is useful to group them into general categories. The results can be split into five main categories: household's financial difficulties, the child's health, perception and attitudes of the household towards education, characteristics of mainstream education and administrative issues. ${ }^{19}$ Each category includes those households that have mentioned at least one answer from that category. Most parents blame financial difficulties even though perceptions and attitudes towards education
in the household come up repeatedly. Problems linked to the child's health affect a significant number of children without disabilities and the majority of those with disabilities. Reasons linked to the characteristics of mainstream education are rarely put forward to explain dropouts, but crop up to explain why children are not enrolled in school. Administrative bottlenecks associated with civil status or Fokontany registration affect a significant number of children who have never been to school.

- Table 19: Aggregated answers from parents on the reasons for dropouts and non-enrolment

| - Main reasons for: <br> - dropping out of school <br> - never enrolling in school | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| Financial difficulties of the household | 63,2 | 70,2 | 47 | 45,7 |
| Child's health | 16,6 | 13,5 | 66,7 | 79,5 |
| Perception and attitude of the household towards education | 35,7 | 42,8 | 19,9 | 22,9 |
| Characteristics of mainstream education | 4,4 | 22,8 | 14,3 | 23,6 |
| Administrative problems |  | 19,9 |  | 13,5 |

## III.1.4. Exclusion factors related to the household, according to focus group discussions

Information gathered during the focus group discussions, conducted as part of the qualitative survey, brought out the experiences, perceptions, beliefs, fears, attitudes and practices that generate the reasons that may have prevented or may prevent a child from going to school, that result in or are likely to result in them to dropping out of school. All groups agree that the onus of non-enrolment or withdrawal of their children from school is on the parents. Nonetheless, sometimes children are involved in such decisions of their own accord.

## A. Financial difficulties, the main reason for school exclusion

tend to be waived in the absence of other sustainable options or when they are no longer able to make any other sacrifices. Moreover, these financial difficulties cause situations, reported in several study sites, that are direct or indirect obstacles to a child's education such as: a child dropping out of school voluntarily out of compassion for his/her parents, the frequent migration of parents with their children, irregular payment of school fees (liable to dismissal), lack of school supplies (which may cause demotivation of the child). These situations result in parents refusing the introduction of Dina ${ }^{20}$ within the community due to its coercive nature, and exposure of the contradiction between free public schools and the prohibitive nature of other necessary, additional expenses.

For all groups, parental financial difficulties are the main reason for primary school exclusion. Such difficulties become much more pronounced when combined with other family problems (step families, children living with guardians, single parents, large families). Parents in such situations find the expenses related to education heavy to bear and thus these

"My father had already died when my mother fell ill, she could no longer work and therefore could not afford to pay for my education". (Focus Group: Children who have dropped out of school, Anosibe)

[^10]"I always sent him to school, but as he was aware of my financial problems he decided to drop out. I told him that he should carry on but he didn't want to". (Focus Group: Parents of children who have dropped out of school, Marofarihy)
"There are families who migrate to the fields behind the hills because there is more arable land and they have to feed themselves! There are many children in this situation: they were in school but then dropped out to go with their father. We talked to some parents and one father told us: "It really is a problem! How would I do if my wife were here with the kids? My job is very physical out there; it's very tiring and I would not even be able to prepare my own meals. Besides, how can I leave my wife alone here with the children? If I take my wife, how could we leave the children alone here?" And then, it's the child who becomes the hostage, making sacrifices for his parents". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)

## B. The mixed importance placed on education by some parents

The views of some parents reflect a poor perception of the direct benefits of education. Indeed, while they fully recognize the value of education, in a context of economic adversity, studying does not seem to be a top priority for them. The expected outcomes are considered to be uncertain and too far in the future, leaving them to question the justification of the expenses and sacrifices involved. Added to this is the definition of success that remains often focused on material wealth, an objective that focus groups think is not only achieved through education. It was also found that the value of qualifications in the eyes of some parents has considerably decreased, whether their child is in school or not. This can be seen through: (i) the loss of traditional values among graduates, prompting parents to ask questions about values that are transmitted in schools,(ii) the failure to perceive differences between a graduate and an uneducated person in their ability to accumulate wealth, (iii) difficulty for graduates to access employment opportunities, (iv) inappropriate jobs obtained with irrelevant qualifications, (v) the fact that qualifications only are not sufficient for jobs that require professional experience, (vi) the amount of corruption in the working world. Even if they perceive the benefits of education (practical use in everyday life, exemplary behaviour of children, career prospects), the 'parents' focus group also feel an attachment to traditional values, particularly agricultural and livestock activities in the rural areas of the study sites. This attachment makes them fear that education could turn their children away from agriculture and their community. The 'parents

of school children' focus group from Marofarihy criticizes education for the damaging effects it has on children in relation to their work in the fields. Indeed, they believe that school children are becoming less willing to work in the fields where they are not so efficient and have less stamina. These reasons, which explain the lack of commitment and motivation of some parents vis-à-vis education, are corroborated by the 'educational personnel' and 'community' focus groups. In fact these groups reveal that some parents focus on immediate monetary gain at the expense of education, resulting in the absence of children from full time education or their involvement in the workforce (child labour). They also allege (i) parental encouragement to dropout of school if the child fails the CEPE, (ii) a lack of support and supervision of the child's education, most apparent among uneducated parents, (iii) parental guardians' lack of authority, (iv) cases of abuse by guardians of children in their care, (v) biological parents refuse to pay school fees (shirking responsibility), (vi) a lack of support/ encouragement from parents, even if their child is sponsored, (vii) school children are overburdened with domestic chores or income generating activities by their parents.
"Children who go to school have to work in the fields during the holidays, but they really have a hard time picking up a spade. On the other hand, for a child who hasn't been to school, the spade is his best friend. He really knows how to use it well; he makes that his objective and

his duty. This is not really the case of those children that go to school". (Focus group: Parents of children who have never been to school, Marofarihy)
"Children from here don't even manage to finish a school year. When the harvesting season arrives, they all stop studying; it's not the time to go to school, it's time to work, and so they skip classes. Even when the children are in CP2 and CE the parents take them to replant the rice". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara)

With regard to those who have jobs, well, a lot of people have the qualifications, but it is those who have money that are "pushed" towards a job; that doesn't happen to people who don't have money. Before, you could get a teaching job if you passed the entrance examination and even more so, if you had the certificate! There wasn't any corruption. Nowadays people in Madagascar like money too much". (Focus group: Parents of children who have never been to school, Marofarihy)
"It's no longer a question of having the qualifications, but it's all to do with who you know. If he knows the person and where he lives, he goes to see him straight away. He gets the job even though he doesn't have the qualifications or the necessary experience; it's not the person with the right experience and the skills needed to do the job that is recruited. Positions can just be given to whomever we want. That exists and it happens a lot!" (Focus group: Parents of children in school, Antsiranana)
C. The choice between the eldest and youngest siblings

All 'parents' focus groups stated that it was a standard and necessary practice to choose which children to enroll in school; this was supported by the 'community' focus group, which stated that large families (more than 4 children) are most likely to do this. This need to select which child will go to school is usually linked to economic reasons and is done just before the start of the school year, the latter coinciding with a period where the price of essential commodities tends to rise and where farmers have exhausted their sale stocks. The selection process consists of deciding 'who to send to school' or 'who to take out of school' and takes into account a variety of considerations that lead to either the eldest or youngest child making a sacrifice. For most groups, it is the eldest child who will be the first to make such a sacrifice. All the 'parents' focus groups support the selection of the eldest child and report (i) their desire to give other siblings the same opportunity to study, their oldest children having already reaped the benefits, (ii) that older children can take care of the younger siblings (in the case of girls), (iii) the ability of elder children to work to help ease family burdens (including payment of school fees for younger siblings); (iv) the risk of becoming pregnant (for girls). However, the 'parents of children who go to school' focus group from Ehara, on the other hand, tends to prioritize the eldest child over the youngest. The reasons put forward for this choice relate to (i) the parent's desire to take advantage of the fact that the eldest child may still be within the age limit for primary school enrollment and therefore could still be admitted, (ii) the presumption that the child will drop out of school voluntarily at the age of puberty ( $14-15$ years), (iii) the lack of motivation apparent in younger children who go to school. The 'parents of children who go to school' focus group from Marofarihy also reports that the child's performance and behaviour at school could also justify the parent's selection.
"If there are two children at home, we can only send one to school due to our financial situation. The one who doesn't go to school helps me with my work. Usually it's the eldest one!" (Focus group: Parents of children who have never been to school, Ambararatabe)
"First we will send the eldest child to school so that he won't start too late, as the age counts! He could be too old next year. We send the eldest to school. We will send the others a bit later as they are still young. It is better to send the eldest two first, otherwise they will be too old and even the teacher won't accept them any more." (Focus group: Parents of children who have never been to school, Ambararatabe)


#### Abstract

"There are some who have spent so much money on their children, but they turn out to be poor students; when it comes to the final exam they fail. When they fail the exams, the parents give up and take them out of school." (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Marofarihy)


## D. The choice between boys and girls in the family

While the 'parents' focus groups appear to be sensitive towards the education of girls and boys, girls, as much as boys, put forward feelings of being put in situations that hamper their studies. Indeed, with reference to the evolution of the context, which established equal rights for men and women and that degrades the role of girls becoming housewives, parents tend to make their selection based more on their needs (everyday life) and their children's capacities, rather than on gender. Their judgement however shows that their perceptions are indeed influenced by social gender roles. According to the parents, there is a tendency to favour either the education of girls, or that of the boys.

For those who encourage girls' education, different factors explain this tendency including: (i) fear that education turns boys away from agricultural activities and subsequently away from their communities (emphasis on notions of 'Tanindrazana' (literal translation: place of origin) or 'take over'), (ii) greater job opportunities given to boys, (iii) boys can inherit real estate in some areas (Ehara and Marofarihy), unlike girls. Parents also view education as a means of ensuring a girl's future financial independence, so that they may be able to stand up to the various challenges life might bring, in particular, domestic violence. However, this favouring of girls does not seem to lead to further education as it is only encouraged until they get married. However, it was found that parents have a tendency to bring forward the age of marriage out of fear that their daughter might become a single mother or because traditional marriages are still prevalent in some areas (as in Anivorano Nord). In this respect, many cases of teenage pregnancy were reported in almost all study sites. Faced with shame and peer pressure, the girls in question drop out of school on their own accord.

On the other hand, for those parents who promote boys' education, this tendency comes from their perceptions of social gender roles. Indeed, the parents try to pre-empt their future role as the family's main provider. They fear that they will not enjoy any returns on their investment if they educate girls, the latter being bound to follow
their husbands (unlike boys who will remain in the village). However, this favouring of boys seems limited when boys mention that parents tend to view them as free labour when it comes to agriculture or looking after livestock, causing them to frequently miss school. Parental pressure on male children, in terms of contributing to family responsibilities thus remains significant. The 'children who have never been to school' focus group from Ilafy, put the start of such pressure at 12 years old. The ease of access for boys to different jobs (both in rural and urban areas), linked with parental approval, seems to encourage an early disinterest in education. Children also report parental neglect in terms of educational supervision and support, which was limited to warnings against pregnancy and prostitution for the girls and warnings against drug abuse and theft for the boys. Similarly, when it comes to extracurricular activities, girls have to help with housework while the boys help support their parents with subsistence activities such as agriculture or livestock. The youngest children however, are spared by their parents in both cases.
"There are parents who have money issues, so the rich come to see them and ask if their son can go and work for them. He will earn 8,000 - 10,000 MGA per month. This is when they start to think: 'should we keep him in school or send him to work?' Additionally, the rich promise them that if their son behaves, they will give him a small start up fund after 5 years. When they hear this, both the parents and the child suddenly become interested". (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Tromoloharano)
"It's because there are children who only start school when they are 8 or 10 years old. When they reach CE they are already quite old. When girls reach adolescence, they can't wait to stop studying, you know girls; the parents want to get them married and even the girls themselves want to. They get married too young". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara)
"Parents feel quite different when it comes to the boys and girls. There is an ancestral proverb that says that the boys will remain in their hometown, whereas the girls will just follow their husbands. This is why the parents don't care too much about their education!" (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Tromoloharano)

## E. Difficulties of considering education for children with disabilities

Parents, as well as the children, still have concerns as to the feasibility of providing disabled children with
an education in mainstream schools. The children have a complex about their disability in front of the other students and anticipate discriminatory behaviour on the part of the latter. For the parents, the main obstacles concern: (i) the ability of teachers in mainstream schools to care for their children and ensure their security, (ii) doubts as to the school's capacity to provide the facilities and services adapted to the needs of a disabled child as well as healing him/her, (iii) the consideration that educating a disabled child is a waste of time and investment, their ability to access employment remains a problem and thus leads them more towards vocational training, (iv) feeling of shame caused by their child's disability, making it difficult to accept their right to education.
"It is not because we don't accept these children, we welcome all those who come; it's the parents who are reluctant to send their children to school out of fear that we don't know how to treat them! I once had a child who was dumb in my class and I did my best with the means I had available". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)
"It's heart breaking, because some of the children's parents don't even accept it. It's very serious that the parents can act in such a manner. Then there are others who look at the child and see they are not mentally or physically normal; it is for this reason that the parents do not want to send them to school. And then there is the shame vis- $\grave{a}$-vis society; they feel that it is not good for the community to have contact with such a child". (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord)

## F. Fears, prejudices and scepticism of parents and children on going back to school

The issue of going back to school is generally approached in a theoretical manner by the groups of 'parents' as well as the groups of 'children' who tend to feel it brings more problems (dreaded or real) than opportunities. A certain level of skepticism was shown, as much by the groups of 'parents of children who have never been to school', as by the groups of 'children who dropped out of school' and 'children who have never been to school', when the issue of going back to school was brought up.

The importance of the school admission age was discussed among the groups of 'children who have never been to school' and corroborated by the 'education personnel' groups. Thus, the focus groups of 'children who have never been to school'
from Anivorano Nord and llafy believed that the ideal age to start primary school should be up to 10 years old, a threshold that the vast majority of them had already passed. Above all, the children dread being in the same class as peers a lot younger than themselves and fear being judged for being 'unschooled', the latter case causing some of them to choose to go to another school rather than going to the one in the village. It is the same for the focus groups of 'children who have dropped out of school', from Anosibe Trimoloharano and Marofarihy who also fear being judged by other students for their 'dropout' status. A minority within the group from Marofarihy feel reluctant about the idea of going back to school enrolment in anticipation of peer feedback. For most parents however, even if they seem to show a theoretical willingness to send their children back to school, the trend is more towards resignation, allowing them to focus their efforts on the education of younger children who are not yet in school or on keeping children who are already enrolled in school. The re-enrolment of children who have dropped out or who are older but have never been to school remains inconceivable; their effective contribution to family responsibilities appears to be the main reason behind this.

At the same time, the 'children who have dropped out of school' and the 'children who have never been to school' focus groups raised the fact that their work helps to ensure their own survival and that of their families. Cases of violence by parents when children refused to drop out of school were even brought up in Anosibe Trimoloharano. Thus, the 'children who have never been to school' groups admit that going to school would only be possible if there was a State subsidy or third party assistance; it will never happen if it is up to their parents. Another case which illustrates the children's defeatist attitude comes from the 'children who have never been to school' group from Ilafy when they determine that the definition of success is receiving the Baccalaureat Certificate. Reaching this level is considered utopian for them. The children appear to be resigned to their parents' decisions, the girls having more of a tendency to put dropping out of school into perspective and being more pessimistic about the possibility of going back.
"I will never be able to go back to school because I have to help my parents. I have to find something easy to do!" (Focus group: Children who have dropped out of school, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
G. The lack of motivation of certain children to continue their studies

During discussions with the 'children who go to school' focus groups, a number of factors discouraging children to continue their education came up. Poor school performance (in the event
of frequent repetition), discriminatory, humiliating and violent treatment by teachers and adverse relationships between peers were particularly stressed. These different factors cause children to drop out of school of their own accord. Moreover, some parents commented on their powerlessness over this decision.

## III.2. SCHOOLS' PERCEPTION OF EXCLUSION



Here, the information collected from principals and teachers in public primary schools is analyzed. Information on schools and principals are structured according to the national average, urban or rural schools and community and non-community primary schools. Data concerning the teachers are presented for the national level, categorized into urban or rural areas, and according to status i.e. civil servants or FRAM teachers.

## III.2.1. School characteristics

## A. The schools:

Primary schools in Madagascar have been around for an average of 30 years, they are often far from the centre of town and commonly inaccessible for part of the year. Principals consider the quality of the buildings to be pretty poor and their seating capacity is often insufficient. Schools have, on average, five classrooms and about $10 \%$ of schools are considered inaccessible for physically disabled children. Access to clean water, electricity, functional toilets or school canteens is still quite rare. Urban facilities have more classrooms and appear to be better equipped than schools in rural areas. Community schools are the most recently established and have to cope with most difficult conditions in terms of infrastructure and equipment.

- Table 20: School conditions

| Conditions of the school | National | Urban | Rural | Noncommunity Primary School | Community Primary School |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of years of existence | 32,7 | 40,2 | 31,5 | 35,4 | 21,3 |
| Distance, on foot, from the town centre (in minutes) | 39,2 | 49,1 | 37,8 | 30,9 | 89,6 |
| Inaccessible for part of the school year (\%) | 53,6 | 43,3 | 55,1 | 59,4 | 56,7 |
| Quality index of the buildings | 2,2 | 2,9 | 2,1 | 2,4 | 1,5 |
| Insufficient seating capacity (\%) | 18,8 | 10,5 | 20,1 | 16 | 18,6 |
| Number of French textbooks per student | 0,5 | 0,6 | 0,4 | 0,5 | 0,4 |
| School accessible for physically disabled children (\%) | 89,5 | 83,1 | 90,5 | 89,3 | 100 |
| Number of classrooms | 5,2 | 6,7 | 4,9 | 5,1 | 4,6 |
| Principal has an office/room (\%) | 22,2 | 56 | 17,2 | 24,7 | 6 |
| Fully equipped and functional library | 0,4 | 3,3 | 0 | 0,5 | 0 |
| First aid kit / nurse (\%) | 12,2 | 30 | 9,5 | 12,4 | 0,8 |
| Staff accommodation (one or more) (\%) | 54,3 | 13,1 | 60,4 | 69,1 | 51,3 |
| Free canteen (\%) | 7,2 | 3,7 | 7,7 | 7,4 | 0 |
| Paying canteen (\%) | 14,7 | 0 | 16,9 | 10,7 | 6 |
| Sports field (\%) | 48,2 | 66,3 | 45,5 | 55,6 | 12,1 |
| Fence around the whole school (\%) | 29,6 | 52,8 | 26,2 | 33,4 | 23,8 |
| Electricity (\%) | 11,4 | 6,5 | 12,1 | 7,6 | 6 |
| Potable water point (\%) | 27,7 | 56,5 | 23,5 | 31,4 | 18,9 |
| Funtional toilets for the students (\%) | 17,6 | 46,5 | 13,3 | 21,7 | 11,5 |
| Separate toilets for girls (\%) | 9,8 | 33,2 | 6,3 | 10,1 | 0 |
| School garden (\%) | 31,5 | 53,9 | 28,2 | 40,3 | 8,7 |

In terms of human resources, the number of students per teacher is set at an average of 46 . The number of students, and the percentage of teachers and civil servants are higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. Community schools have the least number of students and government teachers, but have
the highest number of students per teacher. Many schools do not offer the complete range of primary grades. Half of the rural and community schools work in double shifts and/or multi-grade classes.

## $-$

- Table 21: Human resources at the school

| Human resources at the school | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community <br> Primary <br> School | Community <br> Primary <br> School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of teachers | 4,4 | 7,1 | 4 | 4,4 | 3,6 |
| Teachers (\%) | 38,9 | 64,7 | 35 | 33,6 | 53,3 |
| FRAM teachers (\%) | 73,4 | 59,5 | 75,6 | 69,4 | 88,9 |
| FRAM teachers, without subsidy (\%) | 56,3 | 45,8 | 58 | 51,6 | 72,5 |
| Number of students per teacher | 46,4 | 41,1 | 47,2 | 47,5 | 48,7 |
| Number of students | 199 | 290,9 | 184,9 | 199 | 176,1 |
| Full primary cycle (\%) | 81,3 | 62,3 | 84,2 | 82,8 | 68,2 |
| Double shifts (\%) | 46,7 | 19,4 | 50,8 | 42,7 | 58,6 |
| Multi-grade classes (\%) | 50,1 | 20,5 | 54,5 | 46,2 | 66,3 |

Principals estimate that the school closes for approximately 5 days per year due to external events either linked to weather conditions or the use of the school for other reasons (elections, civil status registration...). With regard to the actual start date for the 2010/2011 academic year, this can be any time between the beginning and end of October depending on the school. A little over one third of the schools interviewed said they held extracurricular activities. While more than $80 \%$ of principals said they keep regular school accounts,
this drops to $50 \%$ for community schools. Despite the fact that the survey took place in June-July, only a minority of schools claimed to have a budget, investment plan, or quantitative targets for the following year. Urban schools make use of the most management tools. The school's objectives for the following year, given in order by the principal are: a specific number of classrooms, building repairs, a set number of teachers, new equipment and a specific number of students enrolling in the school.

- Table 22: Management of the school

| Management of the school | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community <br> Primary <br> School | Community <br> Primary <br> School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of days school is closed due to external <br> events | 4,8 | 2,1 | 5,2 | 5,1 | 6,1 |
| Existence of school accounts (\%) | 81,8 | 86,4 | 81,1 | 95,1 | 53,4 |
| Existence of a provisional budget for the <br> following year (\%) | 24,4 | 46,2 | 21,1 | 11,6 | 66,3 |
| Existence of an investment plan (\%) | 9,4 | 33,4 | 5,8 | 8,2 | 10,1 |
| Existence of quantitive objectivs (\%) | 23,9 | 46,9 | 20,5 | 24,5 | 16,4 |

## B. The principal:

Three quarters of primary school principals are men with an average age of 47 years. Most of them are civil servants, have teaching qualifications, are lecturers and taught before they became principals. Principals in rural schools usually receive part of their remuneration in-kind and have staff housing, but are more often absent than those working in urban areas. Principals of community schools are younger, have less experience, are paid less and have
fewer teaching qualifications. It is also the latter who are most dissatisfied with their position of school principal. The main motivating factors for principals appear to be student success and to a lesser extent the salary and recognition of their work by colleagues, parents and the educational hierarchy. Almost $9 \%$ of principals said they would change their profession if they could find another job.

- Table 23: Principal characteristics

| School principal | National | Urban | Rural | Non-community <br> Primary School | Community <br> Primary School |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Male (\%) | 76,5 | 74,1 | 76,9 | 81,5 | 64,9 |
| Age | 46,7 | 51,4 | 46 | 46,6 | 40,3 |
| Head lecturer (\%) | 97,9 | 83,5 | 100 | 97,6 | 100 |
| Civil servant (\%) | 65,5 | 96,9 | 60,9 | 79,4 | 27,6 |
| Staff accommodation (\%) | 61,6 | 29,9 | 66,3 | 70,6 | 70,1 |
| Number of days absent | 22,6 | 8,5 | 24,7 | 23,5 | 30,6 |
| Number of years of study (after 8th grade) | 3,9 | 3,7 | 4 | 4,1 | 4,2 |
| No teaching qualifications (\%) | 31,4 | 19,4 | 33,2 | 21,5 | 72,4 |
| Initial teacher training (number of months) | 4,3 | 5,5 | 4,1 | 5,1 | 1,7 |
| Number of days of in-service training | 9,8 | 7,9 | 10,1 | 7,8 | 13,1 |
| Number of years of teaching experience | 9,2 | 12,6 | 8,7 | 9 | 5,7 |
| Number of years of teaching experience in the <br> current school | 6,3 | 9,2 | 5,8 | 6,1 | 3,7 |


| School principal | National | Urban | Rural | Non-community <br> Primary School |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Community |  |  |  |  |
| Primary School |  |  |  |  |$|$

Note: The satisfaction index is: $1=$ not at all satisfied, $2=$ a bit satisfied, $3=$ satisfied, $4=$ very satisfied

## C. Teachers:

Teachers in primary schools that took part in the survey have an average age of 34 years and most of them are community teachers. The majority do not have any teaching qualifications but only a few months training. For about $80 \%$ of primary teachers, the highest qualification they have obtained is the Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC, or Primary Level Certificate). Teachers in urban areas are older, are more often women, have a higher level of education, are more experienced, better paid and are absent less than teachers in rural areas. On average, government teachers are older, have more teaching qualifications, but are absent more than community teachers. The latter have a higher level of education, but are paid less than half of government teachers salaries. Nearly a quarter of community
teachers claim to have periods in the year without pay, this period being, on average, 2 months.

Over $85 \%$ of teachers belong to a teachers' network. Teachers reported having attended, on average, more than five network meetings per year and most of them find their activities useful. Teachers are relatively satisfied with their jobs. Nearly $14 \%$ of them said they would change their profession if they could find another job. According to the teachers, their motivating factors are student success, the salary, teaching methods and recognition of their work by the parents and principal. When the teachers were asked about their reasons for choosing their profession, $62 \%$ answered that it was their calling, $21 \%$ said they had no other choice and $15 \%$ said it was for the money.

- Table 24: Teacher characteristics

| Primary school teachers | National | Urban | Rural | Noncommunity Primary School | Community Primary School |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Age | 34,4 | 39,1 | 33,3 | 49,9 | 30,6 |
| Male (\%) | 56,5 | 30,1 | 63,2 | 42,2 | 60,4 |
| Number of years of study (after 8th grade) | 6,3 | 6,8 | 6,1 | 5,7 | 6,3 |
| No teaching qualifications (\%) | 71,7 | 55,2 | 75,8 | 21,3 | 86,2 |
| Initial teacher training (number of months) | 4,8 | 7,7 | 4,1 | 4 | 4,8 |
| Number of days of in-service training | 18,7 | 8,1 | 21,3 | 10,2 | 22,3 |
| Number of years of teaching experience | 9 | 12 | 8,3 | 23,8 | 5,4 |
| Number of years teaching at current school | 5,2 | 7,9 | 4,5 | 10,4 | 3,8 |
| Number of days absent | 9,1 | 5 | 10,2 | 14,7 | 7,5 |
| Belong to a teachers' network (\%) | 86,8 | 84 | 87,5 | 89,2 | 84,9 |
| Civil servant (\%) | 22,3 | 38,7 | 18,2 | 100 | , |
| FRAM teacher with subsidy | 58,3 | 38,2 | 63,4 | 0 | 73,6 |
| FRAM teacher without subsidy | 19,4 | 23,1 | 18,5 | 0 | 26,4 |
| Monthly salary (MGA) | 126 270,70 | 157950,10 | 188323,40 | 245 386,00 | 91415,90 |
| Length of time without salary (\%) | 21,5 | 9,8 | 24,4 | 0 | 27,6 |
| Works in several schools (\%) | 9,4 | 14,4 | 8,1 | 11,8 | 10 |
| Satisfaction index | 2,8 | 2,9 | 2,8 | 3 | 2,8 |
| Would change profession (\%) | 13,7 | 11,3 | 14,4 | 11,1 | 14,8 |

Note: The satisfaction index is: $1=$ not at all satisfied, $2=$ a bit satisfied, $3=$ satisfied, $4=$ very satisfied

Primary schools have an average of 200 students, half of which are girls and a quarter of which are repeaters. The dropout rate estimated by principals between the beginning and end of the school year was reported to be an average of $6 \%$, but goes over $20 \%$ in some schools. While the difference, on average, is small between girls and boys, it appears that girls drop out more in rural and community schools while boys drop out more in urban areas. Just over one disabled student is enrolled per school, representing
only $0.62 \%$ of students in the classroom. Less than one third of disabled students are girls. Community schools have the lowest numbers of students, the highest dropout rates and lowest number of students with disabilities. For those schools that took part in the survey, the success rate for the primary school leaving certificate is $76 \%$. On average, students in CM1 have 26 hours of classes per week over the 36 weeks of the school year.

- Table 25: School students

| Human resources at the primary school level | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community <br> Primary <br> School | Community <br> Primary <br> School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of students | 199 | 290,9 | 184,9 | 199 | 176,1 |
| Girls (\%) | 49,7 | 49,3 | 49,7 | 48 | 54,6 |
| Repeaters (\%) | 24 | 24,4 | 23,9 | 24,8 | 20,8 |
| Dropouts (\%) | 6 | 2,8 | 6,4 | 3,6 | 10,4 |
| Girls among the dropouts (\%) | 52,1 | 34,3 | 54,9 | 49 | 60,5 |
| Number of disabled children per school | 1,1 | 1,2 | 1 | 1,1 | 0,6 |
| Disabled students (\%) | 0,62 | 0,39 | 0,65 | 0,66 | 0,3 |
| Female disabled students (\%) | 29,1 | 46,9 | 27,5 | 21,2 | 33 |
| Primary level certificate success rate (\%) | 76,5 | 78,7 | 76 | 73 | 77,2 |

At the classroom level and from what the teachers said, about $10 \%$ of students are absent for one day during the normal period of the school year against $21 \%$ during the lean season. The disabilities most
often seen by teachers in their classrooms are partially deaf students, as well as visually impaired children and those with physical handicaps. Developmental or psychological disabilities, even mild, are rarely seen.

- Table 26: Students in the classroom

| Human resources at the classroom level | National | Urban | Rural | Civil servants | FRAM |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Student absenteeism (\%) | 10,1 | 5,9 | 11,2 | 6,7 | 11,1 |
| Student absenteeism during the lean season (\%) | 21,0 | 13,9 | 22,8 | 16,0 | 22,7 |

## E. Principal - teacher relations

Meetings between the principal and teachers are fairly common and almost $90 \%$ of principals and teachers reported having a good relationship with each other. Relationships and interactions appear to be more strained and less frequent in rural and community schools. Nearly a quarter of principals say they are faced with a common problem of teacher absenteeism, the average number of days off school amounting to
13.5 days per year. Again, this problem appears to be much greater in rural areas and in community schools. According to the principals, teacher absenteeism is mainly caused by health problems, travel to collect the salary and severe weather conditions. In some cases, a bonus system for the most deserving teachers was put in place. This might be in the form of a financial award, supplies or a gift (poultry, Malagasy art).

Table 27: Principals' relationship with the teachers

| Principal - teacher relations | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community <br> Primary School | Community <br> Primary School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of meetings with teachers per year | 8,5 | 9,8 | 8,3 | 8,7 | 6,9 |
| Principal has good relationship with teachers (\%) | 89,4 | 96,9 | 88,3 | 91,9 | 70,9 |
| Teacher absenteeism (\%) | 25,1 | 16,2 | 26,4 | 28,7 | 38,6 |
| Teacher absenteeism - number of days | 13,5 | 5,2 | 14,7 | 14,4 | 15 |
| Teacher has a good relationship with the principal | 91,35 | 93,93 | 90,7 | 92,44 | 91,86 |

## F. Principal - student relations

Most principals said that they try to encourage the more advanced students to support those who need help. About $15 \%$ of principals find that some students face discrimination from other students. Nearly $57 \%$ of principals did not agree with the idea that there are advantages to having disabled children in their school. When it comes to their opinion on whether children with disabilities can be educated alongside other children, they agreed that they can in the case of those with a motor disability in the legs or an arm and partially agreed for children who are visually impaired or hard of hearing. They were more divided on the idea of having children with disabilities in both hands or with mild developmental or psychological problems. However, they were reluctant to accommodate students who are blind, deaf or suffering from developmental disabilities or severe psychological problems.

## G. Teacher - student relations

Less than $7 \%$ of teachers said that they group together the serious students in the classroom, others prefer a more homogeneous distribution of students in the class. In the case of a class where the
level is very widespread, two-thirds of teachers said that they focus on the weakest the other teachers make no difference. Most teachers said that they offer additional lessons for free. Even though they are in the minority, government teachers are the most likely to offer additional lessons to paying students. Over a third of teachers also carry out extracurricular activities, such as gardening, craft activities or games. A quarter of teachers said that they often do not take time to prepare for their classes.
Just under a quarter of teachers found that some students face discrimination from other students. Almost $60 \%$ of teachers saw no advantage to having children with disabilities in their classrooms. Teachers feel that children with mild disabilities can be educated alongside other children; however, children with more severe disabilities cannot. Teachers are quite opposed to the idea of having children who are deaf, blind or with developmental or psychological problems in their classrooms. Only $2.5 \%$ of teachers say they would like to refuse certain categories of children in their classrooms. These categories include students who are too old, those who are too young or children with developmental disabilities or behavioural disorders. For these teachers, such students should be cared for in more appropriate institutions.

- Table 28: Teacher - student relations

| Teacher - student relations | National | Urban | Rural | Non-community <br> Primary School | Community <br> Primary School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Even distribution of students in the class (\%) | 92,8 | 97,2 | 91,7 | 91,3 | 93,4 |
| Offers extra lessons - paid (\%) | 2,2 | 4,3 | 1,7 | 9,7 | 1 |
| Offers extra lessons - free (\%) | 58 | 36,6 | 63,3 | 48 | 58,9 |

## III.2.2. School relations with households and the community

## A. School - household relations

Households are responsible for paying the schools fees of their children; these fees are particularly high for a new student who is just starting primary school, in urban areas and community schools. According to principals, about a quarter of the students fail to
pay their registration fees or FRAM contributions. It is very rare that students fail to pay in community schools. Nearly a quarter of the principals said they do not have a good relationship with the parents; relationships are a little better between teachers and parents. Out of all the principals, only two said that they would not like a certain category of children in their primary school: this category being students that are too young, as they could disturb the teacher and other students.

- Table 29: Management of the school

| School - household relations | National | Urban | Rural | Noncommunity Primary School | Community Primary School |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| School fees for a new student (MGA) | 17 262,60 | $\begin{array}{r} 122 \\ 086,60 \end{array}$ | 1658,50 | 17 391,60 | 27 639,30 |
| School fees for a student who is already enrolled in the school (MGA) | 9 973,00 | 71 993,10 | 1078,60 | 6 957,00 | 28 417,80 |
| Students who do not have to pay fees (\%) | 23,3 | 39,2 | 20,6 | 34,5 | 3,1 |
| Principal has good relations with the parents (\%) | 74,7 | 76,5 | 74,4 | 82,3 | 54,8 |
| Teacher has good relations with the student's parents 9\%) | 82,2 | 93,7 | 79,3 | 80,8 | 83,6 |

B. School - community relations and external relations

Approximately $87 \%$ of schools have a committee (FAF - Partnership for School Development) in charge of its management. In $97 \%$ of cases, FAF members are elected. While the parents and principal are always represented in this committee, community representatives, especially the teachers, rarely have a say in the FAF. Nearly one third of principals felt that the parents association (FRAM) is not sufficiently active; their meetings are held on average, once every two months. Community schools have the most interactions between the principal and FRAM, however, it is in these schools that the principals have
the lowest opinion of the FRAM. The principal's relationship with community representatives generally appears to be quite good. The community usually provides labour for the construction or renovation of school infrastructure. School visits by a representative of the Ministry of Education (MOE) do not happen very often and are mainly concentrated in urban areas. Contracts that link school programmes with the Ministry of Education or an international organisation have not yet taken off. Just over one in ten schools receives external support. Schools receiving external assistance are supported by national or international organisations or even by small associations from developed countries. Insecurity is mentioned as a major issue by over a quarter of the principals.

- Table 30: School - community relations

| School - community relations | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community <br> Primary <br> School | Community <br> Primary <br> School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Existence of a FAF (\%) | 86,70 | 93,10 | 85,80 | 76,40 | 89,90 |
| Principal represented in the FAF (\%) | 93,80 | 96,70 | 93,30 | 90,90 | 88,70 |
| Teachers represented in the FAF (\%) | 22,9 | 64,1 | 16,2 | 32,4 | 4 |
| Community represented in the FAF (\%) | 75,2 | 43,3 | 80,3 | 76,2 | 89,3 |
| Parents represented in the FAF (\%) | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Principal feels FRAM is active (\%) | 65,5 | 79,4 | 63,4 | 74,7 | 44,6 |
| Number of meetings between the principal and the <br> FRAM | 6,6 | 3,2 | 7,1 | 5 | 8,6 |
| Principal has a good relationship with community <br> representatives (\%) | 89 | 93,6 | 88,3 | 90,1 | 70,9 |
| Community sometimes provides labour for school <br> renovations (\%) | 75,6 | 56,8 | 78,4 | 82,1 | 50,7 |
| Number of school inspections by the Ministry of <br> Education per year | 2,6 | 4,4 | 2,4 | 2,8 | 1,9 |
| School contract programme (\%) | 18,6 | 25,7 | 17,5 | 14,3 | 20,3 |
| External support (\%) | 12 | 13,3 | 11,8 | 17 | 8,7 |
| Insecurity problem (\%) | 28,5 | 20 | 29,8 | 22,8 | 35,1 |

III.2.3. Schools' attitude toward school exclusion

## A. The challenges faced by schools and school exclusion

When principals were asked which infrastructures had priority in the coming years, the vast majority highlighted the need for additional classrooms. Potable water points, libraries, canteens and the overall improvement of existing infrastructures are other developments that came up repeatedly. The lack of teacher training did not come up very often. The most important issues put forward by the principals concerning their schools were the poor quality buildings, the lack of teaching materials, insufficient teachers and the lack of space for students. According to teachers, the most important issues in the classroom were inadequate teaching materials, the poor quality of the buildings, the lack of parental involvement,
the lack of space for students in the classroom, lack of in-service training, student absenteeism and lateness as well as family poverty levels. In terms of special equipment for disabled children, none of the schools that took part in the survey stated that they had any sort of equipment. Nearly $90 \%$ of the principals and $93 \%$ of the teachers said that they could detect most forms of handicaps they faced in their profession. On average, 8.5 students are excluded per school each year. While half of the schools said that they never exclude any students, $18 \%$ of the schools exclude more than 20 per year. The main reasons for exclusion are the non-payment of school fees by parents and discipline problems. Boys represent the majority of those excluded in urban areas whereas the exclusion of girls is more predominant in community schools. Cases of exclusion due to poor school performance or pregnancy were sometimes put forward.

- Table 31: Student exclusion in schools

| Student exclusion in schools | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community <br> Primary <br> School | Community <br> Primary <br> School |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of children excluded | 8,5 | 2,4 | 9,4 | 4,1 | 18,5 |
| \% of children excluded | 4,8 | 0,7 | 5,5 | 2,6 | 15,3 |
| \% girls among children excluded | 50,4 | 38 | 51,1 | 48,2 | 56,7 |

## B. Absenteeism and school dropouts

In $5 \%$ of schools, there are no daily checks on student absenteeism. If a student is absent for a prolonged period, almost all principals said they would contact the parents, one third would contact the FRAM and $5 \%$ admit they would have no particular reaction. For the teachers, in the case of a prolonged absence, most of them would contact the parents and often inform the principal. If a student returns after a prolonged absence, the majority of teachers said that they would have a discussion with the student and the parents to find out the reason for his/her absence and would help the student to catch up. Some teachers however, end up lecturing the child, which ends up in a fight.

According to the principals, dropouts occur most in elementary classes and CM1, the majority during the lean season, from January to April. According to them, the children who are first to drop out are girls, students from poor households, older children, those with family problems and those who have recently moved. Principals feel that it is the child's family who are responsible, first and foremost, for
this and to a lesser extent the child or the child's teacher. Teachers put forward that it is children with family problems, those from low-income families and children living far away from school that have the highest risk of dropping out.

Nearly $80 \%$ of teachers said that they pay special attention to these children at risk. Many teachers said that they liaise with the parents to find appropriate solutions, that they make these students work harder so that they can catch up, and they also said that they have stronger educational and emotional relationships with them. If a student drops out, teachers consider the family responsible more than the children. Nearly $20 \%$ of teachers judge themselves to also be responsible for such failure.

## III.2.4. Exclusion factors related to the school, according to focus group discussions

In terms of information gathered during the qualitative survey, all focus discussion groups acknowledged that educational personnel contribute directly or indirectly, to keeping children away from school.

## A. Evidence of a decline in the quality of education

The 'parents' and 'community' focus groups expressed their disappointment at the declining quality of education. Moreover, they illustrated their remarks by comparing the skills and abilities of two people with the same qualification taken at different times to conclude that the actual value of the same qualification nowadays had indeed gone down. These groups feel that the main reasons for this deterioration are: the low level of supply teachers (FRAM), inconsistency of the language of instruction which changes too often and is demanding on students as well as teachers, and leads to a decrease in skills and capacity of the latter. Alternatively, the 'community' focus groups indicated flaws in the training curriculum that focus on passing exams rather than on the content. They also brought up the same opinion as the 'parents' focus groups on the non-transmission of core values (good manners, respect, cleanliness) and the loss of moral values, which are assumed to be conveyed by the school, causing negative effects on family life, the labour market and community standards of living.

## B. Worsening learning conditions

To illustrate their findings on the worsening conditions ofeducation the 'parents' and 'community' focus groups highlighted the lack of teachers, which results in a lack of child supervision (education, absenteeism, peer influence,...). Added to this, is the feeling of discouragement and demotivation among teachers due to their conditions, the majority FRAM teachers who are either subsidized by the State or fully supported by the community. Delays in the payment of allowances and a lack of social security benefits do not help their situation. Parents protest against this, claiming that the large number of FRAM teachers, considered unqualified to teach primary level, also contributes to the deterioration of education in Madagascar. A defeatist attitude often found in teachers when faced with needy children, results in them blaming the children. The 'parents' focus groups complained that some teachers are not serious. Parents were therefore not at all reluctant to speak of their 'sloppy behaviour' and refer to their willingness to provide additional paid tuition, or the fact that they let students go home early because of insecurity. The legal enforcement of child rights (especially the prohibition of corporal punishment) could be added to these parameters, considered by parents as just one more obstacle to the restoration of discipline. The poor condition of school buildings was also often put forward as a demotivating factor for parents as well as children. The following
situations were particularly criticised:

- insufficient classrooms resulting in overcrowding;
- poor conditions of the classrooms (wooden buildings, grass roofs, leaky roof, rickety tables, ...);
- unfenced schools, raised because of the location of some schools (in the middle of a market), hindering the students' concentration and causing them to be influenced by the 'wrong crowd';
- existing infrastructures do not cater to the needs of children with disabilities;
- lack of educational materials for both teachers and children as well as the non-allocation of school kits.


#### Abstract

"The teacher doesn't bother, She just pretends to teach. That's the problem. I've had enough! I am going to take my child out of school next year". (Focus group: Parents of children who are in school, Antsiranana) "There are some FRAM teachers who have been teaching for 5 years, but have not yet received a grant. Take the example of Ilafy's public primary school, they are paid 30,000 Ariary per month, now ask yourself, nowadays, what can you do with that amount of money? It makes you laugh, but it's reality! And they just accept it because they hope that one day they will be taken on as a civil servant". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy) "We don't have enough classrooms! We have one classroom where there are 70 students sitting on top of each other and it is still not enough, we turned the principal's house into a classroom". (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)


## C. Distance and accessibility are still issues

Issues of accessibility and distance were brought up in some of the study sites as unresolved problems.Indeed, the distance to the school from the children's home causes some parents to delay enrolment as they worry that the distance is too much for a young child and also fear for their safety. To better illustrate this problem, the case of a community school without a full primary cycle (without CM2) was brought up; the distance of the affiliated primary school from their village thus causes parents to take their children out of school before completing the primary cycle. The 'children' focus groups also consider distance as a constraint in relation to their daily domestics chores, often resulting in them being late. However, it is important to note that this issue of distance would be a much greater deterrent for parents and children with disabilities. Furthermore, the 'parents' and 'community' groups complained about the prolonged absence of teachers who have to go and collect their salaries or go to educational meetings in the main town or district, again due to this issue of distance. Added to all of this is the inaccessibility of some Fokontany during the rainy season.
"The child lives in a Fokontany which is far away from the school so we have to encourage him and really convince him that he has to go to school. On top of this, he cannot go so far on his own, so he needs someone to go with him; his village is very remote with a forest to cross. He can only go on his own when he is older". (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord)
"The Fokontany primary school is too far away from our village, so the community rallied round to build a community school. But we do not have enough teachers and there are still some grades missing, there is no CM2. When students reach the end of CM1, they are forced to go to the other primary school and so a lot of parents make them drop out". (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)

## D. Schools' lack of understanding in relation to parents' economic difficulties

The focus discussion groups raised the subject of increasing expenditure for a child's education, leading them to question the notion of free public schools. A lack of coordination as to the amount, quantity and nature of contributions is also reported (especially in the case of schools with FRAM teachers supported by the community). Otherwise, with respect to actual school expenses, two distinct types of expenditures were raised:

- fees that go to the schools: the focus groups highlight drastic measures taken by some schools if parents fail to pay (child is not registered, child is sent home, a non-delivery report is issued, ...)
- parental contributions to support FRAM teachers: the focus groups report that some schools put a lot of pressure on the parents if they are late with their payments or if they fail to pay.

The FRAM associations are a lot stricter on this issue, as they are acting to defend the interests of FRAM teachers whose working conditions are already difficult enough. Direct pressure by teachers in the classroom is reported in schools where FRAM teachers are predominant; focus groups reported that the latter discriminate against those students whose parents have not paid.

Focus groups were concerned by the fact that educational staff (principal and/or teacher) allows the FRAM and teachers to exert such pressure on children (e.g. allowing children to be questioned in front of the whole class ). The 'educational personnel' focus group, for their part, were also clear that it will be impossible to achieve the goal of education for all if it is not completely free.
"Before there was really a difference between public and private schools. Today, public schools are only public in name, you pay school fees just like for a private school but you also have to pay for the FRAM teachers." (Focus group: Parents of children who have never been to school, Ambararatabe)
"From the 30th, 31st or the 1st of the month, the teacher starts asking students to bring their fees. If the parents cannot pay, the children prefer to stay at home to avoid being criticised by the teacher. And it's like that for a week, then 15 days and finally they drop out because their parents can not pay!" (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
"Teachers need to discriminate a little. When the time comes, they ask for the receipt book because at our school the children take the money for the parents. If the child doesn't bring the book, the teacher takes action and of course the principal will demand that the fees are paid. Yes, I admit that the rules are very strict!" (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
"Everything is going up, the fees ... and if you do not pay within the time limit, they make derogatory remarks and say hurtful things, they say mean things to the children and this is heart-breaking; they are ashamed in front of their peers, become discouraged and end up dropping out". (Focus group: Community, Antsirabe)

## E. Attitudes of educational personnel towards pregnant students

The "education personnel" focus groups appeared to be quite severe when dealing with pregnant students. Without stating directly that the girls in question would be dismissed, they admit a practice that would result in the girls' self-exclusion (due to roundabout pressure). Although no specific laws or guidelines governing this situation exist in Malagasy legislation, this intransigence always holds true, even for their return to school after giving birth. 'Students' focus groups also reported the intransigence of some schools on discipline as grounds for dismissal.
"Allowing a pregnant girl to carry on with her studies will surely cause waves in the school. The school, the doctor, as well as the parents should take the necessary steps, in a roundabout way, to ensure that she drops out of school, but without her being thrown out. This would be best!" (Focus group: Educational personnel, Antsiranana)

[^11]
## F. Differential treatment and violence by some teachers

The 'children' focus groups, backed by the 'parents' focus groups, sometimes noticed that some teachers are not consistent in how they treat the students. They give preference to those students who perform well, who are more intelligent, more studious, more obedient and those who are younger. Children deem this preferential treatment towards certain students to be 'unfair' and 'discriminatory'. Such discriminatory treatment was raised, in particular by the groups of 'children who have dropped out of school,' as a demotivating factor vis-à-vis their studies. The groups talked about bad memories mainly from physical and emotional abuse committed by teachers. Physical violence would consist of punishments when they were disobedient or did not perform well in class. They also complained that the teachers cursed or swore at the students if they had bad results (i.e. "Dirty one-eye! You dog!"). The 'children' focus groups condemned in particular, various exaggerated and humiliating punishments carried out by teachers. The 'parents' groups even speak of "harassment" against the children, especially those who have academic difficulties. The 'children' groups also listed neglected children (those who let themselves go in terms of hygiene) as part of those who are set aside and rejected by teachers. These children are sometimes mistreated and suffer frequent reprimands, which could discourage them from going to school. From a gender perspective, boys feel more discriminated against than girls, saying that punishments would be harder and more often directed at them, as teachers consider them to be much more rowdy and disruptive. They therefore experience feelings of suffering due to virulent physical punishments. With regard to the girls, more opinions were collected from members of the community than the girls themselves. Indeed, they reported that teachers have inappropriate and provocative behaviour. Cases of male teachers fondling adolescent girls have been reported. Teachers were also criticized with respect to their clothes, some of which are deemed inappropriate for their role, constituting negative role models for girls. Accordingly, they emphasized the need to convey appropriate values, including behaviour, dress and speech to teachers so that they are indeed positive role models for their students.
"If we arrive, even a little bit late, they tell us to go home. That's what our teacher does! We are late because of our parents. The parents make you late because they are preparing lunch and it's because of this that they tell you to go home". (Focus group: Children who have dropped out of school, Marofarihy)
"The teacher doesn't respect the students at all. My son told me that they make them do press-ups over the hole of the latrine and tell them to breath in the smell". (Focus group: Parents of children who have never been to school, Marofarihy)
"The teacher hits you with whatever he has in his hands, sometimes with a really big, long ruler, he hits you everywhere, he doesn't chose where he is going to hit". (Focus group: Children who have dropped out of school, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
"The teachers hate those students who have a lot of lice and who smell because they are scared they are going to catch something. They are often being told off and I think in the long run they are discouraged from going to school!" (Focus group:Children who have dropped out of school, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
"Be dignified in every sense of the word! Children must be dignified in the society in which they live, whether that is in the way that they dress or in the way that they speak. Our wish is that the teachers are role models for our children. Therefore their behaviour should be impeccable". (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord)

## G. Difficulties with student relationships

Cases of physical and verbal abuse sometimes mark relationships between peers. Stigmatization of underachievers or children from poor families might also be apparent. This is illustrated by the reluctance of other students to sit next to them and the fact that they are frequently accused of theft. Girls, in particular, raised the issue of physical, verbal and psychological violence against them by boys. The boys in turn, reported the same kind of violence but this time by older peers of the same sex. With respect to relations with disabled peers, some children expressed concerns about the transmission of disabilities. Cases where children with disabilities are considered as 'curiosities' and are abused by other children were reported in schools with integrated classes. This perhaps explains the apprehension of some parents of disabled children who report stigmatizing behaviour of other students (teasing, ...) this disruptive behaviour often leaving children with disabilities with a complex.
"My child already experienced that! At the beginning he got an 8 , whereas some of the children who can see only got 4.5 . More recently he got 11.75 but I don't know how many his nasty classmates got because the visually impaired children have been separated from those who can see. Before he was at the Dalhia School but as there is now a special class for the visually impaired, I have enrolled him here". (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Antsiranana)

## H. Reluctance towards the education of disabled children in mainstream schools

Although the 'educational personnel' focus groups recognize disabled children's right to education, they seemed reluctant to include disabled children in mainstream schools because: (i) the facilities are not able to provide proper care for disabled children (accessibility) (ii) teachers lack training as to their care, (iii) there is a lack of specific equipment, (iv) teachers do not have time for individual follow-up (overcrowding makes it difficult to provide differential teaching). The extra work caused by such inclusion is therefore highly undesirable. Nevertheless, they seemed to be in favour of educating children with physical disabilities, believing that children with other types of disabilities should be cared for in specialized institutions. However, it should be noted that over the course of the field visits, children with various disabilities, enrolled in mainstream schools, were observed. Teachers admitted, however, that they felt overwhelmed and expressed that it is difficult to perform their role when faced with disabilities other than physical. This feeling may explain why teachers neglect disabled children and often leave them to their own devices - their peers brought this fact to light during focus group discussions.
"To achieve the goal of education for all, of course we should educate children with disabilities. But still it would be difficult to educate them here! Children with physical disabilities would be ok, but the others... Do you realise with the numbers we have, we would not be able to spend time on special cases". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)
"At every break, the children rushed into the room of the visually impaired to look at them! They were curious about them. There were also some that blocked their way because everyone can go in there. So what principal said makes perfect sense! We need special schools to care for these disabled because it is difficult". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Antsiranana)
"We had a student who was mentally retarded in our class, but the teacher never asked him any questions or ever told him off like he did with the other children. It was as if he wasn't even there!" (Focus group: Children who have dropped out of school, Anosibe Trimohorano)


## III.3. COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF EXCLUSION



For this study, communities were organised according to their Fokontany. At the community level, information was collected from the FRAM President and the Fokontany leader. Data on the Fokontany and Fokontany leader are given for national, urban and rural levels while for the Fokontany, the distinction between primary schools and community primary schools is added.

## II.3.1. Community characteristics

A. Community context:

Rural communities are naturally more isolated and have less access to various infrastructures (water points, health centres) than urban communities. Urban areas appear to be very vulnerable to flooding while rural areas are more resistant to natural disasters such as cyclones and droughts. On an educational level, urban Fokontany have more access to further education and a better supply of private primary education. $\nabla$

- Table 32: Fokontany context

| Community context | National | Urban | Rural |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Connected to a national road (\%) | 25,5 | 63 | 19 |
| Distance to the national road | 35,2 | 6,4 | 47,3 |
| Access to potable water (\%) | 71,8 | 78,4 | 70,4 |
| Basic health centre (\%) | 28,7 | 59,7 | 23,4 |
| Security index | 3,2 | 3,4 | 3,2 |
| Recent floods (\%) | 60,2 | 79,2 | 56,9 |
| Recent cyclones (\%) | 80,1 | 61,7 | 83,3 |
| Recent drought (\%) | 61,6 | 20,9 | 68,7 |
| Existence of a secondary school (\%) | 30,2 | 48,6 | 27,1 |
| Existence of private primary schools (\%) | 11,9 | 17,3 | 11 |

In terms of population, rural Fokontany are naturally less populated and have a higher percentage of the population living off agriculture, livestock and fishing. Only $59 \%$ of Fokontany have recently conducted a census of school-aged children. When this was done, estimates given by the Fokontany leader showed that $27.5 \%$ of children aged 6 to 12 years were not in school. This figure is twice as high in rural areas
compared to urban areas. For children aged 6 to 12 years with physical, sensory or developmental disabilities in the Fokontany, estimated numbers were found to be $5.5 \%$; this figure is higher in rural areas. ${ }^{21}$ Given the previous results, which show that children with disabilities represent only $0.62 \%$ of school students, it is possible to determine that only $11.3 \%$ of children with disabilities go to school.

- Table 33: Fokontany populations

| Population | National | Urban | Rural |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Number of residents | 1338,3 | 2169,9 | 1193,7 |
| Population working in agriculture, fishing or livestock (\%) | 89,6 | 86,2 | 90,2 |
| A census on school children has been done in the Fokontany recently <br> $(\%)$ | 59 | 62,8 | 58,3 |
| Number of primary school aged children | 120,5 | 194,5 | 107,7 |
| School aged children, not in school (\%) | 27,5 | 14,6 | 30,6 |
| Primary school aged disabled children (\%) | 5,5 | 3,4 | 5,9 |

[^12]
## B. Parents association representatives

It is still very rare that a woman is president of the parents association. FRAM presidents are 40 years old on average, $95 \%$ work in agriculture, livestock or fishing and have an income similar to that of the
parents. Their level of education is slightly higher than the parents, the majority having completed primary or even secondary school.

- Table 34: Characteristics of FRAM Presidents

| FRAM President | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community | Community |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Male (\%) | 86 | 89,9 | 85,4 | 91,3 | 75 |
| Age | 44 | 49,7 | 43,2 | 42,4 | 46,8 |
| Monthly salary (MGA) | 66 | 145 | 54 | 64230,10 | 51330,90 |
| Index - Education level | 296,70 | 557,00 | 881,60 | 64 | 1,5 |

Note: Education level index: 1=primary, 2= secondary school, 3=college, 4= further studies

Nearly $90 \%$ of FRAM presidents describe studying as a positive experience and all of them perceive the education of their children as an important issue. These figures are very similar to those of the Fokontany leaders. The most important things to teach children during their primary years are how to read and write, good manners and respect for their parents and others. According to FRAM presidents, school is necessary until at least secondary school. Some of the criteria for stopping studies include
finding employment, marriage, graduation or age. Half of the FRAM presidents however, do not believe that all children have equal opportunities to access primary school; this is especially true when it comes to community schools. Half of the FRAM presidents feel that disability can be contagious and one quarter believe that some children bring bad luck. Only a very small proportion of them would not like to see certain categories of children in school; this relates only to children who are too old.

- Table 35: FRAM presidents'perception of education

| Perception of education by FRAM Presidents | National | Urban | Rural | Non- <br> community | Community |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Index of level of education deemed necessary | 3,1 | 3,1 | 3,1 | 2,9 | 3 |
| All children have equal opportunity to access primary <br> school (\%) | 49,6 | 42,3 | 50,7 | 46,7 | 69,4 |
| Considers disability to be contagious (\%) | 48,20 | 70,40 | 44,90 | 56,40 | 61,20 |
| Considers that some children bring bad luck (\%) | 26,4 | 26,9 | 26,3 | 20,5 | 20,8 |
| Does not want certain children in primary school (\%) | 1,7 | 13,2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |



## C. Community representatives:

Only 3 of the 83 Fokontany leaders are women; no female leaders were found in rural areas. The Fokontany leaders are older in urban areas
and $80 \%$ are involved in some form of agriculture, livestock or fishing. They have an income similar to that of the FRAM presidents but have a slightly higher level of education. -

- Table 36: Characteristics of the Fokontany Leader

| Fokontany leader | National | Urban | Rural |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Male (\%) | 99,5 | 96,5 | 100 |
| Age | 44,9 | 53,1 | 43,4 |
| Monthly salary (MGA) | 61055,90 | 92007,90 | 55672,80 |
| Index - Education level | 1,6 | 1,6 | 1,6 |

Fokontany leaders have the same expectations as FRAM presidents in terms of what they consider a necessary level of education. However, a higher percentage of them feel that all children have equal opportunities to access education. While criteria for stopping studies are similar to those cited by FRAM presidents, they also put forward that some students might stop when a certain degree
of knowledge has been achieved. Fewer Fokontany leaders see disability as contagious or that some children may bring bad luck. In contrast, nearly $30 \%$ of the Fokontany leaders do not wish to see certain categories of children in school. These categories include sick children, those with developmental or severe sensory problems and students who are too old. -

- Table 37: Fokontany Leaders' perception of education

| Perception of education by Fokontany Leaders | National | Urban | Rural |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Index of level of education deemed necessary | 3,1 | 3,5 | 3,1 |
| All children have equal opportunity to access primary school (\%) | 70,9 | 77,5 | 69,7 |
| Considers disability to be contagious (\%) | 12,6 | 0 | 14,8 |
| Considers that some children bring bad luck (\%) | 20,1 | 47,1 | 15,4 |
| Does not want certain children in primary school (\%) | 30,8 | 42,8 | 28,7 |

Note: Index for the level of education deemed necessary: $1=$ primary, $2=$ secondary school, $3=$ college, 4 = further studies

## III.3.2. Community relations with households and the school

Nearly $56 \%$ of FRAM presidents feel that the overall quality of primary schools in their district is poor and $53 \%$ of them are not satisfied with the work carried out by the school. The problem of teacher absenteeism is brought up a lot as well as insecurity in the school. The biggest problems identified by the FRAM presidents in primary schools are the poor quality of the buildings, the lack of teachers, insufficient space for all the students, a lack of support from the State, absence of teaching materials and a lack of parental involvement. Infrastructures that FRAM presidents would prioritize include additional classrooms, access to clean water, functional toilets, a sports ground and a canteen. When quantitative targets are set for the primary school by the FRAM president, they almost always consist of number of classrooms and teachers. In terms of the FRAM's
involvement in the management of the school, they report to be mainly involved in the selection of FRAM teachers, as well as budget development and the school's accounts. The majority of FRAM presidents feel that the principal and teachers are competent; an average of 8 meetings per year between the principal and the parents association take place. Urban and community schools have the least interactions with FRAM. 91\% of FRAM presidents say that they have good relationships with the principal, $97 \%$ say the same for their relations with the teachers and $92 \%$ of them have a good relationship with the Fokontany leader. The FRAM presidents are quite critical when it comes to the work carried out by their own FRAM. Only one third of them judge the work of the parents association to be effective, while others think that it needs improvement.

- Table 38: FRAM - school relations

| FRAM - school relations | National | Urban | Rural | Non-commu- <br> nity | Community |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Infrastructure quality index for primary schools | 2,3 | 2,9 | 2,3 | 2,3 | 2,5 |
| Satisfaction index concerning the work of primary <br> schools | 2,5 | 2,4 | 2,5 | 2,4 | 2,9 |
| Problem of teacher absenteeism (\%) | 19,7 | 10 | 21,1 | 32,80 | 14,60 |
| Involved in selection of FRAM teachers (\%) | 82,7 | 78,5 | 83,3 | 87,3 | 82,5 |
| Involved in the accounts (\%) | 61,6 | 58,5 | 62,1 | 48,3 | 63,5 |
| Principals thought to be competent (\%) | 87,1 | 86,9 | 87,1 | 91,5 | 72,8 |
| Number of meetings with the principal | 7,9 | 3,8 | 8,6 | 7,9 | 4,2 |
| Number of FRAM meetings | 8,5 | 3,9 | 9,2 | 8,3 | 5,8 |
| FRAM considered to be effective | 33,3 | 36,1 | 32,9 | 39,7 | 28,4 |

Note: Infrastructure quality index: $1=$ poor, $2=$ average, $3=$ good, $4=$ very good. Satisfaction index: $1=$ not at all satisfied, $2=$ a bit satisfied, $3=$ satisfied, $4=$ very satisfied

For the Fokontany leaders, the most important problems relating to primary school are also the lack of classrooms, teachers and teaching materials and the fact that they lack support from the State. Priorities, in terms of infrastructure, are additional classrooms, libraries, access to water and sports fields. The Fokontany is often involved with the school accounts and in more than a quarter of cases provides direct financial contributions to the school. DINAs were set up in $36 \%$ of Fokontany. Fokontany leaders
consider the majority of primary school principals and teachers to be competent in their roles. $86 \%$ of Fokontany leaders say they have a good relationship with the principal, $92 \%$ say the same for teachers and $90 \%$ consider that they have a good relationship with the FRAM presidents. However, only $61 \%$ of Fokontany leaders are satisfied with the work of the local primary school and $28 \%$ think that the work of the parents association needs improvement.

- Table 39: Fokontany - school relations

| Fokontany - school relations | National | Urban | Rural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Involved in the accounts (\%) | 35,8 | 24,5 | 37,8 |
| Direct financial participation in the primary school (\%) | 28 | 35,6 | 26,6 |
| Existence of DINA (\%) | 36,3 | 24,9 | 38,3 |
| Principals thought to be competent (\%) | 93,9 | 100 | 92,8 |
| Number of meetings with the principal | 3,3 | 1,5 | 3,6 |
| Teachers thought to be competent (\%) | 93,3 | 100 | 92,2 |
| Number of meetings with the FRAM | 3,3 | 1,5 | 3,6 |
| Feel satisfied with the work of the primary school in the <br> Fokontany (\%) | 61,2 | 78,3 | 58,2 |

## III.3.3. Community attitudes towards school exclusion

## A. Community reactions towards exclusion

According to FRAM presidents, children who drop out of school usually come from low-income families, or from families with problems, are girls or older students or are physically or intellectually impaired. According to them, the child's family, and to a lesser extent the child, is responsible for
them dropping out of school. School officials are never mentioned. Actions to be taken in order to reduce dropout rates include awareness campaigns for the children, financial support for the families, renovation of school infrastructures, free school supplies and reduced school fees. $35 \%$ of FRAM presidents report they have specific actions aimed at those children who have never been to school. These include awareness raising activities for parents to inform them about their children's education and fundraising for school fees for poor children. For
those children who have dropped out of school, awareness campaigns are linked with Fokontany collaboration in the set up of DINA. Specific actions targeting disabled children are very rare and only
five FRAM presidents reported carrying out special activities. These again were parental awareness, fundraising and the search for financial partners for material donations.

- Table 40: Community actions against exclusion

| Community actions against exclusion | National | Urban | Rural | Non-commu- <br> nity | Community |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Specific actions targeting children who have <br> never been to school (\%) | 35 | 9,5 | 38,8 | 36,4 | 41,5 |
| Specific actions targeting children who have <br> dropped out of school (\%) | 33,7 | 36,1 | 33,3 | 39,7 | 36,6 |
| Specific actions targeting disabled children (\%) | 3,4 | 10 | 2,4 | 5,5 | 0 |
| Involved in selection of FRAM teachers (\%) | 82,7 | 78,5 | 83,3 | 87,3 | 82,5 |

Fokontany leaders have more or less the same thoughts as FRAM presidents when it comes to the children most likely to drop out of school, those responsible for dropouts and actions to take in order to reduce this behaviour. Fokontany activities aimed at children who have dropped out of school are essentially based on dialogue and parental awareness. Fokontany actions vis-à-vis children with disabilities are very rare and community practices are hardly mentioned at all.

## III.3.4. Exclusion factors related to the community according to focus group discussions

Matters expressed during focus group discussions provide complementary elements to communityrelated exclusion factors. Even if these are broadly supportive and proactive towards improving education in their areas, communities show conscious and unconscious attitudes that are likely to have negative impacts.
A. Mixed perceptions of the importance of education

The 'community' focus groups sometimes place mixed degrees of importance on education in the same way as the 'parents' groups. Even though they consider education as a means to personal development and useful for practical purposes, they do not always see the added value in relation to success, which they associate more with wealth. Indeed, for them, having an education is not the only way to succeed in life; on the contrary the groups feel that it can sometimes be a handicap. In fact, graduates often have to settle for low paying jobs, are faced with limited job offers and have inadequate training according to the requirements of the labour market, and are faced with corruption to get a
job. They see a decline in the quality of education, which in turn manifests itself in the decreased value of qualifications. Yet they also seem aware of the need to have higher qualifications to distinguish themselves from the mass of current graduates. The challenge of doing this, combined with their mixed perceptions of the importance of education, leads them to prefer the safe comfort of their daily income-generating activities (agriculture and livestock). The lack of successful role models in the village, predominance of success by chance in society and an increase in unemployed graduates explain their mixed opinions of education.

## B. Poor community involvement in education

'Community' focus groups complain about the difficulty in carrying out certain education initiatives at the Fokontany level due to: (i) the prevalence of illiteracy in the community, (ii) a low commitment to education, (iii) a lack of support from local authorities despite the willingness of community leaders (e.g. District Authorities did not implement cattle logbook sanctions against those parents not educating their children). A lack of commitment and a certain lingering was also found in 'community' focus groups due to the lack of initiatives without any external assistance and the fact that they admit to sometimes feeling reluctant to educate parents on the schooling of their children, believing that this may intrude on household privacy.
"We tried to establish a Dina with the Fokontany to penalize parents who do not enroll their children, but we had to get rid of it because there was no support from District officials. Indeed, we intended to put pressure on parents by not issuing them their cattle logbooks, but the District still gave them to them anyway". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara)
C. Community indifference when faced with the issue of school dropouts

Even if the community favours some inclusive practices regarding school attendance, some obstacles set up by the community itself go against these practices: (i) non-acceptance by FRAM members in some Fokontany or villages to provide assistance to children from poor families, arguing that the notion of poverty is very subjective, (ii) lack of community accountability when faced with school dropouts despite community initiatives (to ease the parent's burden), (iii) community indifference towards dropouts in areas where there are no community initiatives (iv) the feeling that dropping out is irreversible, which leads to other alternative development solutions (vocational training, ...) at the expense of returning to school.

## D. Discrepancies between the community and FRAM

'Community' focus groups strongly disapprove of the adamancy of the parents associations (FRAM) towards the payment of parental contributions, criticizing a lack of solidarity 'between parents'. By pointing out that community members are also parents, FRAM's decisions are deemed to be influenced by the principal and teachers who defend their interests by lobbying the FRAM Office.

## E. Feelings of general insecurity further penalize children's education

The prevailing insecurity in the community coupled with the remoteness of schools leads parents to delay, or hold off, their children's schooling.

$\mid$"They even attack the college. They just attacked the secondary school this week. It's like that here! Even us at school, we are scared. You finish your classes and you are scared to go home at 6pm when you leave the classroom, as you don't live nearby". (Focus group; Educational personnel, Antsiranana)

## F. Influence of social gender roles on <br> community attitudes and behaviour

Community perceptions of social gender roles influence their attitudes and behaviour towards children, according to the 'community' focus group from Anivorano Nord. Thus, for boys, the fact that they work seems commonplace and even encouraged. Employment opportunities for boys are much more readily available than for girls of the same age. Boys of a certain age, who do not work,
would be negatively judged by society. As far as the girls are concerned, dropping out of school to get married, because of an early pregnancy or to care for siblings, appears to be completely normal for the community. It should be noted that only a handful of girls left school for paid work. In such cases, they are more oriented towards working as a home help or a babysitter. Some changes in community attitudes should also be noted (as in Anivorano Nord and Antsirabe) where they are trying to curb the drop out rate of girls from primary school to prevent them from becoming a burden on their parents and family.

## G. Difficulties in accepting the education of disabled children in mainstream schools

The 'community' focus groups seem more or less reluctant to the issue of educating disabled children in mainstream schools based on the fact that there are specialized institutions to take care of them and which are better suited to their needs. They also feel reluctance from the parents of children without disabilities and recall their grievances on the lack of supervision in the classroom; teachers would be even more overloaded if they were to have disabled children in their classrooms. Cases of abuse of disabled children within the community (physical and emotional violence within the family or community, sexual abuse) are highlighted to support their claims of a lack of sensitivity of the community at large with regard to these children.

## H. Perception of inaction by the State

The 'community' focus groups complain of difficulties the population face with completing the various administrative formalities related to schooling. They cite, for example, the distance to the municipal offices to request a birth certificate, which is one of the requirements for enrolment, and mention the inaction of the State despite efforts on their part (e.g. construction of a community school in which all teachers have been supported by the community since its creation). These difficulties are seen as a failure of the State, which is supposedly, according to them, the body that guarantees every child's right to education.
"We would like the State and the Ministry of Education to support our efforts because the community really gives priority to education. The State should at least make an effort with the infrastructure. We realize that the State has financial difficulties, but at least they could build one room so that the community knows that we have not been forgotten". (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
"We feel really like we are on a different planet to the
uthorities ('tany lavitra andriana')! They tell us to submit our request and then we wait and wait ... no response! We end up wondering if we have been forgotten as the State responds to other requests". (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord)
"We told you earlier the problem with classrooms, we tried to find solutions. We have already sent requests for assistance to the State but have had no response so far! - And now, there is this new programme to develop pre-
schools, where do you think we are going to put these children?" (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
"The parents have already achieved a lot, but in the end they will give up because the State does nothing in return. I would not blame them if they took their children out of school!" (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)


## III.4. SUMMARY OF PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR

## III.4.1. Which children are excluded from primary school and what are the conditions for exclusion?

The quantitative data from our survey provides us with a number of elements to quantify those children excluded from primary school. With this data, it is also possible to go further than simple comparisons of means and truly test the strength of the effect of certain variables on the educational situation of children and the level of school exclusion in schools and communities.
A. What are the key figures for primary school exclusion?

Data collected at the Fokontany level can be used to estimate that $27.5 \%$ of children between 6 and 12 years are not currently enrolled in primary school ${ }^{21}$. Using the estimation method from Section II.2.2 (see Table 1), the number of out-of-school children $6-12$ years is found to be about 1.5 million children. The survey methods can not estimate the number of children who have never been to primary school; given the difficulty that investigators had to find the latter in survey areas it can be estimated that most children go, for at least one day, to primary school.

According to the principals, approximately $6 \%$ of their students drop out between the beginning and end of the school year ${ }^{22}$. This figure rises to over $20 \%$ for some schools. Community schools have the highest dropout rates and the lowest number of students with disabilities. Even if the difference between the average dropout rate between girls and boys is small, most girls drop out in rural and community schools whilst boys drop out more in the urban areas. Principals estimate that $4.8 \%$ of children are either self-excluded or excluded by FRAM due to non-payment of school fees or discipline problems. It therefore appears that the institutions directly or indirectly exclude many of the primary school dropouts. In half the cases, it was the child who made the decision to drop out of school and in $80 \%$ of these cases, this decision was made abruptly and the studies were stopped immediately. From what teachers observe in their classrooms, about $10 \%$ of students are absent on an average school day; this figure goes up to $21 \%$ during the lean season, from January to April, which is the most costly period in terms of absenteeism and dropouts.

Information collected from Fokontany leaders can be used to estimate that of the total number of primary school aged children, 5.5\% have disabilities. Based on observations in schools, children with disabilities represent only $0.62 \%$ of the total enrollment. It can therefore be calculated that only $11.3 \%$ of children with disabilities receive an education and that disabled children who are not in school represent $4.9 \%$ of all children. Ultimately, it is possible to estimate that children with disabilities account for $17.8 \%$ of those children excluded from primary education. Girls with disabilities face double discrimination as they represent $29 \%$ of disabled children enrolled in school..

## B. Which children are excluded from primary school?

At the household level, it is possible to test the different characteristics relative to the various situations: a child who has never enrolled in primary school, a child who started school but later dropped out and a child who is still in CMl. Through individual econometric regressions for each variable with Fokontany-fixed effects, it is possible to compare these three categories of children within the same community. With binomial logistic regression models, the children who have never been to school can be compared with those who enrolled, and then the children who left school before CMI can be compared with those who are still there. Finally, with ordered multinomial logistic models, all three groups of children can be compared.

This method of investigation does not compare the status of children according to sex and age; however, birthorder does seem to have an influence on dropouts. While no difference between enrolling in primary school or not has been noted, children who drop out of primary school however, tend to be the elder siblings. Being an orphan, having a job or living far away from a school influences the fact of never enrolling in school as much as dropping out before CM1. Children with many hours of domestic chores and with lower grades than other children, tend to drop out significantly more than others, whereas those who went to nursery school and receive help from their parents with their homework are more likely to stay on at school. For disabled children, those that started primary school later tend to drop out more often than others. Children with severe

[^13]disabilities are less likely to enroll in primary school, compared with those with mild disabilities, while parents helping with homework can also reduce dropouts.
Variables such as the number of repetitions, the rate of reported absenteeism, having a parent or guardian as head of household or the number of health issues,
do not demonstrate significant impacts on exclusion. Finally for all categories of children, the standard of well-being is reported to be significantly lower for those children who never went to primary school or who dropped compared to those children who are still in school

- Table 41: Characteristics of excluded children

| Variables tested | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Never enrolled / enrolled in school | Dropped out of school / still in school | Never in school dropped out of school / still in school | Never enrolled / enrolled in school | Dropped out of school / still in school | Never enrolled in school / dropped out of school / still in school |
| Order of birth | 1,06 | 1.09 ** | 1.09 * | 0,99 | 0,85 | 0,94 |
| Orphan | 0.47 ** | 0.51 ** | 0.47 *** | 2,19 | 3,2 | 2.60 ** |
| Income generating activities | 0.28 *** | 0.25 *** | 0.24 *** | 0,98 | 0,22 | 0,64 |
| Number of hours of domestic chores | 0,98 | 0.92 *** | 0.96 *** | 0.95 * | 1,03 | 0,97 |
| Nursery school |  | 2.80 *** |  |  |  |  |
| Age when started primary school |  | 0,86 |  |  | 0.49 ** |  |
| Distance from the school | 0.99 * | 0.98 ** | 0.98 ** | 1,01 | 1,01 | 1,01 |
| Lower grades than the other children |  | 0.30 *** |  |  | 0,32 |  |
| Receives help from parents with homework |  | 1.39 *** |  |  | 2.03 ** |  |
| Number of visits to the doctor | 0,99 | 1,08 | 1,05 | 2.56 ** | 1,57 | 2.53 ** |
| Severely disabled |  |  |  | 0.09 *** | 1,52 | 0.13 *** |
| Estimated level of child's disability in everyday life |  |  |  | 0.29 ** | 1,12 | 0.39 ** |
| Reported level of well-being | 3.73 *** | $5.2{ }^{* * *}$ | $5.02^{* * *}$ | 2.29 * | 1,7 | 2,2 |

Notes: For binomial and multinomial logistic models, each variable is individually tested with the fixed effects for each Fokontany, the results are presented intuitively in terms of odds ratio, that is to say the likelihood of an event over the probability that this event does not happen. Odds ratios are multipliable: for example, values greater than 1 imply that the variable in question is likely to be positive (or occur), while an odds ratio of less than 1 indicates a negative effect. The odds ratio of a nonoccurrence of an event is simply the opposite of the odds ratio of its occurrence, ${ }^{*}=$ significant at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}=$ significant at $5 \%$;
*** $=$ significant at $1 \%$

Thus, the children who never enroll in primary school are for the most part, orphans, those who are subject to income generating activities and children that live the furthest away from school. Children who drop out of school before CM1 are also usually orphans, children who have to work longer hours, those who are the eldest child in the family or live far away from
school, and those children that have lower grades and receive less help with their homework from their parents than children who are still in school. ${ }^{23}$ Disabled children who complete third grade, or CM1, are those with less severe disabilities than other children. These children also started primary school earlier and have been to the doctor more often.

[^14]C. What kind of households do excluded children come from?

The same tests were performed to compare what kind of households the children who are excluded from primary school come from. The parental education level, the educational level of other children in the household, the degree of importance placed on education and the quality of the home are
all significantly lower for children who have never enrolled in, and children who have dropped out of, school. Children who have never been to primary school have fewer meals than others, while children who dropped out of primary school have parents who are less often employed, have less income and have experienced sudden reductions in income than children who are still in school.

- Table 42: Characteristics of excluded children's households

| Variables tested | Children without disabilities |  |  | Children with disabilities |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Never enrolled / enrolled in school | Dropped out of school / still in school | Never enrolled in school / dropped out of school / still in school | Never enrolled / enrolled in school | Dropped out of school / still in schoo |  |
| Parent's education level | 5.56 *** | 2.54 *** | 3.78 *** | 2.70 * | 1,26 | 2.33 * |
| Maximum level of education attained by other children | 0.47 ** | 0.51 ** | 0.47 *** | 2,19 | 3,2 | 2.60 ** |
| Household | 6.18 ** | 2.00 *** | 2.64 *** | 1.61 * | 1,07 | 0,64 |
| Degree of importance given to a child's education | 2.83 *** | 1.86 * | 2.84 *** | 1.87 * | 1.75 * | 0,97 |
| Parents both employed | 1,75 | 2.65 *** | 2.44 ** | 0,29 |  | 0,44 |
| Monthly salary (Ariary) | 1,01 | 1.01 * | 1.01 ** | 1 | 1,01 | 1 |
| Sudden reduction in income over the last 2 years | 0,67 | 0.49 * | 0.52 ** | 1,46 | 0,73 | 1,26 |
| Number of meals per day | 2.08 ** | 1,22 | 1.64 ** | 3.24 *** | 0,97 | 2.47 ** |
| Housing with a dirt floor | 0.22 *** | 0.36 *** | 0.26 *** | 0,64 | 0.38 * | 0,57 |
| Number of people sleeping in the same room as the child | 0,93 | 0.89 *** | 0.89 ** | 1,12 | 0,89 | 1,06 |
| Housing near sanitation facilities | 1.74 ** | 2.29 ** | 2.12 ** | 1,08 | 1,61 | 1,17 |
| Housing near media services | 3.22 *** | 3.02 *** | 3.84 *** | 0.42 ** | 3,1 | 0,66 |
| Spending on books and school supplies (in thousands of Ariary) |  | 1.07 *** |  |  | 1,09 |  |
| Numbers of meetings with the principal |  | 1,02 |  |  | 1.50 ** |  |
| Estimated level of school's adaptation for disabled children |  |  |  | 2.91 ** | 2.77 * | 3 *** |

Notes: For binomial and multinomial logistic models, each variable is individually tested with the fixed elements for each Fokontany, the results are presented in terms of odds ratio. Degree of importance given to education: $1=$ not important, 2 = indifferent, 3 = important, $4=$ very important; level of school's adaptation for disabled children: $1=$ not at all suitable 2 = not very suitable, $3=$ adequate, $4=$ perfectly suitable; * $=$ significant at $10 \%$, ** $=$ significant at $5 \%$; *** $=$ significant at $1 \%$

For children with disabilities, the educational level of the parents and other children in the household, the number of meals per day and access to media, significantly influence the fact that a child is never enrolled in school. The number of meetings with the principal and the quality of housing are negatively
associated with disabled children dropping out of school. The parent's judgment as to the degree of suitability of the school with regard to a child's disability also plays a significant role in the choice of educating the child or not. Variables such as the number of dependent children or having recently

moved house do not present significant differences between the categories of children.
The educational level of parents and other children, income status and housing conditions ultimately appear to be closely related to a child's education. In other words, if the educational and financial situation of the household is not good the more likely it is that a child will never enrol in primary school or will drop out before completion.
D. Which primary schools exclude the most children?

In order to make a comparison between schools relative to their dropout rate over the academic year, regressions are performed for each variable by including one fixed element per commune. Consequently schools in the same municipality can be compared. Certain variables are therefore tested at the school level to find out which ones are related to the dropout rates reported by the principal. The results show that dropout rates are highest in community schools, in those that exclude large numbers of students and those that have been closed for a significant number of days.

- Table 43: Characteristics of schools that exclude the most children

| Variables tested (Principal and FRAM President) | Primary school drop out rate over the course of the academic year |
| :---: | :---: |
| Community school | 0.064 ** |
| Number of students (hundreds) | -0.005 * |
| Percentage of girls | 0.198 * |
| Percentage of disabled children | -0.025 *** |
| Primary school certificate success rate | -0037 * |
| Student - teacher ratio | -0.001* |
| Quality of the buildings | -0.016* |
| School fees for a new student (in 10,000 Ariary) | -0.0003 *** |
| Number of students excluded | 0.002 ** |
| Number of days school is closed due to external factors | 0.005 ** |
| School contract programme | -0.025 * |
| Monitoring of student's presence | -0.021* |
| FRAM actions related to children who have never been to school | -0.026* |
| FRAM actions related to children who have dropped out of school | -0.026* |

Notes: Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) models, each variable is individually tested with the fixed elements for each commune;

* $=$ significant at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}=$ significant at $5 \% ;{ }^{* * *}=$ significant at $1 \%$

Schools with lower dropout rates have more students, more students with disabilities, a better primary school certificate success rate, a lower ratio of students to teacher, better quality buildings, higher school fees and are usually involved in a contract for success programme and monitor student presence.

FRAM actions vis-à-vis children who have never been to school or have dropped out, seem to have a positive effect since schools involved in such actions have a less significant dropout rate. Variables such as double shifts, multi-grade classes or the availability of textbooks do not show any significant impacts.

## E. Which communities exclude the most

 children?Finally, when comparing Fokontany in terms of their average primary school dropout rate as reported by the principals, several facts may be highlighted.

Urban areas seem to have lower dropout rates as well as those areas that receive external support for their primary schools. Climate disasters such as floods, cyclones or droughts significantly increase school dropout rates.

- Table 44: Characteristics of communities that exclude the most children

| Variables tested (Fokontany leader) | Primary school drop out rate over the course of the <br> academic year |
| :--- | :--- |
| Fokontany leader's education level | $0.006^{*}$ |
| Urban areas | $-0.027^{* *}$ |
| Recent flooding | $0.016^{*}$ |
| Recent cyclones | $0.023^{* *}$ |
| Recent drought | $0.025^{*}$ |
| External support | $-0.031^{* * *}$ |

Notes: OLS models, each variable is individually tested;

* $=$ significant at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}=$ significant at $5 \% ;{ }^{* * *}=$ significant at $1 \%$


## III.4.2. What are the main causes of school exclusion?

In all study sites, opinions gathered through focus group discussions suggest that the factors and risks of primary school exclusion are high for girls, boys, children with disabilities and all categories of vulnerable children. Wide disparities appear between urban, suburban and isolated rural areas.

Overall, exclusion due to non-enrolment in primary school seems relatively low based on information that was brought to light in focus group discussions. Exclusion is caused mainly by the parent's lack of financial resources, felt in both urban and rural areas, and by the parent's inability to measure the importance of education. Parents are indifferent or not convinced about the advantages of education, especially when their children are destined to remain in rural areas or when they think they can earn money to live well enough without having to study. Schooling is made even more difficult in the case of disabled children whose attitudes and those of their parents seem guided by their prejudices or their apprehension about the school's capacity to care for the child's disability. Moreover, these fears are often well-founded according to the experiences of those concerned. Indeed, infrastructure and existing services in schools are deemed inappropriate for
disabled children, resulting in parents keeping their children at home even if school officials are willing to admit them.

On the other hand, exclusion due to dropouts appears to be very common in all settings. This is the result of various situations involving the parents, the children themselves as well as teachers, school and the community. In this respect, the circumstances most often cited relate to: (i) the parent's inability to pay their children's school fees, (ii) the parent's decision to take the child out of school so he/ she can do other activities (in particular, domestic help) or follow other leads (marriage), once they feel satisfied that their children have acquired the minimum skills (reading, writing and arithmetic), (iii) the child's demotivation to continue studying, generated by repeated failures at school, bullying by classmates or teachers or the feeling of being disliked by the class (iv) the severity of the school's regulations concerning the non-payment of school fees, poor performance or bad behaviour (v) the lax attitudes and behaviour of teachers, curbing students' learning, or causing them to lose interest in their studies. The community's indifference to school also tends to limit awareness of solutions that could be adapted. Communities also strongly feel that they are being neglected by the State. Furthermore, prevailing insecurity in communities combined with the remoteness of schools also results in parents delaying, if not preventing, their children from going to school.
If parents feel it is necessary to take a child out of school, their tendencies are mixed - unless a girl is getting married - they have to decide among those children in school, which has the least chance of
school success on the one hand, and which has the least need for education in order to succeed in life on the other. It emerged that when considering this 'need for education in order to succeed in life', boys and girls are treated equally; the current trend towards equal rights and responsibilities for women and men in the workplace is put forward to support girls' rights to achieve the same qualifications as boys. This implies that the removal of girls - instead of boys - from school is less systematic than it was in the past. The recognition of academic success for children with disabilities, however, remains very low. A major dropout factor for disabled children is the sense of stigmatization caused by classmates ridiculing or making fun of them, leading parents to believe that special schools would be more appropriate for disabled children.
The quantitative results and elements from the focus group discussion highlight a number of causes of school exclusion related to households, schools, communities and the environment. These causes are highly interconnected within each actor, as well as between them and eventually lead to the system of primary school exclusion that is operating in Madagascar. Figure 3 gives a concise overview of the main causes of school exclusion emerging from this study.

At the household level, economic difficulties (low income, sudden drop in income) combined with family problems (death/absence of one or both parents...), problems of the child's health (disability, malnutrition, fatigue ...) and a poor estimation of education (due to the need to work, the effect on traditional values ...) explain part of the school exclusion phenomenon and give rise to further exacerbating phenomena such as the differential treatment between children with regard to schooling
(based on birth order, gender, disability, level of educational performance ...), child labour (domestic, remunerative) and situations of embarrassment and demotivation (related to schooling, return to school, disability ...). From the school's point of view, education costs, poor quality education and study conditions and the distance and accessibility of schools explain part of the school exclusion phenomenon. Here the quality of education and the cost of schooling have a negative relationship; reducing school fees and parental contributions, also reduces the ability to pay good teachers or invest in infrastructure. Discriminatory treatment or even violence (against poor children, children with learning difficulties, girls, unruly children, disabled children, pregnant girls...) from principals, teachers and other students are also put forward as exacerbating factors. At the community level, prejudices of social roles (gender, child labour, early marriage, disability...), administrative bottlenecks (civil status or Fokontany registration), a poor level of commitment to fight against school exclusion, insecurity and climate vulnerability, heavily influence school exclusion. The environment also plays a key role in school exclusion through the lack of State support, which influences the cost, quality and accessibility of schools and discourages communities. Some relationships influencing school exclusion need to be established among stakeholders, especially the relationships between household economic difficulties and the cost of schooling; the poor estimation of education by households and the quality of schools; social prejudices of the community and differential treatment of children in the household; and insecurity and the distance to the school. It should also be noted that some causes of exclusion could also be the consequences, as is the case for child labour.


IV. INCLUSIVE ATTHUDES AND PRACTICESFORTHE PRIMARY CYCLE


## IV.1. HOUSEHOLD PERCEPTIONS OF INCLUSION

Information collected during the quantitative survey brought out experiences, perceptions, attitudes and behaviour that provide an insight into the successful inclusion of children in primary school. The sources for this success are found within the community, at the household level and among educational personnel; their combined actions complementing each other to create favourable conditions. Primary school inclusion can be seen when parents and children show aspirations for life, along with real investments in education in terms of financial and material support, commitment and perseverance. These aspirations usually come from their own environment, in which learning is primarily based on their own experiences or those of others (which could be happy/unhappy, satisfactory/unsatisfactory), or from advice they may receive. Furthermore, efforts
for a sustainable education of the child are more effective when parents and children have a positive perception of education and understand its value. These views are found across all sites and groups that took part in the survey. However, they also highlight nuances that are essentially linked to the level of ambition attached to aspirations, to the degree of optimism generated by the household's economic conditions and the perception of job opportunities. This is reflected in the resolve parents and children have for school. Indeed, the groups in isolated rural areas tend to have minimum ambitions by using traditional agricultural activities as their benchmarks. Those in urban areas and closer rural areas tend to have wider horizons that would require a higher level of education.

## A. Aspirations for a better standard of living and greater social recognition: a driving force for education

In describing their current living conditions as 'hard', the 'parents' focus groups refer to their inability to meet their family's needs with their income, job insecurity, lack of remuneration from agricultural activities, disruptions caused by climatic factors, land issues and insecurity of their crops, and the difficulty of young people, including their children, to find work. They also complain about the overall deterioration of social life in which they perceive a loss of traditional values in general, especially among young people, and a lack of consideration towards the poor. Parents are unanimous in their desire to succeed for themselves and for their children but worry more about their children and their future, through which they hope to receive help and assistance in their old age. Parents hope that their children will be able to live in better conditions than they themselves have experienced or are currently experiencing and that they will have access to gainful employment, a situation that most associate with success (in life) known as material wealth and which is a condition of educational success beyond primary school. However, some groups think that their children can have a better life if they stay in their village but acquire the capacity to better manage the family assets and ensure the sustainability of traditional agricultural and livestock activities. These people tend to feel that the primary level of education is sufficient to acquire the necessary skills (reading, writing and arithmetic) as well as being a deterrent to migrating to the city. For the 'children' focus groups, their conception of success in life seems to differ somewhat from that of the 'parents', insofar as it exceeds material wealth giving more importance to social status and service ideals, their aspirations seem driven not only by the severity of their parents' conditions but are also built on the different cases or models they see in or outside their village. To live in better conditions to those in which they currently live is a recurring desire of the children. Those children from the rural groups tend to have a greater longing that is based on their desire to avoid backbreaking agricultural work. Better conditions, as expressed by all categories of children, will be accessible through stable, long-term professions, of which some of them appreciate the resulting social status and rewarding opportunity to serve (their fellowmen) more than remuneration - which they consider important but no more than that (attitude noted among the girls in particular).For professions such as doctor, teacher, gendarme, police officer or civil servant, the children know that the level of education required is at least the leaving school certificate or the baccalauréat, if not a Degree or a Masters. If these levels of education
are representative of the goals that children in school wish to achieve, they remain only dreams that are already out of reach, for those children who have dropped out of or who have never been to school.
"The advantage of education is that he helps us achieve great things, for example, you can study and then become a teacher". (Focus group: Children who go to school, Antsirabe)
"When we have the knowledge, we can achieve the goals that we set ourselves". (Focus group: Children who go to school, Ambararatabe)
"I am aiming to go and study as far away as possible, like that I will get married a bit later on". (Focus group: Children who have never been to school, Ilafy)

## B. Perception of education as a means to achieve ambitions

Both the 'parents' and 'children' focus groups acknowledge that education is a means to achieve the conditions, which the parents aspire for their children and the latter for themselves in terms of success in life. They also agree on the need for, and the benefits and usefulness of, education. The 'parents' and 'children' groups both report that the need for education depends on the level of education required by the desired profession; the primary level being a must. The groups mention different application forms/ entrance forms that highlight necessary terms and conditions. Beyond these aspirations, even if they are not achieved, all groups see education as useful and beneficial for everyday life. Indeed:

- A set level of education corresponds to acquired skills that can be of use. The minimum level relates to being able to read, write and do basic arithmetic. Parents and children seem to attach real importance to the fact that (i) it is an asset when it comes to various administrative paperwork, including zebu passports and title deeds, (ii) it helps to avoid scams in business transactions, with the accounts or other necessary paperwork, (iii) it provides access to reading materials of interest such as the Bible and songs.
- Differences are highlighted between educated and non-educated people. The groups of children who have never been to school and their parents feel that educated people have a certain temperament and that they have been molded by their studies: they are intelligent, bold, open, responsible and thoughtful. In comparison, they judge that uneducated people are unable to reason, calculate and evolve in areas that are unknown to them, they feel that children who go to school differ from those who do not by: their
concern for progress, their ability to live in harmony with their family and society (polite, hygienic), their sense of responsibility(their willingness to help their families and community among others), their ability to cope with various situations (including the sound management of accounts), and their honest and respectful behaviour. Parents of children who go to school however, are inclined to think that children who do not go to school are a bad influence on those children who do.
- For the focus groups of 'parents of children who go to school', education represents the only unlimited inheritance (which can not be stolen) that can be passed on to children and is a way to ensure the education of future generations so that they can do better than their parents. Education is seen as an investment in a safety net that opens various employment opportunities and ensures good management of family wealth.
- For the 'children who go to school' focus groups, education is a means of acquiring social status and a point of pride within the community by standing out from the crowds of 'illiterates'.


## C. Parents' perceptions of gender roles in favour of education for girls and boys

Recognizing that women are increasingly called upon to work in order to support, alongside their husbands or alone, the needs of their families and at the same time exposed to awareness campaigns on equal rights of women and men, parents feel a particular regret for the economic dependency of girls who have not been schooled and their lack of decision-making power. Education is therefore seen by parents as a way for girls to acquire the necessary skills to ensure financial independence but also to ensure they have control over their own lives, in particular their sexuality, to protect themselves against domestic violence and to prevent them from falling into prostitution (Focus groups: parents of children who go to school, Marofarihy and Antsiranana). Similarly, although the group of 'parents of children who go to school' fromAmbararatabe Nord believes that girls are primarily intended to procreate, their education is still considered useful insofar as it is seen as a means of acquiring exemplary behaviour that will facilitate the search for a husband. Moreover, parental pressure to start work at an early age is placed less on girls, the latter not subject to such constraints while waiting for a marriage suitor. Regarding the boys, they are considered to be more apt in assisting their father if necessary and their primary role is, according to their parents, to become head of the family and be able to provide for it. Although they can be coerced into starting work early, education
is justifiable for them, in that they need to acquire the necessary skills to access good, well-paid jobs. Moreover, the fact that boys have less domestic chores to do is more favourable for their studies. In the eyes of the parents, in terms of educational needs their sons and daughters are treated equally according to their future roles and responsibilities in life. They therefore feel that any possible enrolment arbitration is based less on the sex of the child but is more concerned with the child's abilities and needs related to their future responsibilities.
"If a woman is not sufficiently educated, it's an embarrassment, because a man, even if he is not educated, he has his strength that he can use, to be a labourer for example. A woman, on the other hand, will be underpaid if she is not sufficiently educated because she cannot do anything. She could become a prostitute. If she wants to sell something to the market, but has no capital, then she will be forced into prostitution. That is the only solution! Moreover, that's what under-educated women here do". (Focus group: Parents of children in school, Antsiranana)

## D. Consideration of children with disabilities among siblings

Based on the principle of equal treatment and children's rights, parents report that they give their disabled children the same treatment as the other siblings. However, apprehensions about giving them the capacity to become self-sufficient are strongly evident when the affected parents voice concerns over their education. In fact, they feel that education is vital for disabled children, more than the other children, for them to acquire the necessary skills for gainful employment. Parents of children with disabilities blame the difficulty of educating their children on mainstream schools (in their current state), in place of which they would have liked to have special schools.

## E. Parents and children's positive perception of the school and teachers' roles

Many, and sometimes severe, criticisms are made by the 'parents' and 'community' focus groups about schools and teachers. However, these are indicative of their desire to see them more in line with the expectations that are associated with them; they want the school to educate their children as an extension of their parental role. Indeed, parents and children grant teachers the role of educators, whose quality they appreciate. They recognize their right to punish children, if necessary, and to put themselves in place of the parents to monitor their
studies, movements, relationships and behaviour. Furthermore parents consider school as a place for the positive transformation of their children in terms of behaviour and life-skills. Some parents even think that school can help heal their child's disability.
"His behaviour changed; I noticed that my child changed when I sent him to school. He became more intelligent, polite and knowledgeable". (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Marofarihy)
"The teacher does what he can to make us succeed. He makes us recite the lessons and those who can not do it are punished, they have to sweep the yard or are hit with a wooden stick". (Focus group: Children who go to school, Ambararatabe Nord)
"Teachers are the people who really educate, spiritually speaking. We give them the right to take the place of the parents". (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Ambararatabe Nord)
F. Significant investment of parents and children in education

Investments in the child's education are based on the attitudes and behaviour of both parents and the children. They specifically come from the determination shown by the family and the means provided to support the education of their children. Strategies brought up by the groups of children who go to school are illustrated below:

- the prioritization of school fees in household expenses, resulting in part of the monthly salary being set aside (even if the salary is not enough), otherwise by using every means possible, even if this means going into debt to find money to enable the children to go to school;
- parents heavily invest in agricultural activities to earn enough money to pay for the children's education;
- older siblings contribute towards the school fees of younger siblings;
- prioritization of children's education, separated from other family problems;
- parents allocate time and money to take close (which is appreciated) of the children who go to school, e.g. taking care of the child's hygiene before school, taking the child to and from school, buying small snacks ...;
- parents allocate time to monitor and supervise their child's education e.g. reminding their child to do their homework and helping them with their lessons;
monitoring their assignments and lessons; reading their notebooks and school reports; participating in parent meetings... However, some of these actions relate to those parents with a high level of education, those with a lower level than their children are unable to provide adequate intellectual guidance or supervision;
- accompaniment of children through their school career, e.g. encouraging children to stick with education in order to succeed; psychological preparation of children before exams; supervision of children even during the holidays ...;
- parent's effort to give, at home, equal treatment to all their children in terms of care and punishments;
- effective supervision of the child, e.g. discipline at home by the parents and at school by the teachers;
"For me, my objective is that I must send my daughter to school, whether I have the money or not. If I don't have the money, I will do everything I can to find it". (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Antsiranana)
"We have four children. When they become of school age, some of them have to wait until after the harvest, and some of them don't have to wait before they can be enrolled in school. But us, (the mother and father) we have decided to send all four of them to school, whether they have clothes on their backs or not, or whether they are hungry or not". (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Ehara)
"They (the parents) make sure we are clean when we go to school"; "they buy us snacks"; "they take us to school"; "they come and get us in the evening" (Focus group: Children who go to school, Antsirabe)


## G. Disapproval of non-enrolment in school by children and parents

All groups of parents and children, whether in school or out of school, are unanimously against the non-enrolment of children, they are saddened by this and can only see its disadvantages. For the groups of children who go to school and their parents, a lack of education leads these children towards unskilled jobs, or even towards unhealthy activities that could lead to prostitution for girls and crime or drugs for boys. For the groups of children who go to school and their parents, children who do not go to school are seen as bad influences and they should not be frequented. This is a motivating factor for children who go to school; afraid of falling into similar
situations as the children who do not go to school, they do their best to remain at school until they have achieved their objectives.
"We have forbidden him to hang around with those bad children because they might corrupt him. It is not him that comes up with the bad ideas, it's them. We have advised him to stick with the children who study, like that they will talk about their work". (Focus group: Parents with children who go to school, Ehara).

## H. Predisposition of parents and children towards education/going back to school

The predisposition of children who have dropped out of school towards going back to school and the education of children who have never been to school should influence the perception of methods for school inclusion. Focus group discussions on this issue show the parent's and children's enthusiasm but which is in fact questionable given the lack of intention and number of the apprehensions and conditions that are laid down.
Reference to education/going back to school sends the groups of 'children who have never been to school' and their 'parents' back to the benefits of studies and the educational roles of the school which they have already mentioned. However, without intending to, discussion groups put forward the particular benefits that education/going back to school would bring to the child such as (i) getting out of the 'at risk' environment of out-of-school children, (ii) going back to school to get back on the path towards his/her original objective, (iii) finding protective
lifebuoys against certain vices (prostitution, crime, drugs, ...) which could be a threat to children who do not go to school. Children who do not go to school strengthen their commitment to going back to school by removing the obstacles to their age, which they still feel is far from the age limit to study (19 or 20 years in their opinion). Parents, on the other hand, are willing to pay school fees if their children go back to school and resolve that they will to ensure close monitoring and supervision. However, cases of education/going back to school are subject to certain apprehensions and conditions, which tend to show certain scepticism. It is true that: (i) they would feel embarrassed in front of their peers for being illiterate at their age, (ii) acceptance of education/going back to school is punctuated by several 'ifs' by the parents (if study costs are justifiable; if the child wants to go back to school; if the school agrees to admit the child) and children (if it was a different school, not in their area; if the parents can pay the school fees).
"I'm glad that I came back to school. I think everything will be fine now, I will not go off the rails again ... and I will not let the others lead me astray and become a village thug". (Focus group: Children who have never been to school, AnivoranoNord)
"I am ready to get him everything he needs for his studies, if he goes back to school". "When he comes home from school I ask him about his homework, what he has understood and what he hasn't understood. Before he goes to school I make sure he has got everything he needs". (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Antsiranana)


## IV.2. SCHOOLS' PERCEPTION OF INCLUSION



Both the 'children' and 'parents' groups as well as the 'educational personnel' see the attitudes and behaviour that are behind education in the school environment. These include: the teaching staff's care and attention of student study conditions; actions to promote education conducted by the school; collaboration between the school and parents; school infrastructure is suitable for the needs of students; regulations are compassionate and tolerant; friendly relations prevail in the classroom...

## A. Educational personnel - ownership of their role

The 'educational personnel' focus groups define the mission of the school and the teaching staff as the transfer of knowledge and expertise; conveying values and attitudes that establish good manners and good citizenship; shaping the mind and spirit. They can see the added value created by schools mainly in the difference between children who go to school and those who do not. Those who have been to school:

- have the ability to understand information, are intelligent, quick-witted, and have common sense;
- have a future outlook, are able to adapt to environments that are more developed than their own, are capable of ensuring the future education of their children;
- have the capacity to communicate, are assertive in public, are able to hold a conversation and can speak in French;
- have the ability to make good judgments, to avoid scams;
- are able to participate actively in the development of the community, to the extent that people are more open to development initiatives when they studied until at least CM2;
- are polite, clean, courageous, daring and resourceful. The 'Educational personnel' groups report that disabled children who go to school stand out by their resourcefulness, courage and intelligence, unlike those who do not go to school and whom they judge to be shy with a complex about their disability. With such a mission in mind and in order to achieve such 'outputs', educational personnel undertake actions to make the school an attractive and pleasing place to be.
"If we take the subject of agriculture, nowadays, we use insecticides and just by listening to the recommendations of the salesman, you can see the difference. For the one who has studied, the instructions are immediately clear, whereas for the other, he could have it all wrong and will therefore destroy his activity". (Focus group: Educational staff, Ilafy)
"The one who goes to school is intelligent, the one who doesn't go to school is a 'number one idiot'". (Sic)


## B. Teachers' encouraging attitudes

The focus groups of 'children who go to school' assign attitudes and behaviour to the teacher that motivate them to study: (i) the teacher's willingness to make students succeed by explaining lessons well, monitoring lessons learnt, checking if homework has been done and handing out punishments,(ii) sensitization of students by teachers on the importance of passing exams and moving up into the next grade, (iii) the reduction in the number of classes missed due to the principal stepping in, (iv) periodic assessments to test students' knowledge.
"We don't send anyone away, on the contrary, we beg people to enrol with us. There are those who drop out but we don't exclude anyone!" (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara)
"For example, he should pay 25,000 Fmg: they pay 5,000 Fmg today, they pay again in two weeks and so on! It's not like the FRAM contribution that should be paid in one go according to the decisions made at the parent's meeting." (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)

## C. Encouraging policy adopted by educational personnel

The 'educational personnel' focus groups also cite many activities aimed at promoting children's education:

- the adoption of an internal school policy on student enrolment, which includes issues such as the admittance of students without a birth certificate, paying registration fees in installments and the provision of advice to parents to facilitate payment of future fees (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy);
- non-formal procedures in place to send children away from primary school (Focus groups: Educational personnel, Ilafy and Ehara);
- with respect to absenteeism, the provision of a notebook to record the reasons for a student's absence without being too strict on the reasons given and informing the teacher in advance if a student will be absent (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy);
- special support given to disadvantaged children, namely the provision of school supplies to children from needy families, tolerance of children whose supplies are incomplete (Focus groups: Educational staff, Ilafy), sporadic provision of food to hungry children(Focus group: Educational personnel, Antsiranana);
- in relation to teaching:
- specific support for students with difficulties, giving them free lessons, followed by individual monitoring in class (frequent checking of notebooks, questions...), adopting group pedagogy which would consist of the students working in groups made up of a mix of 'strong' and 'weak' students (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara), using different teaching methods to cope with the different levels of ability (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy); - encouraging children to love school by adopting friendly attitudes, avoiding possible punishments, organising games to challenge students (Focus groups: Educational personnel, Ehara and Ilafy) and involving students in local cultural activities (Focus group: Community, Ehara);
- equal treatment of students when it comes to assessments (assigning grades) and attitudes towards them in class (Focus groups: Educational staff, Ehara);
- raise parental awareness of education at periodic meetings (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara), collaboration/discussions with parents to make education a common problem through the use of different strategies (home visits for the majority/
call a meeting with a minority) (Focus group: Educational personnel,Ilafy), advocate for improved conditions for FRAM teachers (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy);
- school infrastructure can be adapted to suit the needs of disabled children (e.g. construction of access ramps).


## D. Climate of understanding among peers

The existence of a climate of understanding between students is considered conducive to studies by the focus groups 'children in school', and is marked by the absence of discriminatory behaviour in relation to performance, age, gender and standard of living. Similarly, the 'children who have dropped out of school' focus group from Anosibe Trimoloharano stand out from the groups of out of school children by their fond memories of peer relationships during their years at school.

## E. Student acceptance of children with disabilities

Students' acceptance of their peers with disabilities would be favourable for the education of the latter. The groups 'children who go to school' and 'children who have dropped out of school' from Anosibe Trimoloharano, are unanimous towards the inclusion of students with disabilities in mainstream schools and give various reasons for this:

- out of principle: they endorse the equal treatment of all students, with or without disabilities;
- out of belief: they believe that people who mistreat these children will, in turn, become disabled (Focus group: Children who go to school, Ambararatabe Nord) ;
- out of habit: they are already use to being educated with disabled children (Focus group: Children who have dropped out of school, Anosibe Trimoloharano);
- out of assurance: they agree to be in the same class as these children when the fear of contagiousness has been lifted (Focus group: Children who go to school, Antsirabe).
- out of compassion: the group, 'children who have dropped out of school' from Anosibe Trimoloharano approves of the teacher's affirmative actions towards mentally handicapped children.
"We leave the disabled children alone because we don't want them to infect us". (Focus group: Children who go to school, Ambararatabe Nord)



## IV.3. COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF INCLUSION

The focus group discussions imply that the community is a breeding ground for children's education, which gives educated people social recognition and implements joint initiatives to encourage and support children's schooling. The context would be even more favourable in some areas, if the community were to receive assistance from development projects.

## A. Community recognition of educated people

'Community' focus groups, namely those from Antsirabe and Anosibe Trimoloharano, agree that educated people are more capable of succeeding in life - this success they define is not only the ability to provide material needs or economic and social security (savings, medical care) for the family but is also the leadership capacity to develop their self, their family as well as their community. In this respect, uneducated rich people are considered as exceptions rather than the rule, having benefited from luck or a gift from God (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord). They also tend to be characterised in a negative way: 'arrogant', 'lack respect for others' or 'talks nonsense' (Focus group: Community, Antsirabe). It is therefore educational status and associated behaviour, which inspires the community's social recognition, more than wealth (Focus groups: Community, Antsirabe and Anosibe Trimoloharano).However, it is understood that the
primary level is insufficient to acquire such status for women as well as for men.

## B. Perception of gender roles in favour of education for girls and boys

For the 'community' focus groups from Anosibe Trimoloharano and Antsirabe, boys who drop out of primary school will not have the capacity to guarantee social success whereas girls become burdens on their parents and their families; both situations are judged negatively by the community. So as not to fall into such situations, girls and boys are encouraged and supported to continue their studies. The need for further education beyond primary school group is reinforced by the 'community' group from Anivorano Nord if the area has (i) job opportunities from development projects that recruit local employees and need to fill positions left by local graduates who migrate to larger towns, (ii) positive role models made up of older people who went back to school and succeeded. Community initiatives target both boys and girls.

## C. Community involvement in children's education

The communities of Anivorano Nord and Anosibe Trimoloharano highlight community initiatives to improve their children's education.

## Anivorano Nord:

- a census of all school-aged children at the Fokontany level;
- information on the procedures to follow with respect to children's education and assistance with preparing the new school year and anticipation of related costs;
- raise parental awareness of education, followed by the creation of a community school;
- implementation of joint activities by parents at the Fokontany or village level to ease the parental burden of school expenses (e.g. cultivation of cassava, potatoes, ravintsara - tree whose leaves are processed to extract essential oil - fish farming, beekeeping, ...) payment of FRAM teachers, registration fees, institutional running costs... from which the parents can be completely free;
- adult literacy classes are also conducted in the village.
"The parents in each village get together in a group and each village has its own group. They grow cassava or potatoes. They sell their produce and a treasurer looks after the money that is collected (one treasurer per group and different from the FRAM treasurer)".

,"Each group will be supervised by a teacher (remember that most teachers in the school are FRAM teachers). This money will pay the teacher's monthly salary. If the amount raised is sufficient, parents no longer have to pay school fees". (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)

## D. Community adhesion towards the education of children with disabilities

The 'community' group from Antsirabe refers to inclusive education as a good initiative to assert the equal rights of all children, with or without disabilities, through education. The group referred to specific actions that would make school accessible to everyone, including children with disabilities who are increasingly likely to be educated outside private specialized institutions, as their fees are prohibitively expensive. Similarly, the 'community' group from Anivorano Nord recognises the need to educate children with disabilities but seems reluctant to their admittance in mainstream primary schools.
"It's included in what is known as inclusivity. To mix, to integrate. This means disabled children and normal children are put together in the same school". (Focus group: Community, Antsirabe)


## IV.4. SUMMARY OF INCLUSIVE ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES OBSERVED FOR THE PRIMARY CYCLE

Opinions gathered through focus group discussions throughout all study sites suggest a number of attitudes and practices on which an inclusive education policy could be developed. Despite progress made through measures deemed to be effective in certain areas and by the emergence of an awareness that is favourable towards education and equal treatment of children, such attitudes still remain limited. Sending children to and keeping them in school, results from a number of different considerations particularly influenced by actions taken by the community, as well as by the school.

Parents and children are usually motivated to go to primary school, which they see as a means to achieve their goals and aspirations: to live in better conditions than they do now and to succeed in life - a success that parents tend put at the level of material wealth, but to which children add social status and service ideals. These aspirations and goals are all the more reinforced when parents want to break away from the reproduction of their own illiteracy, want their children to have good manners and instill respect, and parents want to be able to rely on their children for material and social assistance. They are inspired by the social recognition given to educated people and the parallel lack of respect of uneducated people - as well as by successful role models observed in their community or from a wider horizon. In this respect, the same considerations are deemed to be given to girls and boys, with reference to the changing environment that gives women access to different types of employment and the right and responsibility to contribute - alongside a man or alone - to the household income. The fact that disabled children are sent to schools reveals that parents have the same motivation, but only provided that these children can be admitted and accepted. The aspiration of girls and boys for coveted social status (such as wellrespected jobs, well-paid or rewarding positions such as: doctor, teacher, policeman...) can be observed by girls in their preparation for a greater autonomy and in disabled children by their pursuit for responsibility. These are combined with parental expectations of motivational structures for education in which fixed ambitions generally go beyond the primary level. They also fuel the commitment and perseverance of those interested in education, promoting their retention in school and resulting in sacrifices made by the parents in the search for financial resources for their children's education. The involuntary termination of their school career is referred to as
a source of sadness and frustration, whatever the background in question.

The efforts of educational personnel to make schools attractive and pleasant are reflected in: the absence of any kind of discrimination against children in terms of admission and treatment in class; additional support for underperforming students; substitution by the principal in the absence of teachers; implementation of tailored teaching methods; the establishment of a student evaluation system; specific support for disadvantaged children, such as the provision of school supplies for children from needy families, tolerance of children whose supplies are incomplete, provision of food for hungry children, the acceptance of students without birth certificates and the payment of school fees in installments; the establishment of contacts and good relationships with parents; provision of advice to parents to facilitate payment of future fees; the development of school infrastructure, adapted to the needs of disabled children. Actions undertaken at the community level also contribute to children's education. Community initiatives are intended to advocate and support the presence of a school in their area, to seek ways to ease household problems and constraints when it comes to their children's education, to encourage households in the community to educate their children, not excluding coercion - although communities are careful to consider such coercion out of respect for household privacy, which in the end have a right to make their own decisions on children's schooling. Community activities (cultivation of ravintsara, cassava, sweet potato, ...) in some of the study areas, reportedly generate enough income to relieve the parents of their contribution towards school fees. It was therefore found that households, community and school have an interdependence that could have an effect on the inclusion or exclusion of school children.

The quantitative results and elements that came out of the focus group discussions put forward a number of attitudes from households, schools and communities that are conducive to inclusive primary education. These attitudes are strongly interconnected within and between actors. Figure 4 provides an overview of the main inclusive attitudes that emerge from this study. At the household level, the huge investments made by parents for their children's education and the strong disapproval of non-enrolment of children in primary school should be emphasized. Education
is thus seen as a means to achieve life goals (physical, social...) and ensure independence (especially for girls and disabled children). Perceived interest in education is therefore reflected in the desire and a certain predisposition of parents and children towards going back to school. Within schools, administrative and financial facilities (payment in installments, free education...) have been put in place to meet the difficulties that some households face. Affirmative actions by the principal, teachers and other students
towards vulnerable children have also been observed, as well as promotional activities for education and improved study conditions (equipment) and teaching methods. With regard to community attitudes, their efforts and initiatives in favour of inclusive education as well as their positive perceptions of educated people and diversity must be highlighted. Ways to promote inclusion through external support (State, NGOs ..) are presented in the following section.

## HOUSEHOLD



Positive
discrimination

Action to promote education



## V. WAYS TO PROMOTE PRIMARY SCHOOL INCLUSION



# V. WAYS TO PROMOTE PRIMARY SCHOOL INCLUSION 

| Ways to get children back into school (\%) | Children without disabilities |  | Children with disabilities |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school | Dropped out of school | Never enrolled in school |
| RELATED TO THE CLASS: |  |  |  |  |
| Fewer students in the class | 0 | 5,81 | 0 | 1,84 |
| RELATED TO THE CHILD: |  |  |  |  |
| Change of teacher | 0,84 | 1,51 | 0 | 2,98 |
| Teacher training | 0,62 | 0 | 0 | 1,74 |
| Increased number of teachers | 0,02 | 0,52 | 0 | 1,27 |
| Change in teacher's attitude / raise teacher awareness of children who are coming back to school | 4,61 | 0,06 | 1,26 | 1,27 |
| Improved teaching methods | 1,22 | 0 | 0,53 | 1,27 |
| RELATED TO THE SCHOOL: |  |  |  |  |
| Construction of a primary school nearer to home | 0,98 | 4,58 | 0 | 1,27 |
| Improved primary school infrastructures | 2,24 | 4,72 | 0 | 1,27 |
| Provision of free school supplies | 5,65 | 22,9 | 9,4 | 9,15 |
| More flexibility in school hours | 1,86 | 6,59 | 0 | 0 |
| Change in teacher's attitude / raise teacher awareness of children who are coming back to school | 2,02 | 0,63 | 0 | 4,8 |
| Reduction in school fees | 5,96 | 8,07 | 2,54 | 3,81 |
| Better relations with the FRAM | 2,07 | 2,48 | 0 | 5,48 |
| Food support for children at school | 3,88 | 6,42 | 0 | 8,96 |
| Another language of instruction | 1,58 | 4,25 | 23,29 | 1,88 |

Solutions to reduce school dropouts proposed by the principals are respectively: raising awareness of the child and their families, free school supplies, in-school nutritional support, financial support for families, reduced school fees and improved training for teachers and appropriate teaching methods.

According to the teachers, ways to reduce school dropouts primarily include raising awareness of children and their families. The provision of financial support for families, improved primary school infrastructures, improved teaching methods and teacher awareness of the return to school of
those children who had dropped out and a reduction in school fees are other frequently cited proposals. Solutions raised by FRAM presidents include lower school fees, free school supplies, improved primary school infrastructures and financial support for the families. For the Fokontany leaders, the best ways to reduce primary school dropouts include nutritional support for children at school, a change in teachers' attitudes towards children who come back to school, lower school fees, free school supplies and financial support for families.

## V.2. LESSONS LEARNT FROM FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The reasons and factors in favour of education are strong for primary school enrolment, but start to weaken when it comes to primary school completion and wane even further when it comes to education beyond that. All stakeholders, parents, children, educational personnel and the community, have
some kind of input. Finding themselves in the same context or same socio-economic situation, households are driven by the similar aspirations but differ nonetheless in their level of ambition. This determines the difference in attitudes and behaviour adopted at the respective household level, in the
amount of effort made towards children's education and is reflected in the strength of perseverance and sacrifices made. In this way, while some households pull their children out of school for the slightest reasons, others are ready to overcome them by all means possible.

The community's prevailing culture, which households are part of, also creates a collective consciousness which determines, on the one hand, the consistency of initiatives that the community takes to influence household decisions regarding the education of their children and, the manner in which households construct their vision and aspirations relative to education on the other. Two communities, one of which thinks nothing of teenage pregnancy, and the other which does not think highly of girls dropping out of primary school will both have different considerations and values of girls' education. Similarly, if one community is somewhat defeatist towards disabled children in the community and another one is collectively more concerned about the future of these children, their initiatives will obviously be different. Finally, educational personnel convinced of their mission to produce successful men and women, work hard to make school an attractive and pleasant place to be, to ensure the retention of both children and staff. Their success might be recognized in some cases and less perceived in others, this is due to a combination of both internal and external factors. Internal factors consist of attitudes and professional practices, seriousness, love, respect, understanding and flexibility, and infrastructures adequate for students needs; and on the other hand, attitudes and practices deemed too interested in other things (money) or too severe (discipline) and inadequate means that discourage parents or children from going to school. External factors include assistance and support that contribute to the success of the school; while distance to the school or the prevailing insecurity act as deterrents.

The FRAM, which groups together parents and is involved in school management, is a link between educational personnel, households and the community. It represents the joint interests of each stakeholder: the survival of the school for educational personnel, expenditure for households and the education of children for the community. Criticisms of FRAM report that parents who do not identify with the FRAM's decisions, feel frustrated by the uncompromising rules related to financial contributions in which the principal and teachers are said to play a dominant role. Thus, interactions between households, community and school - focusing on local matters, regardless of State intervention - could have impacts on the inclusion and
exclusion of school children, according to the figure shown below. The community's prevailing culture, in relation to the recognition of educated people over uneducated and the portrayal of social success, shapes children's life aspirations and those that the parents have for them. Depending on how much the household is affected by this culture, the household places its aspirations at a level that is determined by its educational capacity, its professional social status and its model of success. This level of ambition determines the scope of sacrifices that will be made for education and the amount of perseverance required.

With its aspirations and ambitions, and confronted with problems and constraints, the household acts in the community to encourage a collective consciousness and push for community initiatives. Community initiatives are intended to advocate and support the presence of a school in their area; seek ways to alleviate household problems and constraints in the education of their children; encourage households in the community to educate their children; and does not exclude coercion or group pressure. They can lead to a structure for community involvement in school management. Parents' participation in FRAM means they are involved with decisions as to the nature and rules of their contributions towards the functioning of the school. Here they meet the school principal and teachers who also want to put their ideas across and defend the interests of the school, according to their vision.

The community and FRAM meet with educational personnel to influence school policy and teacher's attitudes and behaviour, so that they are compatible with their expectations. The results depend on the persuasion capacity and power relations of the parties present. Primary school inclusion therefore finds favourable factors in (i) the strength and quality of the community's influence (i.e. environmental) on households, in particular the presence of positive role models for education, (ii) the ability of the community to help alleviate household problems, particularly financial, that effect the education of their children, (iii) the ability of the community and households to agree with educational personnel on a policy that sustainably supports the interests of the school and all parties concerned with education, (iv) the capacity of educational personnel to listen to the households and community and to adopt attitudes and professional practices, in line with their expectations and hopes in relation to the education of their children. Failure in one or other of these elements could contribute to primary school exclusion.

## V.3. ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES TO PROMOTE PRIMARY SCHOOL INCLUSION AS SUGGESTED BY THE FOCUS GROUPS

During the focus group discussions, the children, parents, principals, teachers, FRAM presidents and community representatives were asked to share their suggestions as to the inclusion of all children in primary school, in terms of access and
retention. Their suggestions focus on the roles and responsibilities that each actor (parents, students, teachers, principal, FRAM, the Fokontany and the State) should play.

Figure 5: Summary of stakeholder's roles and responsibilities for the promotion of primary school inclusion


## V.3.1. Roles of the parents

## A. Child supervision

According to the focus groups, parents should supervise their children by providing advice and encouragement and by teaching them the value of education among other things. Similarly, the groups reiterate the importance of parents in the monitoring of their child's education.
"What can you do even if you make an effort and he doesn't care at all? 'Even if I make an effort, when I don't know, I don't know' he says!" (Focus group: Parents of children who have dropped out of school, Marofarihy)
"The parent's role is to provide the children's educational supplies, even if the lessons are free, they still have to have a notebook. The parents must also provide the pens etc". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Antsiranana I)

## B. Provision of school fees and the necessary educational supplies for their children

Focus groups suggest that parents should make an effort to support their children financially and materially providing them with the necessary supplies for their studies and paying FRAM and school fees.

## C. Outreach for parents of children who do not go to school

Groups from Ehara suggest that parents of children who are still in school should raise awareness among parents of children who are not in school emphasizing positive role models from the area and the opportunities that education offers.

## D. Communication with teachers

According to the 'educational personnel' from Antsiranana I, parents should communicate with teachers to monitor their children better.

## E. Specific monitoring of children with disabilities

According to the 'educational personnel' from Antsiranana I, parents with disabled children should pay close attention to them (i) by providing them with close supervision for their studies (ii) by taking them to school in the morning and bringing them home in the evening.

## V.3.2. Roles of the students

A. Outreach children who do not go to school According to the focus groups, children who are in school have a role to play in educating their out-ofschool peers, encouraging them to go to school by sharing the benefits of education and using their own experience of the positive aspects and their achievements.

## B. Respect for teacher and parental guidance

Students should show their willingness to study, respect educational personnel, whether they be teachers or the principal and diligently pursue their studies (Focus groups 'community', Anosibe Trimoloharano, 'parents of children who go to school', Antsiranana I and Ambararatabe Nord).

## C. Mutual support to fight against school dropouts

According to the 'educational personnel' from Ehara, children who are in school should be mutually supportive in the fight against school dropouts.

## D. Involvement in the identification of children

 who do not go to school"Educational personnel" from Antsiranana I suggest that school children should be involved in the identification of those children who do not go to school
E. The role of children who do not go to school Children who do not go to school should listen to their peers ("community" focus group, Anivorano Nord), pressure their parents to enroll them in school, or go to the adult literacy classes as the survey participants feel that it is never too late to learn. If they never had the opportunity to go to school, they should make a resolution to encourage any other uneducated person to change their situation (dependents, neighbours...) ("community" focus group, Anosibe Trimoloharano).

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"In my opinion, if he has never had the chance to study, when he is older he should try by all means to make up for this. This is what happens at our place, illiterate adults make appointments with the primary school teachers Saturday or Sunday afternoons". ("community" focus group, Anosibe Trimoloharano).

## V.3.4. Roles of the teachers

## A. Communication with the parents

Focus groups emphasize the need for communication between parents and teachers. They therefore suggest, that teachers maintain a good relationship with parents to make them feel that their children's education is a mutual problem and to establish an atmosphere that favours discussion. In practice, the groups suggest that teachers collaborate with the parents, consult them in all decisions, exchange information, report on the educational situation of the children (by means of a notebook for example), and report back on the child's attendance.
"There should be communication between the parents and educators. We see children from here, they leave their house to go to school but they go somewhere else instead while parents think they are at school. We send letters to parents but they do not come. So the fault also lies, in part, with the parents". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Antsiranana I)

## B. Improvement of the school environment

The focus groups suggest that teachers cultivate a friendly atmosphere within the school to attract and retain children who go to school and those who do not. In order of decreasing prevalence, they suggest (i) adopting caring attitudes towards students (ii) coming up with enjoyable activities that motivate students, e.g. involve them in local festivities (Ehara), organise school sports, (iii) avoid punishments as much as possible - on this point, groups from Marofarihy insist on abolishing degrading punishments, (iv) treat children equally, (v) carry out individual monitoring (vi) provide school supplies (Ehara).
"The teacher should come up with new ideas, we shouldn't have to force the children to go to school, they should want to go of their own accord". (Focus group: Community AnivoranoNord)
"He should do everything he can to make the school welcoming and so that the children enjoy it there. The teacher should organise fun activities for the students. The school should be attractive inside and out, as should the whole school environment! If they like it there, they will be eager to go; it will only take a moment between putting their spoon down and picking up their satchel". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)

## C. Outreach for parents and children

According to the groups of 'parents of children who go to school' from Antsiranana I and Ehara, teachers should raise parental awareness on the importance of education. They therefore insist on the need for teachers to identify those children who are not in school in order to inform them.

## D. Monitoring of children's behaviour

For the groups of 'parents of children who go to school' from Antsiranana I and Ambararatabe Nord, it is the teacher's responsibility to monitor student attendance and behaviour in school and report back to the parents as necessary.
"Children need to receive affection and attention, this is very important. Very few students drop out if they feel loved". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)

## E. Other suggestions

The 'community' group from Anosibe Trimoloharano would like teachers to act as follows: (i) comply with educational obligations relating to absenteeism, (ii) act as educator, not only a teacher, and (iii) know how to transmit knowledge to the students.

## V.3.5 Roles of the principal

## A. Collaboration with parents

According to the focus groups, the principal should collaborate with parents, in various ways depending on the site or target. For the 'community' group from Antsirabe I, the role of the principal is to consult parents on all decisions, to share information with parents; for the 'community' group from Anivorano Nord, cooperation is mainly concerned with those parents who need material or psychological support in order for their children to continue their studies; for the 'community' group from Anosibe Trimoloharano and the 'educational personnel' group from Ilafy, his role is to maintain good relationships with all parents. According to the 'parents', communication is useful in abnormal cases, and in the case of which, meetings should be organised.
"The principal's role is to meet with parents who would like to enrol their children and to register these children. There is a poster that shows the date of the start of school and the registration schedule". (Focus group: Parents of children who have dropped out of school, Marofarihy)
"Communication with the parents is very important. It should be informal, as if we are meeting at the market!" (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)

## B. Improvement of study conditions

Focus groups suggest improved study conditions at the school level, and highlight the following points:

- make education attractive through various means such as: adopting caring attitudes, involving children in local events, individual monitoring of students, providing students with school supplies (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara)
- inventory school supplies for the smooth running of the school year (Focus group: Community, Anosibe Trimoloharano)
- ensure that specific supplies for disabled children are available (Focus group: Parents of children who go to school, Antsiranana I)
- avoid being too strict on administrative issues when enrolling the child, such as requesting a copy of the birth certificate (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy).


## C. Parental outreach

The principal should educate parents about children's education (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara), or promote community awareness through the other stakeholders (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy).
"Parents can be educated during the various meetings. This could be collaboration with the Fokontany or with another entity. We need cooperation because we cannot do everything alone. We must share the work to ensure all children in our community are enrolled in school".(Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)

## D. Supervision of teachers

The principal should supervise teachers to ensure the smooth running of classes and retention of children in school. The community of Antsirabe I specifies that the principal should control teaching methods, monitor teacher's attendance, support them in the management or organisation of their classes, and make corrections if necessary.

## E. Supervision of children's education

The group of "parents who have children in school" from Ambararatabe Nord states that it is the principal's role to monitor student attendance and report back to the parents.

## V.3.6. Roles of the FRAM

Groups concerned with the issue had few suggestions as to the roles of the FRAM president, apart from their main suggestion of raising awareness of parents, children and the community.
A. Awareness of parents, children and the community
Groups assign the primary responsibility of the FRAM to raising the awareness of parents, children and the community about the benefits of education and the importance of schooling. The groups of
'parents of children who go to school' from Ehara and Marofarihy suggested the use of sanctions against parents who persistently fail to send their children to school.

## B. Communication with the school and parents

 The "community" group from Antsirabe I gives special attention to school/parents communication. A climate conducive to discussion should be established by allowing FRAM a share of responsibility in decision-making and exchanges with parents and the school.C. Protecting the interests of FRAM teachers and parents
According to the "community" group from Anosibe Trimoloharano, FRAM must protect the interests of FRAM teachers and parents by encouraging joint initiatives to reduce the burden on parents and to also ensure the teachers' monthly salary. The aim is to develop a sense of solidarity among community members to make education a social matter and not a concern for individual families. FRAM should also conduct an annual census of school-aged children.

## D. Collaboration with the school principal

For "educational personnel" from Ilafy, working closely with the principal is recommended to ensure greater success in achieving the goal of education for all. Collaboration would involve FRAM conducting field visits to draw up lists of children who should be enrolled in schools and submission of such lists to school principals. FRAM officials could start by collecting copies of birth certificates of those children already identified.


## E. Financial involvement

For the 'parents of children who go to school' from Antsiranana I, FRAM should address any financial issues. As such, it should (i) ensure that the school has financial resources e.g. by looking for funds to pay FRAM teachers or for the renovation of infrastructures, (ii) an upward revision FRAM teachers' fees.

## F. Support for children with financial difficulties

According to the "community" group from Anivorano Nord, the FRAM's role is to support those children with financial difficulties, by organising income generating activities, raising funds, or allocating contributions.
"The FRAM also has its share of responsibility! They should take care of the children from needy families so that they can finish primary school. They should allocate funds from the parental contributions parents for this!" (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord)

## G. Revitalisation of the school

According to the group of 'parents of children who go to school' from Ambararatabe Nord, the FRAM should revitalise the school. It should monitor student and teacher attendance, follow the rules for part-time teacher's fees, provide parents with advice, make suggestions to the principal and teachers so their work is better appreciated.

## V.3.7. Roles of the Fokontany

Groups concerned with these issues suggested the following roles for the Fokontany for the inclusion and retention of children in school:

## A. Parental and community outreach

Almost all the focus groups suggest that the Fokontany must educate the parents and community so that they send their children to school, provide them with proper care and give them the necessary support and guidance. However, the 'community' group from Antsirabe I, while being aware of this role, displayed scepticism as to the achievement of such actions as they already feel at a disadvantage due to the lack of resources available to raise awareness.

[^15](Focus group: Community, Antsirabe I)
"It's the Fokontany leader himself who is primarily responsible for raising awareness as it's his territory. He's the one who has been elected!" (Focus group: Educational staff, Ehara)

## B. Collaboration with FRAM, the principal and teachers

Collaboration with other entities such as FRAM, the school principal and teachers, was suggested by the majority of groups in order to: assist the FRAM with its activities, ('parents of children who go to school', Antsiranana I); ensure the achievement of the education for all goal, ('educational personnel', Ilafy); follow up requests for assistance with the Ministry concerned ('community', Anosibe Trimoloharano); discuss issues and activities related to education with teachers or the principal and share the results of these discussions with the public, in particular with parents of school-aged children and students ('parents of children who go to school', Ambararatabe Nord); think about necessary measures to take depending on the school's numbers: recruitment of teachers, construction of new classrooms. Indeed, participants felt that schools are the property of the Fokontany ("community," Anosibe Trimoloharano).

## C. Sanction parents who do not enrol their children in school

The idea of allowing the Fokontany to punish parents of non-enrolled children by means of a 'Dina' or other punitive measures emerged repeatedly.

## D. Monitoring of school dropouts and nonenrolment

Groups from Antsiranana I feel that the Fokontany should monitor school dropouts. This would involve (i) identifying those children who dropped out, inquiring about the reasons for leaving and then intervening with the school as necessary, (ii) identifying children who do not go to school to inform them of the benefits of education.
"Keep track of the children who drop out of school, that should be their role. Is the child trying to sell things at the market by any chance? But children do not want to study. As for the teachers, they are doing their jobs". (Focus group: Educational staff, Antsiranana I)

## E. Look for collaboration with NGOs

The 'educational personnel' focus group from Antsiranana I suggest that the Fokontany seek collaboration with NGOs working in the field of education.

## V.3.8. The role of the State

Groups who participated in the discussions seem to rely heavily on the State. Indeed, they place a lot of responsibilities related to the material and financial aspects of education on the State. To ensure primary education is effective, the groups focus on solving the issues of high educational costs related to teachers and other material and financial needs, support for local initiatives and assistance with graduate opportunities.
"With respect to education for all, people believe that it is the teachers who are primarily responsible for this, but it's not true. Everything depends on the State! Any failure on its part has negative effects on education in the field".

## A. Support for teachers

Groups mention the need to support teachers. This should be done through:

- the recruitment of teachers: the State should increase the number of teachers to limit the use of temporary teachers;
- payment of FRAM teachers' salaries: the State should provide free education, pay FRAM teachers' salaries on time, pay for holidays or subsidies, increase salaries in accordance with the current standard of living;
- ensuring the safety of teachers particularly in Antsiranana I: the State should guarantee the safety of teachers in insecure areas (schools could be attacked, teachers threatened, the city is insecure when night falls, which hinders exam marking,...) (Focus group: 'Educational personnel,' Antsiranana I);
- teacher training on teaching methods and on parental relationships: the State should provide training for teachers so they can fully assume their role (Focus group: "Community", Ilafy)

[^16]"Before, the children received school kits from the Ministry, like that all the children were the same. They were all equal, there were no rich kids or poor kids". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)
"One way to keep the children in school is to have a school canteen. The children really like that! Even those who are usually absent come back". (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ilafy)
"The State should see what works in which area. For example, in our area we grow tons of pineapples. Couldn't the State build a processing plant here for example? In this way, the local population would be willing to stay and would be more motivated to acquire the skills needed to work there". (Focus group: Community, AnosibeTrimoloharano)
B. Financial and material support

In addition to support for teachers, the groups came up with other suggestions for material and financial aspects, including: (i) support for infrastructure: the State should construct/renovate school facilities. The group of 'parents' from Marofarihy suggest that the State takes care of the infrastructure in those environments where parents feel overwhelmed by the payments in-kind, in terms of labour or money in addition to expenses related to school supplies and salaries of supply teachers; (ii) the provision of school kits and uniforms for children (Focus group: Community, Ilafy), (iii) the establishment of a school canteen.

## C. Support for local initiatives and assistance with graduate opportunities

Finally, the 'community' group from Anosibe Trimoloharano suggests that the State support local initiatives. Indeed, the group claims that the State is inert and indifferent to community efforts, which will eventually lead to complete discouragement and the refusal to cooperate in any future actions. The same group also feels that it is up to the State to find solutions to the problems of unemployed graduates and in particular to address rural-urban migration. Students and their parents would be more motivated towards education.

## V.4. EXISTING TOOLS TO IMPROVE PRIMARY SCHOOL INCLUSION

The literature review concerning the workshops with State officials, international organisations and NGOs allows for a review of the main tools used in the context of Madagascar to address, directly or indirectly, the issue of school exclusion. The information sheets (see Annex C) completed by some of the organisations met during the course of the study provide an overview of
each programme; these organisations use one, or a few, of the tools presented below. Indeed, some of these tools should be used together or sequentially. Given the number of existing programmes, or programmes that have existed, this review of tools is not intended to be exhaustive.

Figure 6: Summary of existing tools to improve primary school inclusion
Financial support (scholarship, resource transers, back to school loans In-kind support (school kits, uniform, nutritional support, healthcare) Human resource (Mentors, forest families...) Awareness activities (education, disability, health) Income generating activities


Awareness activities
Community mobilisation
Census of exluded children
Literacy classes
Income generating activities

> Financial support (school funds, subsidy for FRAM teachers, school contract programme ...) In-kind support (classroom, textbooks, canteens, boarding faculties...) Human resource (primary school network, peer support, mapping of exluded children)
> Educational support (training, materials for teachers or principal...)
> Management support (school contract programme, training of principals and MOE staff...)
> Awareness activities (girls, disabilities, nutrition...)
> Special structures (for disabled children, adolescents...)

## A. Tools targeting households

A certain number of tools are aimed directly at households. Financial support may thus be directly available to parents or children. This is usually in the form of scholarships or resource transfer; this money
can be given to the households with or without conditions. This money is therefore offered to lowincome populations and can target particular problem areas such as girls (JFA Project, SIVE), working
children (Project Kilonga, SIVE), adolescents who are not in school or children with disabilities. Grants must generally be used to cover direct or indirect expenses related to schooling and are conditional on the continuation of studies. Resource transfers usually go directly into the household budget for everyday expenses; they can be packaged conditionally for educational expenses (conditional resource transfers) or offered unconditionally. Back to school loans are also available. This is simply a loan from banks or microfinance institutions; however, this tool targets creditworthy households with access to formal financial systems. A number of possibilities for in-kind support given directly to households also exist; these may come in the form of school kits (MOE), uniforms (MOE), nutritional support offered to households
(Office National de Nutrition, ONN) or actions to improve child health (de-worming, mosquito nets, food supplements...). Human resource support also exists in the form of local mentors (SIVE), host families or local associations that supervise students who are struggling. These are particularly useful for orphans and those children who have to live away from their parents in order to study. Some awarenessraising activities directly target households (children's education, the situation of girls, child labour, the situation of disabled children, nutrition...). Of course the majority of programmes aiming to create incomegenerating activities and fight against household poverty can have a number of positive knock-on effects in terms of access and retention in primary school.

## B. Tools targeting schools

Other categories of tools to improve inclusive education directly target schools. Financial support can be offered directly to schools. In the same way as for households, money paid directly to schools may or may not be subjected to certain conditions and may or may not target specific expenses. The State pays all public primary schools in the country an amount proportional to the number of students (School funds, MOE). Subsidies are also paid by the State to a number of community teachers to cover part of their salaries (grants for FRAM teachers, MOE). Under certain contracts made with primary school programmes, money can be allocated to the school. In-kind support may be given directly to schools, this could be in the form of classrooms, in classrooms equipment such as benches, desks and blackboards, access to water with wells and latrines, textbooks and books for a library, food and nutritional supplements for school feeding (National School-feeding Programme, nutrition and school health, ONN), teaching materials for teachers, seeds and tools for a school garden, health care for students (eye and oral healthcare, Ministry of Health). Educational support is available through training and materials for teachers and principals. This involves improving children's educational achievements or the care of certain categories of children requiring special attention (Inclusive Pedagogy, UNICEF). Some of these training courses are carried out through teacher networks. They could be conducted by regular teachers who have received specialized training or by specialist teachers who conduct the training in mainstream schools. Inclusive education modules for teachers and academic advisors have thus been put in place (inclusive pedagogy, INFP, UNICEF). Training and materials are given to principals, FRAM presidents and Fokontany leaders as support for school
management (Inclusive Education, UNICEF). The School Contracts for Success Programme (CPRS, UNICEF) constitute a framework for improved planning and monitoring of school activities. Some management models specifically target inclusion (Inclusive CPRS, UNICEF). Training on planning and monitoring can also be set up for MOE staff at the local level (ZAP, CISCO, DREN) as well as at the central level. Human resource support may also exist. This could include support networks between schools or collaboration between several ordinary institutions and a specialized institution. Mutual support programmes between peers have also been tried (girl to girl strategy, UNICEF) as well as the use of students to identify and raise awareness of excluded children (mapping of excluded children, UNICEF). Awareness activities are frequently conducted for principals, teachers and school students. These may focus on specific situations (girls, out-of-school children, disabled children, child labour...) or various behaviour/attitudes to adopt or avoid (hygiene, nutrition...).

Several strategies exists to deal with the special circumstances of some children in schools: (i) enrolment of children with special needs in mainstream schools (Lutheran Schools for the Deaf and Blind, ProVert); (ii) additional ad-hoc support for the reinsertion of some children in mainstream schools (refresher classes; reinsertion of adolescents, SMT-Association Mpamafy; Complementary Educational Action for Malagasy Teenagers, (ASAMA) (iii) put certain children together in special classes in mainstream schools (integrated classes, Handicap International); (iv) put certain children together in specialist institutions (education of the blind, FOFAJA; schools for children with developmental disabilities, Orchidée Blanche;
education for the deaf, AKA.MA; vocational training for people with disabilities, CNFPPSH ...). Some specialist institutions aim to reintegrate children in conventional institutions in the medium term. All these strategies generally require support in terms of material and human resources and
specifically target children with disabilities according to their disability or adolescents who do not go to school. Pre-school education programmes have also shown to be effective in improving primary school retention (pre-school education, UNICEF; early childhood development centres; UNDP).

## C. Tools targeting communities

Finally, a number of tools address the issue of school exclusion through community actions. Awareness activities on specific issues (school exclusion, girls, disability...) using particular models of school success, community mobilization activities for school or categories of disadvantaged children (Inclusive Education, UNICEF) and identification of children within the community who are excluded from primary schools. Partnerships between the community and the State, an IO or an NGO also
exist (Dina-Sekoly). It is up to the community to commit to the education of all children and in return it can benefit from external support. Under such a framework, parents of children who do not go to primary school or who drop out before the end are required to pay a fine to the community. It is clear that literacy activities and the establishment of income generating activities for the community are all likely to have positive effects on inclusive education.


## V.5. PROPOSED ACTIONS TO ACHIEVE PRIMARY SCHOOL INCLUSION FOR ALL CHILDREN

This quantitative and qualitative field survey, combined with meetings and working sessions with stakeholders in the field of education, enable a number of courses of action to improve the inclusion of all children up to the end of primary school to
be put forward. These suggestions are intended to generate debate and should not be implemented without open discussion and strong ownership of all stakeholders in the field.

Figure 7: Summary of proposed actions to achieve primary school inclusion

| Objectives |  | Operationalisation |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| An overview of school exclusion |  | A National Plan to Combat School Exclusion |
| General mobilisation against school exclusion |  |  |
| A comprehensive strategy to fight against <br> school exclusion | A National Office to Combat School Exclusion, with responsibilities <br> decentralised |  |
| An operational management system | A national day for the fight against school exclusion and an awareness <br> campaign |  |
| Promotion of a culture of inclusive education | A ban on most school exclusions, schools obliged to welcome all <br> students, elimination of administrative bottlenecks |  |
| A pro-vulnerability regulatory framework | Innovative public-private partnerships and a nationwide competition to <br> source new ideas for inclusive education |  |
| Expanded partnerships promoting innovative <br> programmes | Training and tools for inclusive education and for combating exclusion <br> for teachers, a quota of teachers who come from excluded groups, a <br> review of the academic calendar, textbooks that are sensitive to all <br> stereotypes, and a flexible curricula and certification for some children. |  |
| Teaching methods and training for inclusive <br> education | Specific awareness campaign, trial period in a regular local school to <br> assess whether integration in a regular classroom would be possible |  |
| Inclusion of disabled children in local |  |  |
| mainstream schools | Advocacy and interactions with staff responsible for statistics, improve <br> survey forms and statistics from the MOE |  |
| A system to collect disaggregated data | Establishment of a special website to create and diffuse resources, |  |
| A package of direct and targeted interventions |  |  |
| support new initiatives and share best practices. |  |  |$|$| Household: financial transfers and in-kind contributions, |
| :--- |
| in addition to local humanitarian assistance, as well as |
| support and specific training for families of disabled children |
| schools: free comprehensive or targeted primary education, activities |
| to identify and support excluded children, school contract for success |
| institutionalise positive discrimination, standardise community schools, |
| create infrastructures that are sensitive to gender and disabilities, |
| canteens, peer mentoring |
| programmes, support for community initiatives, identification of |
| excluded children and the creation of networks and support systems for |
| FRAM. |

An overview of school exclusion
It is first necessary to have an overall vision of school exclusion in order to be able to effectively tackle it in all its forms. This vision should be applicable to
all stakeholders in order to put an end to the many, often-contradictory messages, and to establish a common discourse on the issue of school exclusion. Despite their particular differences and contrary to
what is generally observed, it seems to be inefficient to treat each form of school exclusion separately (girls, disability, poverty, child labour, rural areas...).Indeed, the various forms of exclusion have a tendency to add up and a number of underlying factors are common to all forms of exclusion. Similarly, some tools can be combined to promote the inclusion of all categories of excluded children. Obviously, the details of each type of exclusion should not be forgotten; to deal with this problem, it is necessary to start, wherever possible, from the overall problem of school exclusion and later move towards its more specific forms.

## A general mobilization against school exclusion

The Government of Madagascar and its partners do not yet appear to have fully internalised the severity of the problem of school exclusion. Similarly, discouragement and indifference to situations of school exclusion are observed in certain communities. This situation of huge financial and human resources wastage jeopardizes the future of many children and will have very negative consequences for the development of Madagascar in the medium term. Having clearly demonstrated the extent of the problem and its negative effects, it is imperative to actively engage and empower all stakeholders against school exclusion. It is particularly necessary to attract a lot more funds for this issue in order to adequately tackle the scale of the problem. Finally, the fight against school exclusion should be a high priority for the MOE and its partners, especially in the hope of compensating for the secondary effects of the 2009 crisis. The aim of this mobilization should be the reduction of all forms of disparity in access and retention to finally achieve quality primary education for all by 2015 .

A comprehensive strategy to fight against school exclusion
Based on this overall vision and the general mobilization against school exclusion, a comprehensive strategy must emerge to tackle all forms of school exclusion in an efficient and coordinated manner. This strategy, formalized in what could be a 'national plan to fight against school exclusion' should be part of Madagascar's EFA plan in the coming years. Based on the 2009 decree concerning the policy for inclusive education, a multisectoral framework involving various ministries, IOs, NGOs and private organisations could be put into action. This national plan should integrate a system of operational management, the promotion of a culture of inclusive education, a pro-vulnerability regulatory framework, expanded partnerships promoting innovative programmes, organisation of inclusive pedagogy and training, take into account the concept of disability in mainstream schools, a system for collecting detailed information, a platform
for information dissemination and communication, as well as a package of direct and targeted actions for households, schools and communities. Actions to prevent exclusion and encourage school retention should be well differentiated. The different strategies should be funded; these funds should be allocated in a manner that addresses the root causes of exclusion. Interventions from different actors should be coordinated in terms of timing and regions. Despite the search for cost-effective strategies, the plight of the most difficult children and those most expensive to educate should be addressed directly.

## A system of operational management

The leadership of this national plan to combat school falls on the MOE, which must therefore have the means for its implementation and follow-up. Responsibility for matters relating to the problem of exclusion and inclusive education should be entrusted to a supervisory structure at the central level, as well as to officials at the decentralized level. At the national level, the responsibility for inclusive education within the MOE is currently assigned to the "Pedagogy and School Life Service" which falls under the "General Direction of Basic Education and Literacy." Given the importance and the transversal nature of this issue, the creation of a "National Office to Combat School Exclusion" within the MOE, could help implement the management of all strategies for inclusive education and the fight against school exclusion. A multi-sectoral administrative committee for this structure could be created to bring together all government partners (MOE and other Ministries active in the field) and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs, IOs, private). This structure mandated to promote inclusive education and fight against exclusion, would be responsible for overseeing the implementation of all activities in the national plan to fight against school exclusion. In addition to setting general policies for inclusive education, standardisation of sites and tools and work on the modules of inclusive pedagogy, this national office would be in charge of identifying activities and resources, the provision of tools and the capacity building of stakeholders, the identification of new partnerships and support for field initiatives, aiming for synergy between actors.

An annual meeting to follow up and take stock of the issue of school exclusion could be organised.
At the DREN and CISCO level, responsibility for the fight against school exclusion could be assigned to the teaching division and a teaching assistant could be the focal point of all activities related to inclusive education and the fight against exclusion. Locally, a teacher could be given the responsibility and trained to manage activities to prevent school dropout and improve retention rates.

Promotion of a culture of inclusive education
At the central and local levels, it is essential to create a culture of inclusive education. The objective would therefore be to enhance, at the same time, the differences between students and the right to re-schooling. The benefits of taking into account the diverse educational needs of all children in local schools should be explained as well as making use of these differences to enhance learning. A key message should be that all actions that benefit the most vulnerable children also benefit others. Interventions on the quality of schools that benefit girls or children with disabilities directly benefit boys and non-disabled children. Households, schools and communities should also understand the right to have a second chance. Thus dropping out of school should not be considered irreversible and the return to school should be seen as a right and a completely normal thing to do. The positive effects of interventions on excluded children from an economic and social standpoint should also be highlighted as well as the negative effects of school exclusion on health or insecurity in communities. School exclusion should therefore be considered as everyone's business at all levels. The difference between equity and equality should be well communicated at the household, school and community level. These groups have a tendency to prefer equal treatment for all children and often take a dim view of interventions targeting a specific group of children. Equity, however, compensates certain children for their particular vulnerability. These affirmative actions must be understood at the local level in order to attract the support of all concerned and not cause feelings of injustice.

A way to bring this issue to light and encourage both the central and local level to commit to the issue could be to set up a 'National Day of Action Against School Exclusion'. Local and national events and awareness campaigns in the media could be organised to challenge collective stereotypes and perceptions and to propose concrete actions. Success stories of children in the face of diversity or due to going back to school could be used. People who have experienced school exclusion could act as ambassadors to increase visibility and credibility of organised actions, while encouraging other citizens to get involved. Activities to fight against school exclusion could be organised throughout the year on the basis of producing evidence on this day.

## A pro-vulnerability regulatory framework

The regulatory framework should be adapted to promote inclusion activities and prohibit exclusive attitudes towards school students. Some restrictions could be announced and communicated to school officials, for example, a ban on excluding or denying access to school for pregnant girls, disabled children,
children who have not paid the registration fees, children who are too old, children who have not registered their civil status or with the Fokontany. Any school exclusion or denied registration should be justified and approved by the head of the ZAP or other MOE official, in addition to school staff. All administrative bottlenecks that hamper school enrolment should be permanently lifted and an obligation to welcome all children could be formalized. Thus, in the case of refusal due to lack of space, a solution for transfer to another school nearby should be offered by school principals. If there are no other realistic educational alternatives, the child should be allowed to stay in school. The objective therefore would be to develop a legislation to ensure the inclusion of all children in the public school nearest their home and promote affirmative action for the most vulnerable children.

Expanded partnerships to promote innovating programmes
To meet the quantity and diversity of inclusive education needs, it is essential to rely on NGOs as well as private organisations, including private schools and religious or secular organisations for vocational training. The private sector and NGOs should be mobilized and involved at all levels. Through innovative public-private partnerships, the idea would be to initiate new programmes in difficult locations (rural, isolated), for all categories of excluded children and with different objectives (support the transition between school cycles, assistance at the start of the school year, and the identification of actions for children at risk...). Subsidized programmes based on performance, scholarships or educational vouchers could then be introduced to best utilize the special skills of some NGOs and private organisations. A national competition could be set up in the search for new ideas and initiatives to maximize the costbenefit ratio.

Organisation of inclusive pedagogy and training Problems related to school curricula, teaching materials, the training of teachers and principals, teaching methods as well as the methods to assess student learning, are central to improving the situation of exclusion. School exclusion in all its forms should be taken into consideration and fully integrated in initial and continuous training for teachers and MOE education officials. Returning to school after dropping out, and positive perception of student diversity should also be taken into consideration as well as the different nature of teaching certain categories of children (girls, disabled children, slow learners, victims of violence, children who work...). Continued training and a support system between teachers to deal with cases of difficult students could be based on teacher networks. Early identification

guides and activities for children at high risk of exclusion could be developed to encourage swift action on the part of teachers. It is important to take into account that teachers represent successful role models; therefore, it would seem relevant to increase the participation of teachers who come from vulnerable backgrounds who have experienced some form of exclusion themselves. Such people could take advantage of special criteria in order to become teachers, receive specific support or set up a quota system for entry into the public service. The MOE could also create a system of incentives to promote their return to their home communities.

In terms of curricula, the academic calendar should be revised once and for all so that the long, summer holidays fall during the lean season. This period from January to April is indeed the heaviest in terms of absenteeism and dropouts, it is the hottest time of the year, there is less food available and more schools are particularly inaccessible due to the weather. Textbooks should also be revised so that they are sensitive to all general stereotypes. Women, the disabled, and people from rural areas should be presented positively in illustrations and examples given in textbooks. These manuals should truly reflect the diversity of populations and show the positive side of being different. Victims of school exclusion could be involved in the design of textbooks. Some flexibility should be allowed with respect to curricula and certification achievements of children at high risk of exclusion.

## Inclusion of children with disabilities in

 mainstream schoolsParents, schools and communities put up a certain resistance towards the inclusion of disabled children in local mainstream schools. A certain number of prejudices and a general lack of understanding of situations concerning disabled children exist at the local level as well as within various central structures. Special awareness-raising activities and appropriate tools should be developed so that inclusion of children with disabilities becomes the norm. It is therefore essential that principals, teachers, parents, community leaders and government officials receive training on the causes of disabilities, possible support initiatives and ways to promote inclusion. For certain categories of disabled children, specific support may be necessary; in this case it would be most beneficial to maximise the use of locally available resources (health workers, organizations for disabled people...) to ensure an inclusion of quality.
The experiences and resources of local specialized structures for disabled people should be used whenever possible, however, the inclusion of disabled children in mainstream schools should always be considered as a short or medium-term objective.


A system for collecting disaggregated data Existing information systems, whether at the MOE level or from demographic surveys, do not take into account the issue of school exclusion very well. Advocacy work and communication with those responsible for statistics is necessary, for a better consideration of the various forms of school exclusion in school and demographic statistics. The next census should be able to address these particular issues. In terms of the survey questionnaires from the MOE (Primary School Survey Sheet) obtained from each school, data such as the number of children with disabilities, the number of children sent away at the start of the school year, the number of children excluded by the school or FRAM, the cost of school fees and FRAM contributions or even the percentage of students with free enrolment could be collected annually from each primary school. The number of children who dropped out over the course of the year and the number of children who do not register from one year to the next, could be asked to enable schools to think a bit more about school exclusion. So that the statistics given by the principals are not distorted, however, it would be better not to use this data so as not to stigmatize certain schools or make wrong conclusions of the performance of others. In order to track these data special support measures could be put in place. In terms of the MOE's national school statistics, contextual differences between rural and urban schools and between community schools or not, should be highlighted, as well as the allocation of civil service teachers and new classrooms and equipment. At the community level, a census of all school children should be encouraged and carried out by the MOE.

A platform for information dissemination and communication
Collecting literature on school exclusion in Madagascar and information on existing programmes to improve inclusive education was a long and difficult process for this study. It is therefore very important to have a source of documentation and a platform for information dissemination. The idea would be to encourage knowledge capitalization, to exchange information and tools and better document pilot projects and experiments on the subject. An open website could be developed to serve as a source of information. This platform could also be used to support new initiatives against school exclusion. A number of tools could then be made available so the same studies are not repeated and best practices are shared. An annual monitoring report of school exclusion could be produced for the 'National Day of Action Against School Exclusion'. Developments in inclusive education and the effectiveness of inclusion could also be presented and assessed, on the basis of certain indicators, which would have to be defined.

## A package of direct and targeted actions

In this fight against school exclusion, it appears to be essential that interventions are multiple, targeted and direct. A package of actions should be put in place to respond to the different actors and their needs. Moreover, this set of synergistic activities should be adapted to the various locations and corresponding issues. It is therefore important to target actions and resources so that they are not sprinkled over a wide range of objectives, actors and locations. Actions concerning primary education should focus primarily on the fight against school exclusion and on improving the educational quality of excluded children and those living in areas where exclusion rates are high. Target indicators and monitoring procedures should be developed. To ensure speed and effectiveness of interventions, actions should be carried out, when possible, directly with those local actors who have to deal with exclusion, namely parents, schools and communities. Human resources at the MOE DREN, CISCO and ZAP should thus provide support, mentoring and monitor activities.

## Actions for households:

It is essential to directly address the financial constraints of the most vulnerable households. To do this, financial transfers (scholarships, resource transfers) and/or in-kind support (school kits, nutritional support, health care) targeting the poorest families appear to be suitable tools. This would involve clarification of the regulatory framework,
including eligibility and selection criteria as well as the monitoring system. These transfers should be based on local human resource support, especially for orphans and children having to live alone in order to study. A number of outreach activities should also be put in place to promote education as a means to achieve certain objectives and ensure independence, to reduce child labour and promote access to or even the return to school. It is therefore essential to disseminate the idea that five years of primary school education is the bare minimum that a child should do so that he/she does not lose all of his/her acquired skills. Special support and training could be given to the families of disabled children so that they can deal more effectively with their situation.

## Actions for schools:

At the school level, registration fees and FRAM contributions have to be reduced. To do this, greater involvement of the State through direct financial support or in-kind support is essential. The ideal situation would, of course, be that education is completely free, provided by the State through payment of FRAM teachers and the provision of sufficient school funds. A cheaper alternative solution would be free education for certain categories of children whose school fees and FRAM contributions would be paid for by school funds. The eligibility criteria and method of selection of such students would then be critical. Similarly, if the allocation of school supplies is not possible for all students, vulnerable children, according to specific criteria, should be prioritized. All administrative obstacles for primary school enrolment should be eliminated; the principle should be to first put the child in school and sort out administrative and financial matters later. In general, it would be important to hold discussions at the school level as to the obstacles to school enrolment and the causes of dropouts. It seems that it would be appropriate to develop mechanisms to identify excluded children and implement actions targeting excluded children through specific events and activities.

School contract programmes specifically targeting the quality and level of inclusiveness point to other important tools. The objectives of 'zero enrolment refusals' and 'zero dropouts' could be formalized, as well as action against degrading violence at school. The principle of 'child friendly schools' and the School Contracts for Success Programme, formalized by UNICEF, deserve to be taken over by the MOE and implemented to all schools. The management system and local monitoring should be further strengthened based on FAF. Affirmative actions and compliance with the pro-vulnerability regulatory
framework should also be encouraged. Community schools should be made into mainstream public schools like the others and should receive special support to do this. Wherever possible, equipment and infrastructure should be gender-sensitive, and also suitable for disabled children. School feeding during the lean season, accessible sanitation facilities for girls and disabled children, a library, as well as school health programmes, could all have significant effects on absenteeism and dropouts. Sharing information on children at the local level should be systemized, especially between the school and the basic health centre; joint training could then be arranged. School networks, of principals and teachers should be supported to share best good practices and provide mutual support. Within classes, peer-mentoring programmes could be developed to help newcomers adjust to the school environment. Timely awareness campaigns should be established so that diversity and differences are welcomed in the classroom.

## Community actions:

Finally, a number of actions should be carried out at the community level. Aspects of social mobilization against exclusion and the culture of inclusion should be well communicated to the community. Sensitization on disability should be organised with health centres in order to show that disabilities are not contagious. Furthermore, it is important to ensure that people have a trusting relationship with the school; FAF therefore should be set up for all primary schools where they are not yet in place. The management of funds should be transparent at all levels. Support for community initiatives against school exclusion should be established as well as the identification of those children who are excluded from school within the community. A structure for school retention that specializes in excluded children returning to school could be developed in partnership with associations and local partners. Networks and support and training system could be organised for FRAM presidents and Fokontany leaders to improve their capacity and efficiency. Community strategies for climatic disasters could also be developed.




## VI. CONCLUSION

Allowing all children access to opportunities of quality primary education is a prerequisite for the development for all nations. Yet, in Madagascar, hundreds of thousands of children drop out of primary school each year and more than a quarter of these are ultimately deprived of any other educational opportunity. This situation is an enormous waste of financial and human resources; it jeopardizes the future of many children and will have very negative consequences for the medium-term development of Madagascar. A general awareness and accountability of everyone concerned must materialize and lead to a programme of concrete actions to respond directly and quickly to this challenge of school exclusion. An overall vision that includes all forms of exclusion has to be developed and used as a basis for a comprehensive strategy to fight against primary school exclusion. A veritable national plan to fight against school exclusion, driven by a special national office for this purpose, could be used to implement some of the much needed actions such as promoting a culture of inclusive education, a pro-vulnerable regulatory framework, expanded partnerships to foster innovative programmes, the organisation of inclusive teaching and training, the inclusion of children with disabilities in mainstream schools, a system to collect disaggregated information, a platform for outreach and communication activities and targeted action packages for households, schools and communities. Highly appropriate and carefully implemented, these strategies could represent a real opportunity for Madagascar to put a stop to primary school exclusion and ultimately offer quality human capital to all its children.



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## ANNEXES




## ANNEX A: THE SURVEY

The study design is based on the six provinces of the country, represented by 10 randomly selected communes plus an additional five that are involved in UNICEF's Inclusive Education (IE) programme. Communes selected are from both urban and rural areas, categorized according to the Ministry of Education. The target groups of the quantitative survey are limited to the areas around the randomly selected public primary schools (EPP) and community schools (CS), from the communes chosen for the study. Target groups of the qualitative survey come from within the communes.

## A.1. Quantitative survey - Sites and target groups

The quantitative survey was aimed at 87 public primary schools throughout 15 communes. The following list shows the selection that was made:

## Antananarivo Province

- Antsirabe I Commune (urban, IE programme site): 8 schools.
- Vinaninkarena Commune (rural, IE programme site): 6 schools.
- Alakamisy Anativato Commune (urban): 4 schools.
- Anosibe Trimoloharano Commune (rural): 6 schools.


## Antsiranana Province

- Anivorano Nord Commune (rural, IE programme site): 6 schools.
- Sadjoavato Commune (rural, IE programme site): 5 schools.
- Mahavanona Commune (rural, IE programme site): 4 schools.
- Antsiranana I Commune(urban): 6 schools.
-Antratamarina Commune (rural): 6 schools.


## Fianarantsoa Province

- Marofarihy Commune (urban): 6 schools.
- Bekatra Commune (rural): 6 schools.


## Mahajanga Province

- Ambararatabe Nord Commune (rural): 6 schools.


## Toamasina Province

- llafy Commune (urban): 6 schools.
- Ambatofisaka II Commune (rural): 6 schools.


## Toliara Province

- Ehara Commune (rural): 6 schools.

The target groups for the quantitative survey were defined as follows:

- Four categories of children: Children enrolled in CM1 (4 per school); Children who had dropped
out of school for a period of 6 to 24 months (4 from the school's Fokontany); Children aged 10 to 15 years who have never been to school ( 2 from the school's Fokontany); Disabled children aged 10 to 15 years (2 from the school's Fokontany). Each group of children includes both boys and girls depending on their availability.
- Parents/guardians of the children interviewed above.
- Teachers from the school (2 Grade 4 (CM1) teachers per school).
- The school principal.
- The FRAM president for the school.
- The school's Fokontany leader.


## A.2. Qualitative survey - Sites and target groups

## Antananarivo Province

- Antsirabe I Commune (urban, IE programme site): Children who are still in school; Community.
- Anosibe Trimoloharano Commune (rural): Children who have dropped out of school; Community.


## Antsiranana Province

- Antsiranana I Commune (urban): Parents of children who are still in school; Educational personnel.
- Anivorano Nord Commune (rural, IE programme site): Children who have never been to school; Community.


## Fianarantsoa Province

- MarofarihyCommune (urban): Children who have dropped out of school; Parents of children who have never been to school.


## Mahajanga Province

- Ambararatabe Nord Commune (rural): Children who are still in school; Parents of children who have never been to school.


## Toamasina Province

- llafy Commune (urban): Children who have never been to school; Educational personnel.


## Toliara Province

- Ehara Commune (rural):Parents of children who are still in school; Educational personnel.

The types of groups targeted by the qualitative survey are:

- Children (girls and boys) aged 10 to 15 years: Still in school; Dropped out of school; Never been to school.
- Parents/guardians (women and men): of children still in school; of children who are not in school (including children who have dropped out of school and those children who have never been
to school).
- Members of the teaching staff (educational personnel - including teachers and principals).
- Community members (including Fokontany leaders, members of the Fokontany office, community facilitiators, ...)

The 16 focus group discussions comprised at least two groups of each type. They were split into two focus groups per commune.

## A.3. How the study was carried out

The survey was carried out in several phases: the preparatory phase, data collection, data processing and analysis, and presentation of the results.

## A.3.1. Preparatory phase

This phase was characterized primarily by an orientation session to go over the methodology, the development of survey tools and training of survey teams.

## Orientation session

Representatives from the Ministry of Education, UNICEF and its partners and consultants (international and national) gathered together to exchange information and to enable everyone to be on the same page with regards to the study on the one hand, and to go over the details and needs in terms of information that could be useful for the respective entities concerned, on the other. Comments and suggestions collected during and after the meeting led to clarifications, corrections or additions mainly to the survey tools.

## Survey tools

For the quantitative survey, seven structured questionnaires (in French), including some open questions were provided by the head of mission: three for the children (including those with disabilities) and their parents/guardians, four respectively for the teachers, principals, FRAM presidents and Fokontany leaders. The questionnaires were initially modified based on comments and suggestions from the stakeholders and then revised to ensure consistency: unclear or difficult questions were clarified, the questions were rearranged in a logical order, omitted or erroneous codes were corrected, the same questions in different questionnaires were formulated in the same way, the same response categories and same numbers (if possible) were given, and all the questions were translated into Malagasy and written in the same way.

The questionnaires were pre-tested during the interviewer training where they were tried on similar target groups (to those of the study) in several primary schools and Fokontany in Antananarivo. The
evaluation of these pre-tests was used to identify any additional adjustments to be made to the Malagasy versions, which then had to be translated back into the French versions. Other adjustments had to be made during the field data collection when it turned out that two schools in the survey were in the same Fokontany; this only concerned the questionnaire for the Fokontany leader in which two columns were inserted, "PS 1" and "PS2" meaning that the target was only interviewed once.

For the qualitative part of the survey, seven discussion guides corresponding to the seven types of target group were developed based on the information needs expressed by the Head of Mission and different stakeholders. These were pre-tested on similar target groups (to those of the study) in the capital during the training of the interviewers. Adjustments were made based on the results of these pre-tests.

A practical guide (manual) for the interviewer was also developed for members of the field team. This guide was developed as a reference document providing useful information about the survey, the duties and responsibilities of team members, methods and techniques as well as a code of conduct.

## Training

A five-day training was organised to familiarize the interviewers with the tools and techniques of quantitative and qualitative surveys. More specifically, it was expected that the participants had: (i) an understanding of the context, purpose and objectives of the survey, (ii) mastered the tools and materials to be used for the survey, the questionnaires as well as the discussion guides for each target group and the manual developed for this purpose, (iii) the required attitude for their respective roles in the implementation of the survey.

The training programme consisted of: (i) group consolidation, (ii) an explanation of the concept of Inclusive Education, (iii) a presentation of the study: purpose, rationale, objectives, use, methods to be applied, areas, target groups, expected results and the timeframe, (iv) an explanation of the tools and techniques to be used, (v) a presentation and explanation of the code of ethics for the research and focus group discussions (vi) mastering the tools and techniques of quantitative and qualitative surveys, as well as grasping the techniques for supervision and monitoring, through intensive simulations between participants, (vii) pre-testing tools on real groups and in field-like conditions, (viii) evaluation of the pre-test, followed by any adjustments, finalization and the translation of survey tools, (ix) participant evaluation, followed by the final selection of interviewers and field supervisors.

An additional two-day training was given to supervisors to strengthen their capacity so they could fully assume their role and responsibilities in the field.

## A.3.2. Data collection

Data collection was carried out from June 18 to July 13, 2011 by a group of 29 interviewers and 13 supervisors, with the assistance of 5 facilitators for the focus group discussions.

## Quantitative Survey

The quantitative surveys were anchored by the school that was selected for the survey and its Fokontany (that is to say all the people to be interviewed were connected to this school: the principal, teachers, children and their parents, the FRAM president and the Fokontany leader).

In each category of children, the children surveyed included girls and boys in equal proportion, where possible, according to the situation on the ground. In the case of those children who go to school, two girls and two boys were randomly selected from the class targeted for the survey. For those children who had dropped out of school and never returned, the choice was made among children identified by either the students themselves, the principal, teachers, the FRAM or the Fokontany. The selection of disabled children was carried out in the same way, for those children in school or out of school.

In several survey sites, it was not possible to find target groups meeting the survey criteria (age). Indeed, children who have never been to school were rare or did not exist in those Fokontany engaged in advocacy for primary school enrolment; otherwise they fled,
with their parents, when the interviewers arrived taken for officials from the State coming to track them down. It was the same for those children who had dropped out of school, some of whom no longer live in the Fokontany or fled from the interviewers. Children with disabilities were quite rare and where necessary, were selected exhaustively. Moreover, when parents had a conflicting relationship with the school (rare), they also showed a reluctance to participate in the survey and also prevented their children to do so. There were some cases where the investigation team had to change the target school or the people to be surveyed. In fact:

- only the teachers available were surveyed in schools that did not have a principal (three community schools);
- teachers from Grade 1 (CP1) or 2 (CP2) were interviewed when there were not enough teachers from the target class (CM1 or CM2 or EC), e.g. in multi-grade schools or those without a full primary cycle (22 schools);
- if a principal was also a Grade 5 teacher (CM1), he was interviewed twice with the questionnaire for each function;
- when a Fokontany contained two target schools, the Fokontany leader was only interviewed once (five fokontany);
- when the Fokontany leader was also the president of FRAM, he was interviewed twice with the questionnaire for each function;
- if a school was not available to take part in the survey for some unexpected reason, it was replaced by another school in the same town. There were four cases where this happened:

Table A. 1 : Changes to the original target schools

| Commune | Target School | School That <br> Particpated in <br> Survey | Reasons for Change |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| AMBARARATABE NORD | Mahatsinjo Primary School | Ambahivahy Primary <br> School | School representatives from Mahatsinjo <br> were not available |
| MAHAVANONA | Daraina Primary School | Ambilo Primary <br> School | The school was closed when the survey <br> team passed through |
| ANDRATAMARINA | Soahitra 1 Community <br> School | Andratamarina <br> Community School | Soahitra 1 school is located in an <br> inaccessible and insecure area |
| ILAFY | Amboarahambana <br> Community School | Mahatsara Primary <br> School | Amboarahambana school is located in <br> an inaccessible and insecure area |

This resulted in fewer survey samples than expected participating in interviews, according to the conditions given below (the group "children with disabilities"
does not include disabled children who are already included in other categories):

Table A.2: Results per target group

| RESULTS PER TARGET GROUP |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Target Group | Scheduled Surveys | Surveys Carried Out | Reasons for Discrepancies |
| Parents/children who go to school | 348 | 349 | In one school (Mahadera Community School), only 3 parents from CM1 agreed to participate and allow their children to also take part in the survey. Other possible substitution classes were either involved in mock exams or were on holiday. |
|  |  |  | The team interviewed two additional students in Antanjonambo Primary School. |
| Parents/children who have dropped out of school | 348 | 296 | Some survey sites had no children who had dropped out of school (Antsirabe PS; Ambariobe CS; Cap Diego PS; Mahavanona PS). |
|  |  |  | In other survey sites, the targets are not only rare but some refused to participate, and others ran away from the interviewers (Anjoma CS; Ankadilalandalina CS; Besangaratra PS; Matsaborimadio PS; Anamakia PS; Mahatsara PS; Ambilo PS). |
| Parents/children who have never been to school | 174 | 128 | The target group were not found in some survey sites (Anjoma CS; Ambohinierana CS; Andrangy PS; Tsaratanana PS; Fiakarandava PS; Ambariobe CS; Anamakia PS; Cap Diégo PS; Andranomanitra PS; Ambilo PS; Antsakoabe PS). |
|  |  |  | The target group were small in number in some survey sites |
| Parents/children with disabilities | 174 | 136 | This it the total number of disabled children who met the survey criteria in survey sites |
| TOTAL A | 1044 | 909 |  |
| Principal | 87 | 84 | Three community schools did not have a principal (Anjoma; Ankadilalandalina; Ambohinierana) |
| Teachers | 174 | 163 | Some schools in survey sites only had one teacher (Antsirabe PS; Anjanamanjaka PS; Besangaratra PS; Ambariobe CS; Matsaborimadio PS; Mahadera CS; Saharenana Ambany PS; Andranomena PS; Besakoa Elonty PS; Beampombo PS; Soavina Ambalakatra PS). |
| FRAM Presidents | 87 | 87 |  |
| Fokontany Leaders | 87 | 82 | Certain Fokontany had two schools chosen for the survey (Angodongodona: Angodongodona PS and Ankadilalandalina CS; Ivory: Karmaly PS and Ivory Sabotsy PS; Andrairay: Soatanana CS and Belongoza PS; Sadjoavato: Sadjoavato PS and Ambodi-Pont CS; Ambahivahy: Ambahivahy PS and Mahadera CS) |
| TOTAL B | 435 | 416 |  |

## Qualitative survey

One hundred and twenty-one participants, made up of 20 girls, 28 boys, 30 women and 43 men, took part in the focus group discussions that were
conducted in the eight communes involved in the survey. Participants were broken down as follows:

Tableau A.3: Breakdown of focus group participants

| Communes | Target | Number | icipants | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Female | Male |  |
| Ambararatabe Nord | Children who go to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 4 | 6 | 10 |
|  | Parents of children who have never been to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Anivorano Nord | Community | 0 | 5 | 5 |
|  | Children who have never been to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Antsirabe I | Community | 3 | 3 | 6 |
|  | Children who go to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Antsiranana 1 | Educational personnel | 8 | 4 | 12 |
|  | Parents of children who go to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Ehara | Educational personnel | 0 | 7 | 7 |
|  | Parents of children who go to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Marofarihy | Children who have dropped out of school, 10 15 years, mixed | 4 | 2 | 6 |
|  | Parents of children who have never been to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 5 | 4 | 7 |
| Anosibe <br> Trimoloharano | Children who have dropped out of school, 10 15 years, mixed | 2 | 4 | 6 |
|  | Community | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| Ilafy | Educational personnel | 1 | 6 | 7 |
|  | Children who have never been to school, 10-15 years, mixed | 1 | 5 | 6 |
|  | TOTAL | 50 | 71 | 121 |

Participants in the focus groups were not necessarily limited to the Fokontany of the school that was surveyed but were recruited based on their availability and conformity with criteria. However, they had to be resident in the commune taking part in the survey. The focus groups were led by one facilitator and one reporter, discussions were recorded with the participant's consent.

## A.3.3. Data processing

## Quantitative survey

Data from the closed questions on completed questionnaires, were verified and checked and were subjected to a double data entry in CsPRO by two different operators. The answers to open-ended questions in the questionnaires were translated into French, entered in SPSS Data Entry Builder and Were
reintegrated into the corresponding databases.

Comparison of the two data entries allowed errors or inconsistencies to be detected; corrections were made after reviewing the questionnaires concerned.

The data processing was performed with the Stata programme by reviewing each question to verify its completeness and testing consistency between different issues, including respecting the order or missing questions out.

Different databases were also compared to standardize them in terms of spelling, numbering or processing. They were then merged into one database. The databases were compiled in Stata. Missing data were noted and were mainly due to:

- Consistency between variables. For example: variables related to the father are missing for children who have no father/guardian, the number of students enrolled in CM2 is missing for those schools who do not have complete primary cycles;
- The interviewee being unable to answer the question (does not know; has forgotten; refused...).

During the data entry, missing values were coded as $88,888,8888$, according to the size of the field relative to the variable. However, these codes were replaced by "." in the Stata databases. (Missing data due to errors in the questionnaire were adjusted during processing).

## Qualitative survey

Focus group discussions were transcribed verbatim, by listening to the recordings. The content of each transcript was analyzed. Inter-group/site analysis was subsequently conducted to identify any areas of convergence, divergence or singularity that could be drawn from them.

The analytical framework is based primarily on the factors that can lead to the exclusion (nonenrolment, drop out) of girls, boys and children with disabilities - and the people who make such requests (the children themselves, the household), supply (the school, educational personnel) and the environment (community) on the one hand - and on the ways/ factors to promote inclusion on the other (based on the same considerations that were applied to exclusion).

## A.4. Weighting of data

Table A.4: Changes made to target schools

| Provinces | Zone | Strata | Number of students in public primary schools | Number of public primary schools | Number of teachers in the public primary schools | Number of Fokontany with a public primary school |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Antananarivo | Urban | 1 | 295606 | 1106 | 6860 | 1018 |
|  | Rural | 2 | 416911 | 2661 | 9586 | 1929 |
| Antsiranana | Urban | 3 | 127063 | 541 | 2731 | 438 |
|  | Rural | 4 | 195143 | 1245 | 4005 | 774 |
| Fianarantsoa | Urban | 5 | 122288 | 518 | 3171 | 391 |
|  | Rural | 6 | 756576 | 4942 | 18069 | 3022 |
| Mahajanga | Rural | 8 | 435173 | 3218 | 10439 | 2249 |
| Toamasina | Urban | 9 | 127170 | 609 | 2412 | 24 |
|  | Rural | 10 | 553666 | 3271 | 8331 | 516 |
| Toliara | Rural | 12 | 468344 | 3298 | 10056 | 2268 |

Note: Strata 7 (Mahajanga urban) and 11 (Toliara urban) were taken out of the survey as they had less than $1 \%$ of students.

## ANNEX B: EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS FOR MADAGASCAR

Table B.1: Number of students enrolled in primary school per academic year

| Number of students | Primary school |
| :---: | :---: |
| $1996-1997$ | 1731813 |
| $1997-1998$ | 1892943 |
| $1998-1999$ | 2018707 |
| $1999-2000$ | 2208321 |
| $2000-2001$ | 2307314 |
| $2001-2002$ | 2409082 |
| $2002-2003$ | 2856480 |
| $2003-2004$ | 3366600 |
| $2004-2005$ | 3597800 |
| $2005-2006$ | 3698610 |
| $2006-2007$ | 3837343 |
| $2007-2008$ | 4020322 |
| $2008-2009$ | 4323981 |
| $2009-2010$ | 4329576 |
| $2010-2011$ | 4305069 |

Table B.2: Survival rate to the final year of primary school, dropout rates and number of primary school dropouts per academic year

| Year | Survival rate to the final <br> year of primary school | Primary school dropout <br> rate | Number of dropouts |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2002 | 67,63 | 32,37 | 191176 |
| 2003 | 72,39 | 27,7 | 211989 |
| 2004 | 50,11 | 49,89 | 555629 |
| 2005 | 44,47 | 55,53 | 623607 |
| 2006 | 50,34 | 49,66 | 539298 |
| 2007 | 50,87 | 49,13 | 543607 |
| 2008 | 57,4 | 42,6 | 469006 |
| 2009 | 47,91 | 52,09 | 656626 |
| 2010 | 44,54 | 55,46 | 723622 |

Table B.3: Primary school survival rates, 2008 and 2010

| Class | Ist Grade / <br> CP1 | 2nd Grade/ <br> CP2 | 3rd Grade/ <br> CE | 4th Grade/ <br> CM1 | 5th Grade/ <br> CM2 | 6th <br> Grade/6eme |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Survival rate, 2008 | 100 | 81,2 | 74,3 | 68 | 57,4 | 39 |
| Survival rate, 2010 | 100 | 75 | 65,1 | 55,5 | 44,5 | 33,5 |

Table B.4: Net primary school enrolment rate by region, EPM 2010

| Region | Primary Net Enrolment Rate | Region | Primary Net Enrolment Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Analamanga | 87,1 | Boeny | 58,8 |
| Vakinankaratra | 81,4 | Sofia | 77,6 |
| Itasy | 85,7 | Betsiboka | 66,2 |
| Bongolava | 70,7 | Melaky | 51 |
| Matsiatra Ambony | 75,8 | Atsimo Andrefana | 51,5 |
| Amoron'i Mania | 75,9 | Androy | 54,8 |
| Vatovavy Fitovinany | 79,3 | Anosy | 53,7 |
| Ihorombe | 73,7 | Menabe | 62,7 |
| Atsimo Atsinanana | 53,3 | Diana | 76,8 |
| Atsinanana | 79,8 | Sava | 81,5 |
| Analanjirofo | 83,6 | Total | 73,4 |
| Alaotra Mangoro | 82,7 |  |  |

Table B.5: Overall primary school dropout rate by region, pseudo-longitudinal method, 2010
(Source: Author's calculations based on MOE statistics)

|  | Dropouts - Grade 1 - Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) |  |  |  |  | Dropouts <br> - Grade <br> 1 - Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Region | Dropout Rate | Number of dropouts | Dropout rate for girls | Dropout rate in public schools | Dropout rate in private schools | Dropout Rate |
| Madagascar | 43 | 469006 | 42 | 44 | 38 | 65 |
| Alaotra Mangoro | 32 | 15301 | 31 | 33 | 29 | 70 |
| Amoron'i Mania | 41 | 16831 | 40 | 39 | 56 | 76 |
| Analamanga | 24 | 26201 | 21 | 20 | 28 | 45 |
| Analanjirofo | 34 | 21362 | 35 | 35 | 24 | 58 |
| Androy | 62 | 21036 | 62 | 61 | 73 | 72 |
| Anosy | 56 | 16913 | 57 | 58 | 48 | 75 |
| Atsimo Andrefana | 45 | 23539 | 46 | 49 | 36 | 57 |
| Atsimo Atsinanana | 65 | 37188 | 67 | 66 | 4 | 73 |
| Atsinanana | 48 | 35021 | 46 | 50 | 12 | 66 |
| Betsiboka | 46 | 6297 | 44 | 48 | 19 | 60 |
| Boeny | 41 | 12864 | 41 | 48 | 17 | 66 |
| Bongolava | 38 | 9668 | 36 | 34 | 46 | 58 |
| Diana | 37 | 12818 | 34 | 43 | 15 | 69 |
| Haute Matsiatra | 45 | 29395 | 43 | 41 | 56 | 58 |
| Ihorombe | 52 | 7707 | 52 | 50 | 61 | 63 |
| Itasy | 37 | 14184 | 34 | 33 | 43 | 66 |
| Melaky | 66 | 7655 | 65 | 69 | 39 | 78 |
| Menabe | 52 | 14920 | 52 | 53 | 50 | 61 |
| Sava | 38 | 26373 | 39 | 39 | 36 | 65 |
| Sofia | 45 | 35559 | 46 | 48 | 7 | 66 |
| Vakinankaratra | 37 | 29829 | 35 | 30 | 49 | 69 |
| Vatovavy Fitovinany | 52 | 48345 | 53 | 53 | 48 | 70 |

Table B. 6 : Overall primary school dropout rate by school district, pseudo-longitudinal method, 2010 (Source: Author's calculations based on MOE statistics)

| School District | Total Dropout Rate Grade 1 - Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Dropout Rate for Girls Grade 1-Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Total <br> Dropout Rate Grade 1 - Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) | Dropout Rate for Girls Grade 1-Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) | Gender Parity Grade 1-Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Gender Parity Grade 1 - Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ambalavao | 33 | 30 | 76 | 76 | 86 | 99 |
| Ambanja | 52 | 50 | 78 | 76 | 92 | 96 |
| Ambato-Boina | 61 | 61 | 71 | 71 | 101 | 103 |
| Ambatofinandrahana | 49 | 48 | 65 | 65 | 96 | 100 |
| Ambatolampy | 40 | 38 | 84 | 84 | 90 | 100 |
| Ambatomainty | 81 | 77 | 90 | 89 | 93 | 97 |
| Ambatondrazaka | 29 | 26 | 46 | 44 | 85 | 93 |
| Ambilobe | 32 | 32 | 48 | 51 | 98 | 112 |
| Amboasary-Sud | 41 | 40 | 49 | 50 | 92 | 101 |
| Ambohidratrimo | 23 | 21 | 35 | 33 | 81 | 89 |
| Ambohimahasoa | 51 | 50 | 60 | 59 | 95 | 96 |
| Ambositra | 37 | 37 | 83 | 82 | 97 | 100 |
| Ambovombe-Androy | 73 | 73 | 81 | 82 | 97 | 101 |
| Ampanihy Andrefana | 42 | 44 | 51 | 59 | 116 | 142 |
| Amparafaravola | 26 | 24 | 83 | 83 | 91 | 100 |
| Analalava | 61 | 62 | 72 | 74 | 103 | 105 |
| Andapa | 36 | 38 | 47 | 50 | 109 | 117 |
| Andilamena | 42 | 46 | 50 | 52 | 119 | 107 |
| Andramasina | 36 | 34 | 56 | 55 | 86 | 96 |
| Anjozorobe | 32 | 38 | 53 | 52 | 79 | 92 |
| Ankazoabo-Sud | 61 | 61 | 65 | 63 | 102 | 94 |
| Ankazobe | 38 | 37 | 80 | 79 | 92 | 97 |
| Anosibe an'ala | 38 | 38 | 59 | 61 | 103 | 109 |
| Antalaha | 33 | 35 | 43 | 47 | 112 | 120 |
| Antanambao-Manampotsy | 40 | 42 | 55 | 56 | 111 | 104 |
| Antananarivo-Atsimondrano | 19 | 16 | 30 | 27 | 73 | 86 |
| Antananarivo-Avaradrano | 23 | 19 | 38 | 36 | 75 | 88 |
| Antananarivo-Renivohitra | 20 | 18 | 33 | 32 | 87 | 92 |
| Antanifotsy | 39 | 37 | 85 | 85 | 92 | 100 |
| Antsalova | 49 | 47 | 61 | 57 | 91 | 88 |
| Antsirabe I | 13 | 10 | 23 | 24 | 72 | 106 |
| Antsirabe II | 37 | 37 | 64 | 65 | 100 | 101 |
| Antsiranana I | -4 | -14 | -2 | -15 | 279 | 158 |
| Antsiranana II | 51 | 49 | 65 | 65 | 95 | 100 |
| Antsohihy | 44 | 44 | 74 | 74 | 100 | 100 |
| Arivonimamo | 36 | 33 | 59 | 57 | 85 | 94 |
| Bealanana | 38 | 37 | 51 | 53 | 99 | 111 |
| Befandriana-Nord | 36 | 35 | 52 | 53 | 98 | 103 |
| Befotaka | 72 | 76 | 83 | 87 | 108 | 109 |
| Bekily | 50 | 49 | 62 | 62 | 97 | 100 |
| Beloha-Androy | 58 | 61 | 67 | 71 | 111 | 117 |
| Belon'i Tsiribihina | 54 | 54 | 56 | 58 | 100 | 107 |
| Benenitra | 61 | 69 | 65 | 71 | 135 | 124 |
| Beroroha | 31 | 28 | 58 | 58 | 86 | 100 |


| School District | Total Dropout Rate Grade 1 - Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Dropout Rate for Girls Grade 1 - Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Total Dropout Rate Grade 1-Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) | Dropout Rate for Girls Grade 1-Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) | Gender Parity Grade 1-Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Gender Parity Grade 1 - Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Besalampy | 72 | 70 | 80 | 80 | 95 | 100 |
| Betafo | 43 | 42 | 61 | 61 | 97 | 101 |
| Betioky Sud | 48 | 48 | 55 | 56 | 100 | 105 |
| Betroka | 62 | 64 | 89 | 90 | 106 | 101 |
| Brickaville | 63 | 61 | 72 | 71 | 94 | 96 |
| Fandriana | 26 | 24 | 79 | 78 | 84 | 98 |
| Farafangana | 68 | 68 | 74 | 75 | 101 | 102 |
| Faratsiho | 32 | 30 | 56 | 53 | 86 | 93 |
| Fenoarivobe | 52 | 53 | 68 | 69 | 101 | 103 |
| Fenoarivo-Est | 40 | 39 | 78 | 78 | 94 | 100 |
| Fianarantsoa I | 29 | 26 | 37 | 35 | 79 | 87 |
| Fianarantsoa II | 52 | 49 | 62 | 59 | 88 | 91 |
| Iakora | 59 | 66 | 68 | 75 | 125 | 123 |
| Ifanadiana | 52 | 53 | 62 | 63 | 104 | 104 |
| Ihosy | 48 | 47 | 59 | 57 | 93 | 91 |
| Ikalamavony | 50 | 48 | 58 | 58 | 93 | 100 |
| Ikongo | 66 | 67 | 74 | 76 | 105 | 105 |
| Ivohibe | 59 | 58 | 71 | 73 | 98 | 104 |
| Kandreho | 57 | 51 | 74 | 72 | 83 | 97 |
| Maevatanana | 50 | 48 | 63 | 63 | 95 | 98 |
| Mahabo | 46 | 47 | 63 | 63 | 95 | 98 |
| Mahajanga I | 8 | 8 | 14 | 12 | 97 | 68 |
| Mahajanga II | 42 | 42 | 63 | 64 | 100 | 101 |
| Mahanoro | 50 | 50 | 55 | 55 | 99 | 97 |
| Maintirano | 68 | 66 | 74 | 75 | 97 | 102 |
| Mampikony | 53 | 56 | 62 | 65 | 110 | 110 |
| Manakara | 41 | 43 | 54 | 56 | 113 | 109 |
| Mananara-Nord | 24 | 24 | 38 | 41 | 106 | 114 |
| Manandriana | 64 | 64 | 70 | 68 | 96 | 98 |
| Mananjary | 51 | 50 | 85 | 84 | 96 | 98 |
| Mandritsara | 48 | 49 | 59 | 62 | 103 | 109 |
| Manja | 75 | 75 | 81 | 82 | 100 | 102 |
| Manjakandriana | 19 | 17 | 34 | 32 | 84 | 93 |
| Maroantsetra | 23 | 26 | 39 | 43 | 137 | 123 |
| Marolambo | 72 | 70 | 78 | 77 | 96 | 97 |
| Marovoay | 40 | 36 | 69 | 67 | 85 | 94 |
| Miandrivazo | 59 | 59 | 70 | 71 | 99 | 105 |
| Miarinarivo | 39 | 37 | 60 | 60 | 93 | 100 |
| Midongy-Sud | 72 | 77 | 75 | 83 | 111 | 122 |
| Mitsinjo | 48 | 51 | 60 | 63 | 112 | 112 |
| Morafenobe | 54 | 64 | 61 | 71 | 150 | 151 |
| Moramanga | 36 | 33 | 78 | 76 | 86 | 95 |
| Morombe | 63 | 62 | 73 | 73 | 97 | 98 |
| Morondava | 40 | 39 | 47 | 46 | 94 | 98 |
| Nosy-Be | 15 | 9 | 52 | 50 | 44 | 91 |
| Nosy-Varika | 58 | 60 | 70 | 72 | 106 | 107 |


| School District | Total Dropout Rate Grade 1 - Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Dropout Rate for Girls Grade 1-Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Total Dropout Rate Grade 1 - Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) | Dropout Rate for Girls Grade 1-Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) | Gender Parity Grade 1 - Grade 5 (CP1-CM2) | Gender Parity Grade 1 - Grade 6 (CP1-6eme) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Port-Berge | 47 | 49 | 60 | 64 | 109 | 112 |
| Sainte-Marie | 3 | 4 | 18 | 19 | 391 | 117 |
| Sakaraha | 67 | 66 | 90 | 90 | 98 | 100 |
| Sambava | 38 | 38 | 80 | 80 | 103 | 102 |
| Soalala | 63 | 67 | 77 | 80 | 111 | 109 |
| Soanierana Ivongo | 32 | 34 | 48 | 50 | 113 | 111 |
| Soavinandriana | 35 | 32 | 81 | 81 | 85 | 99 |
| Taolanaro | 63 | 65 | 71 | 73 | 105 | 106 |
| Toamasina I | -6 | -11 | 25 | 20 | 983 | 65 |
| Toamasina II | 41 | 39 | 57 | 57 | 90 | 100 |
| Toliara I | 25 | 19 | 19 | 9 | 65 | 33 |
| Toliara Il 4342515296104 | 43 | 42 | 51 | 52 | 96 | 100 |
| Tsaratanana | 41 | 39 | 54 | 54 | 91 | 100 |
| Tsihombe | 57 | 55 | 72 | 72 | 92 | 102 |
| Tsiroanomandidy | 32 | 30 | 54 | 54 | 89 | 100 |
| Vangaindrano | 60 | 62 | 66 | 69 | 108 | 109 |
| Vatomandry | 42 | 43 | 78 | 78 | 103 | 99 |
| Vavatenina | 46 | 44 | 56 | 56 | 93 | 100 |
| Vohemar | 45 | 45 | 63 | 64 | 103 | 103 |
| Vohipeno | 50 | 50 | 79 | 79 | 100 | 100 |
| Vondrozo | 65 | 72 | 74 | 79 | 123 | 114 |
| Madagascar | 43 | 42 | 61 | 61 | 97 | 101 |

Note: The negative rates of certain school districts are probably due to the migration of students to another school district close by.

Figure B.1: Dropout rate by school district, pseudo-longitudinal method, 2010
(Source: Author's calculations based on MOE statistics)


## ANNEX C: INFORMATION SHEETS ON PROGRAMMES TO IMPROVE SCHOOL INCLUSION

| Name of programme: | Sambatra ny Mahavaky Teny (SMT) |
| :--- | :--- |
| Objective: | School reintegration |
| Target group: | Children aged $7-13$ years |
| Intervention areas: | Regions in the south east of the country (Farafangana, Vangaindrano, <br> Vonodrozo), poorer areas of Antananarivo |

## Intervention strategy:

The project consists of three phases:
PHASE ONE

- Pre-alpha: preparation phase for education authorities (DREN, CISCO ZAP). Activities such as child registration, recruitment of literacy teachers, locating centres, etc. are carried out.
Training of local stakeholders is conducted by Mpamafy.
PHASE TWO
- Alpha: learning phase. The local SMT Committee, the head teacher and a team from the DREN look at the reintegration of each student.
- The alpha phase lasts 5 months - in blocks of 3 weeks, 5 days per week.
- The SMT team carries out routine monitoring.
- Assistance given to trainers: Refresher courses organised if students fail. A final exam given by the DREN marks the end of this phase and the results help managers to assign the correct integration level of the student.
PHASE THREE
- Post-alpha: Reintegration of the children according to their level. Capacity building through the provision of libraries and the distribution of Malagasy books to facilitate reading exercises.
- Acquisition of birth certificate for those who do not have one.


## Programme features:

1. Local stakeholders are accountable: Mayors, DREN, CISCO, ZAP, parents
2. Provision of appropriate training for local stakeholders to enable them to manage the project
3. Support literacy teachers in the Alpha stage (recycling)
4. Provision of appropriate education materials for children (pictures, exercises similar to those carried out in primary school
5. Tangible results over a short timeframe.

## Main challenges:

1. Insufficient number of primary schools (often of a precarious nature)
2. Remoteness or even lack of schools in some areas
3. Lack of teachers
4. The high cost of school fees, which often puts a stop to further education
5. Parents are not educated

## Current situation:

The end of UNICEF funding (main partner) has had a negative impact on the continuation of this school reintegration programme.
Nevertheless, Mpamafy is still carrying out the literacy project for youth and adults.
With funding from Norway, currently more than 2,000 people are studying in five regions: South Androy, the Ihosy region of Ihorombe, South west Tulear, East Marolambo and the South east region of Anala - Vatovay Fitovinany.

| Project duration: | 2006 to 2008 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Implementing organisation: | Mpamafy Association |
| Contact: | Mrs Rahely Rakoto, Tel. 0331209 209, email: landvony@moov.mg |

## Documents available:

- Activity report for UNICEF
- Teaching materials (kit and accessories)

| Name of programme: | Visual and Oral Health |
| :--- | :--- |
| Objective: | To improve the visual and oral health of students to enhance performance and <br> to fight against school dropouts. |
| Target group: | Students, teachers, parents |
| Intervention areas: | Primary and secondary schools |

## Intervention strategy:

- Capacity building for teachers to enable them to detect visual impairment early on and prevent oral diseases.
- Raise parental awareness of the importance of visual and oral health on a child's educational performance.
- Support initiatives for the treatment of oral diseases in school (dental clinics within schools).


## Programme features:

This programme has a very strong educational component, both preventive and curative, due to the fact that these two health concerns are very common in school children; they could be the main causes of absenteeism and school dropout if they are not detected early on. There is also a strong partnership between the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education in the establishment of school dental clinics: the first ensures the installation of equipment and assigns a dentist; the second provides the location. Student's parents pay a small fee that go towards running costs (supplies, medicines etc.)

## Main challenges:

Funding cut back since the start of the crisis, in particular for teacher capacity building (training, curriculum development).
Constant changes of directives at the school level, which disrupts the systems that have been put in place to treat diseases (shared costs, financial contribution, etc.)

## Current situation:

- High prevalence of tooth decay (75\%) in children aged 6-12 years and an estimated 25,000 visually impaired students
- Training curriculum for teachers available
- 15,000 teachers from 2,850 primary schools were trained between 1997 and 2008
- 23 dental clinics throughout Madagascar
- 19 full-time government dentists and 50 part-time dentists working in primary schools

| Project duration: | 1997 to date |
| :--- | :--- |
| Implementing organisation: | Visual and Oral Health Department, Ministry of Public Health |
| Contact: | Dr Hery Andriamanjato or Dr Eva Ranivoharilanto, email: evabarijaona@gmail. <br> com |

## Documents available:

- Training curriculum for the prevention of oral diseases
- "Evaluation of oral disease prevention programmes in primary schools in 18 districts in Madagascar," 2005
- National policy documents on visual and oral health

| Name of programme: | Vocational training for people with disabilities |
| :--- | :--- |
| Objective: | To train and integrate people with disabilities |
| Target group: | Disabled and vulnerable people |
| Intervention areas: | Madagascar |

## Intervention strategy:

The Centre's mission is to train people with disabilities, whatever their handicap. They can follow a vocational training course that lasts nine months or if they belong to an association, the Centre can provide them with a three to four day modular training course, which would allow them to earn money to set up a production workshop. We feel that this structure could be sustainable. Indeed, our objective will be achieved when we can one day say that here we helped someone overcome their disability; they will no longer be recognized as such but will just be simply another person fully exercising their rights; they will no longer stand out from the crowd. During our field visits we try to raise awareness of disabled people's rights with the local authorities because the application and success of these laws depends largely on their ability to involve society as a whole so that the latter ultimately sees disabled people in a different light.

The Centre hosts all kinds of disabled people as well as people with specific vulnerabilities (socially disadvantaged) to create an environment identical to everyday life where normal students and people with disabilities live and go to school together.
As part of this project, we want to try to attract the attention of the public and teach students that being disabled is not an obstacle to taking on responsibilities, to living a decent life and earning a living. Rather, it is a source of motivation, energy and a willingness to succeed.
Whatever is missing is filled by society.
Disabled people must be recognized for who they are in order for them to be totally accepted; however, this should not be done solely in relation to their handicap. They are people, just like everyone else. Differences should not be made in the sense of consideration for others, neither in our thoughts or our actions.
At home, everything must be done so that the person can grow in their environment, and not have to resort to subterfuge to take a pan, have a bath, the elevator, etc..
At school, access must be easy, the furniture should be suitable, there should be other staff there alongside the educational personnel, and there should be the sense of acceptance. To do this, they have to be registered and the teaching staff informed - teachers and service personnel.
The same applies to companies: all areas should be accessible. No positions reserved specifically for disabled people such as 'filing' or 'packing'.
Transport: the Centre has a bus to facilitate student access.

## Main challenges:

The main challenges are to do with local training, in most cases associations do not have the means to start up any kind of production and so the students, despite their skills, only make enough for their own needs.

## Current situation:

The project has been working in 04 regions in 2011: Analamanga, Sofia, Menabe and Alaotra Mangoro

| Project duration: | All year |
| :--- | :--- |
| Implementing organisation: | CNFPPSH |
| Contact: | Dr. Mahandrimanana Andrianainarivelo |

## Documents available:

Towards inclusive education for children with disabilities, UNESCO, Bangkok, 2000

| Name of programme: | Inclusive Education - UNICEF |
| :--- | :--- |
| Objective: | To guarantee the right to education (in terms of access and completion) for <br> excluded children, children at risk of dropping out of school and children with <br> disabilities. |
| Target group: | Children, teachers, parents, ZAP, CISCO, DREN, MOE |
| Intervention areas: | Vakinankaratra, Diana, Androy, Analanjirofo |
| Intervention strategy related to inclusive education for school children: |  |

The Inclusive Education project is involved in three main areas:

1. Community Engagement: To solve the problems of school exclusion, community involvement/awareness is more than essential. In order to do this, the project supports the revitalization of the FAF (School Management Committee) so that this structure is representative of all community members (parents, teachers, students, local and traditional authorities, marginalized people, etc.). Subsequently, it builds the capacity of principals, Fokontany leaders and members of the FAF on planning and the principles of inclusion. Action plans are developed by mobilizing community resources to achieve the goals of Education For All and to improve study conditions for students at school. During this process, students develop a 'mapping of excluded children' to identify children who are not in school and school dropouts.
2. Teacher training: As with national policies, teacher networks are revitalized so that teachers can take into account the different needs of all students in the class. Training modules for teachers on inclusive pedagogy have been developed in partnership with the MOE, public institutions are responsible for teacher training (INFP, ENS) and share this with other actors working in the field of Inclusive Education (NGOs, Projects, Association of Disabled People, specialized schools, etc.). The project also works with the General Lutheran School to conduct initial teacher training on inclusion.
3. Support for national frameworks: In collaboration with the MOE, INFP, ENS and other projects, a strategy document for Inclusive Education has been developed. It supports the steering committees for Inclusive Education and also E-group, an online forum set up to enable stakeholders to share experiences and materials that can improve inclusion in Madagascar. The project also strengthens the capacities of staff from the MOE and ENS by organizing study tours in Zanzibar and Uganda. Moreover, a study on "School Exclusion and Ways to Improve Primary School Inclusion in Madagascar" was conducted.

## Programme features:

The activities of this project are based on the capacities and initiatives of community members, teachers and MOE officials (ZAP, CISCO, DREN, CRINFP, MEN and INFP) to mobilize themselves.
The implementation of project activities is carried out in close collaboration with the MOE.
Main challenges:
Difficult to define a strategy for training teachers and community members on the inclusion of disabled children.

## Current situation:

1) Training on FAF and inclusion: The school principals and Fokontany leaders listed below have been trained:

- 15 schools in Antsiranana II (February 2010)
- 10 schools (September 2010) and 16 schools in Antsirabe I (May 2011)
- All 217 schools in Antsirabe II (May 2011);

2) Establishment of an FAF in all 258 target schools;
3) Training on the school contract programme and inclusion: School principals, Fokontany leaders and FAF members of 258 target schools;
4) Training of facilitators from 13 networks from Antsirabe I and 10 networks from Diego II on inclusive pedagogy. Transfer of skills to other network members is currently taking place.
5) Support for monitoring activities (FAF development, implementation and execution of action plans, networks) by the MOE staff (ZAP, CISCO, DREN, CRINFP, MEN) and for the organisation of follow-up meetings at the regional level;
6) Specific modules on disability are currently being developed.

Project duration:
Implementing organisation:
Contact:

Since 2008
UNICEF
Minako MORIMOTO, mmorimoto@unicef.org
Rivo Ranjatoson, rnri_rinr@yahoo.fr

## Documents available:

Trainer's Guide to Inclusive Planning Volume 1: Democratic Establishment of FAF, 2011
Trainer's Guide to Inclusive Planning Volume 2: Development, Implementation and Monitoring/Evaluation of Action Plans as part of Inclusive Planning, 2011
Facilitators Guide to Inclusive Pedagogy, 2011

| Name of programme: | Foibe Fanabeazana ny Jamba (FOFAJA) Education for the blind in Madagascar |
| :--- | :--- |
| Objective: | To increase the primary school enrolment rate of visually impaired children and <br> ensure they succeed in school |
| Target group: | Visually impaired children who find it difficult to enrol in mainstream schools |
| Intervention areas: | Madagascar |
| Intervention strategy: |  |
| In the preparatory phase for inclusion in maistream schools, visually impaired children are placed in 4 special primary <br> schools. They learn to read and write braille. Furthermore, they study like other children and follow the national curriculum. <br> After primary school, they are ready and can be enrolled in the secondary school in their village or in a vocational training <br> centre of their choice. |  |

## Programme features:

Exclusive treatment in specialised schools prepares visually impaired students to better integrate in mainstream schools and enables them to follow the lessons.

## Main challenges:

Mainstream schools are not always easily accessible for the blind or visually impaired and are sometimes far from the childrens' home. Going to school is therefore a problem for the family as they have to hire someone to accompany the child. Some schools and teachers still do not accept children with visual impairments in their classrooms.
Current situation (academic year 2010-2011)

| Antsirabe Primary School | 40 boys | 35 girls | Total: 75 students |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tulear Primary School | 11 boys | 09 girls | Total: 20 students |
| Farafangana Primary School | 18 boys | 11 girls | Total: 29 students |
| Toamasina Primary School | 08 boys | 06 girls | Total: 14 students |
| Vocational training | 20 boys | 10 girls | Total: 30 students |
| Mainstream schools and universities | 40 boys | 34 girls | Total 74 students |
| Project duration: | 1924 to |  |  |
| Implementing organisation: | Malagas | heran Chur |  |
| Contact: | Mr Eriso within th | est Soloh alagasy Lu | National Director for an Church, Madagas |


| Name of programme: | Girls in Action |
| :---: | :---: |
| Objective: | To increase post-primary education for vulnerable girls. |
| Target group: | Girls without access to secondary education |
| Intervention areas: | Colleges in the school districts of Mampikony, Madritsara and Antsohihy. |
| Intervention strategy: <br> A scholarship programme household budget constra of conditions. These schola tegrate girls from very po and provide guidance, has women's groups have be carry out lobbying activiti implemented to provide s programme for the acade quality education on thei parents association, the members. | ped to help vulnerable parents to meet the cost of college fees. It helps reduce financial support for the education of vulnerable girls in exchange for a number able for the transition from primary school to secondary as well as to keep or reincollege. A mentoring programme, through local mentors who serve as examples his to provide a more personalized support for vulnerable girls. Activities through order to advocate for women to support girls during their school careers and to e status of women. A programme to construct boarding facilities has also been dation with strict rules for girls living away from their parents. Finally, a contracts colleges has been developed to help educational stakeholders improve access to is to set up a management committee for the secondary school to work with the , women's associations, elected municipal officials and all other community |

## Programme features:

The programme is partially self-managed by a focal point and facilitator in each school district, as well as by the mentors and principals in each commune. The targeting and selection of students for scholarships is done locally through a selection panel. The transfer of funds is done through local microcredit agencies. An installation grant is available to students coming from distant primary schools; part of the grant may be used for food during the lean season.

## Main challenges:

Poor compliance of deadlines and the submission of incomplete files can turn the provision of the grant into a long drawnout procedure; student visits are often difficult to organize and it can be hard for the mentor to withdraw the money; the involvement of ZAP officials and teachers is sometimes insufficient.

## Current situation:

Over 800 scholarships have been offered to girls from very poor households; 51 local mentors were trained to supervise the students and strengthen their capacities; two boarding facilities for girls were built; structures for micro-planning and community mobilisation are being developed; women's groups are being supported in their work to change attitudes and improve the status of women.

| Project duration: | February 2010 to date |
| :--- | :--- |
| Implementing organisation: | SIVE (Sehatra Ivoaran'ny Vehivavy) |
| Contact: | Mrs Felana Ravason, President, Email: felana.sive@gmail.com |
| Documents available: <br> "Supporting the demand for post-primary education for vulnerable girls in Madagascar: diagnosis and action strategies," <br> UNICEF, January 2010; <br> "Implementation of the Girls in Action Programme, Evaluation of the Launch Phase," <br> UNICEF, February 2011. |  |


| Name of programme: | Education for the Deaf - AKA.MA |
| :---: | :---: |
| Objective: | To give educational opportunities to deaf children so that they can develop their potential and gain skills for better social integration. |
| Target group: | Deaf and hard of hearing |
| Intervention areas: | In and around Antananarivo, Secondary schools throughout Madagascar |
| Intervention strategy: <br> - Early childhood education: Provid <br> - Primary education: Nursery scho <br> - Secondary education: Secondary <br> - Technical and vocational training <br> - Extra-curricular activities: Scouts, | ts with training on how to educate deaf children (3 to 5 years) 2, following the official curriculum and college e young deaf people for their future careers camps, prayer groups, libraries |
| Programme features: <br> - Special education for the deaf us <br> - The only secondary school for d <br> - Specialist pedagogical research <br> - Dissemination of Malagasy sign | language as the language of instruction nts in Madagascar (receives students from other deaf schools) for deaf students |
| Main challenges: <br> Many parents cannot afford to pay each year. <br> Lack of infrastructure and funding Lack of support from the Malagas disabilities). | sequired by the school; donor funding for the centre is being reduced on to the needs. funding, implementation of ministerial decrees relating to people with |
| Current situation: <br> - Early childhood education: 19 s <br> - Pre-school: 31 students <br> - Secondary school: 56 students <br> - Vocational training: 12 students <br> - Internship: 23 students |  |
| Project duration: | Since 1985 |
| Implementing organisation: | Akanin'ny Marenina, under the supervison of the Malagasy Lutheran Church |
| Contact: | Andriamampianina Rivo Henintsoa, Head of Training, Email: aka.ma@moov. mg, Tel: 2228799 / 2431488 |
| Documents available: |  |


| Name of programme: | Sustainable school feeding programme for students from disadvantaged <br> families |
| :--- | :--- |
| Objective: | - Ensure a balanced meal to enhance student concentration <br> - Reduce absenteeism and dropouts <br> - Improve educational achievements |
| Target group: | Children and young students from disadvantaged families from poor <br> neighborhoods of Antananarivo |
| Intervention areas: | Fokontany on the western outskirts of the capital: Andohatapenaka I, <br> Andohatapenaka II, III Andohatapenaka, Ampefiloha, Ambodirano, Ankasina, <br> Ampasika Andreefana. |

## Intervention strategy related to inclusive education for school children:

Strengthening student nutrition is a convincing solution to improve education. In this way, a school-feeding project was developed to cope with problems of malnutrition and food insecurity that result in students dropping out of school and reduced academic performance. The majority of households in the target areas work in the informal sector. Because of their low income, they live in difficult conditions and can no longer provide their children with sufficient, nutritional food. Participatory approaches were thus made to encourage all stakeholders to develop actions to improve access to quality education and increase school completion rates. The aim is to develop consultation committees at all levels to discuss relevant issues and develop actions to address them.

- Strengthen participative and integrated development of target groups through the involvement of project stakeholders: schools, parents, State, local and international partners;
- Make school-feeding sustainable by implicating parents and developing partnerships;
- Put in place an effective system for monitoring and impact assessment;
- Develop an advocacy strategy to convince the State to open a public college in the target area.


## Programme features:

The project has technical and financial support from an international partner until end of school year 2011-2012.
Main challenges:
Project funding finishes at the end of the 2011-2012 school year. The continuity of the project depends on the involvement of other technical and financial partners (government, private partners).

## Current situation:

- Early childhood development: 19 students
- Nursery school: 31 students
- Primary school: 44 students
- Secondary school: 56 students
- Vocational training: 12 students
- Internships: 23 students

| Project duration: | Since 2007 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Implementing organisation: | Conseil de Développement d'Andohatapenaka (CDA) <br> Lot IVL 126 bis Andohatapenaka I, 101, ANTANANARIVO <br> Tel: + 261 22 273 07 <br> email: cda@moov.mg |
| Contact: | Mr Rija Andrianrinosy Tsitohaina: Executive Director |
| Documents available: <br> Project documents, activity reports, general presentation of the implementing organisation |  |


| Name of programme: | Improvement of Education for Girls from Disadvantaged Areas of Analanjirofo Region. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Objective: | Global: To contribute to improving access to quality post-primary education in vulnerable areas, with particular emphasis on girls. <br> Specific: To improve the survival rate of girls in their transition from primary school to secondary school. |
| Target group: | Direct: <br> - 25,008 students ( 11,825 girls), from the 6th Grade to the 3rd Grade, in the school districts of Fénérive Est and Soanierana Ivongo; <br> - 637 teachers: 209 from secondary schools in Soanierana Ivongo, 213 from Fénérive Est and 215 from core schools Fénérive Est; <br> - Teaching staff from the two CISCOs encompassing 28 ZAP; <br> - Authorities from the 20 target communes. Indirectly: <br> - The school community including the parents association, school management committees etc.; <br> - The populations of the 20 communes involved. |
| Intervention areas: | All secondary schools in the school districts of Fénérive Est and Soanierana Ivongo: Fénérive Est: 37 core schools (Secondary annex or reform) and 14 secondary schools; Soanierana Ivongo: 25 secondary schools. |

## Intervention strategy related to inclusive education for school children:

- Individual support, mainly financial, through scholarships and the provision of a means of transport (bicycle) for vulnerable families;
- Improved schooling conditions through the setting up of boarding facilities to house vulnerable girls;
- Advocacy and social mobilization of all local stakeholders (children, parents, teachers, education stakeholders ...) for the retention of girls in school through awareness campaigns and the Contracts for School Success Programmes;
- The 'girl to girl' strategy (zoky vavy zandry vavy) to monitor their education and prevent school dropouts through peer education (lifeskills);
- Strengthening capacity of local educational actors including teachers.


## Programme features:

Two kinds of action:

- One targets the whole school community and local educational actors in general with an emphasis on girls: awareness, communication, capacity building, school contract for success programme;
- The other is especially for vulnerable girls and supports the reinsertion of girls in school: provides individual incentives (scholarships, bicycle, campus)


## Main challenges:

- Bicycle maintenance is problematic for girls from needy families who are the target of the project.
- Control of the 'jiromena' (a ball for rural youth) is still difficult to achieve in the Region; the jiromena is recognized as the leading cause of early pregnancy and therefore girls dropping out of school.


## Current situation:

- Number of scholoarships: 910 (school year 2010-2011) of which 299 were for reinsertion and 26 of these were allocated to teenage mothers;
- Number of bicycle beneficiaries: 87 (school Year 2010-2011);
- Number of boarding campus built: 8, which can accommodate 168 girls;
- Number of establishments having validated their Contract for School Success Programme: 76/76;
- Number of training sessions held during the school year 2010-2011: 02 (1 in-situ and 1 at the CISCO HQ);
- Communication/awareness-raising activities: Distribution of posters, leaflets, and various social marketing materials; screening of film at the school level, radio broadcasts; various sporting and cultural events for girls and female school clubs.

| Project duration: | 1st phase: January 2010 - December 2010 <br> 2nd phase: January 2011 - January 2012 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Implementing <br> organisation: | Aide et Action International - Indian Ocean |
| Contact: | Evelyne HANTAMALALA, Head of Project development, aea.rdp@moov.mg |
| Documents available: |  |

Name of programme:

Objective:
Target group:

## Intervention areas:

Prevention and removal of children from the worst forms of child labour in mines, traditional fishing, commercial sexual exploitation, the informal sector, agriculture and livestock.
To contribute to the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in the South West Region of Madagascar.
Direct beneficiaries: 940 children at risk or victims of the worst forms of child labour and 250 families. In terms of mobilization/awareness of the harmful effects and risks of the worst forms of child labour and the need to fight against it: 40 formal and informal employers, local unions, 300 households and 1000 children and 100 key stakeholders (decision makers, notables, local service providers) sensitized.
Atsimo Andrefana region - Toliara I, Toliara II and Sakaraha districts

## Intervention strategy related to inclusive education for school children:

- Carry out 2 studies to identify those children who are affected or threatened by the worst forms of child labour and to put forward the potential growth areas in Atsimo-Andrefana region in terms of training;
- Advocacy and social mobilization: important component in the context of prevention of child labour, especially commercial sexual exploitation of children, knowing that once youth are involved in such activities, it is very difficult and relatively expensive to get them out of it given what they can earn;
- Support for children: facilitate access and retain children under 14 years in school, refresher courses for working children aged 14 to 17 years, vocational training or an apprenticeship with a business for children aged 14 to 17 years who have already acquired a certain level of education;
- Family support for an increased awareness of the worst forms of child labour and improvement of family income: refresher literacy courses for parents, support for the set up of income-generating activities (IGA) that will contribute to the financial independence of families concerned, facilitate access to micro-credit for needy families who are willing to develop an IGA and who agree to withdraw their children from work and put them back into school.


## Programme features:

In 1999, Aide et Action took part in a project with IPEC / ILO to fight against child labour in Antsiranana II. This project was the first of its kind to be conducted in the south. Therefore, in order to be effective, social mobilization and awareness were important components of its implementation. Through this project it was possible to define the factors for success and failure and also for replication of the mobilization and awareness process to fight against the worst forms of child labour.

## Main challenges:

- The vulnerability of the population: being extremely poor, the population prioritizes survival over education. Moreover, the existence of educated people who have not succeeded in life are not good role models.
- Isolation and insecurity of intervention areas: project intervention areas are for the most part insecure and isolated. Which also justifies the fact that children do not go to school and start work early because schools are remote and the roads are unsafe due to bandits.
- Closed attitudes: The rural population is still closed to some subjects that are considered taboo such as sex. AIDS awareness is also difficult.
- Support - limited and unequal support: Not all parents received support for their project. Not all children received school kits, or vocational training.
- Sustainability of actions remains an important aspect for progressive consolidation; indeed, if the timeframe for the project is too short, viable and sustainable solutions will not be possible.


## Current situation:

At the end of the project, the main achievements were as follows:

- 1,775 children identified as victims of or threatened by the worst forms of child labour: 918 girls and 857 boys;
- Elaboration of a strategic communication plan and various communication materials concerning the project;
- 651 households, 1,153 children, and 45 employers aware of the fight against the worst forms of child labour;
- 193 key stakeholders (decision makers, notables, local service providers) aware of the damaging effects of the worst forms of child labour;
- 957 children and youth ( 467 girls) 5 to 13 years, at risk or victims of the worst forms of child labour, enrolled in school;
- 106 adolescents ( 63 girls) aged 14 to 17 years, at risk or victims of the worst forms of child labour, trained on different
modules (hotel management, nutrition, woodwork, car mechanics, metalwork and soldering, dressmaking, computing,
electronics);
- 252 families that received vocational training set up their own projects;
- 103 adults received intensive functional literacy classes;


## Project duration:

Implementing

## organisation:

## Contact:

## Documents available:

"Rapport final du projet de lutte contre les pires formes de travail des enfants dans la Région d'Atsimo-Andrefana - districts de Toliara I, Toliara II et Sakaraha" Aide et Action, May 2009.
"Capitalisation du volet mobilisation et sensibilisation du projet de lutte contre les pires formes de travail des enfants dans la Région d'Atsimo-Andrefana - districts de Toliara I, Toliara II et Sakaraha", Aide et Action, July 2009."Recueil de textes sur les PFTE en version malagasy" Aide et Action, May 2009.

| Information Sheet - Primary School Inclusion Programme (A new form to be filled for each programme related to inclusion) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Name of programme: | ProVert/FLM |
| Objective: | To contribute to the achievement of Education For All (EFA) |
| Target group: | Lutheran schools |
| Intervention areas: | The whole of Madagascar |
| Intervention strategy: Financial and technical sup between the Lutheran Edu | rt for several Lutheran schools, including schools for the blind, deaf and dumb. Collaboration ion Department and two specialist institutions: The Institute for blind and deaf children. |
| Programme features: <br> In-depth work on the inclusion of deaf, blind and visually impaired children. |  |
| Main challenges: <br> Impact of the polictical crisis on the education sector; Parent's non-prioritisation of development and education for children with specific needs; The instability of government policy on the education system. |  |
| Current situation: <br> End of the initial two-year phase: <br> Provision of educational training for: <br> 9 Lutheran primary schools that have started to enrol deaf and dumb children and children who are hard of hearing; 8 primary schools that have started to enrol blind and visually impaired children. |  |
| Project duration: | 2 years (2010-2011) |
| Implementing organisation: | ProVert |
| Contact: | Mamisoa Andrianjafy: programme.officer@provertflm.mg Clarisse Rasoalinoro:pedagogical.advisor@provertflm.mg |
| Documents available: <br> Project document: "Inclusion of the deaf and blind 2010-2011" Project document, 2012-2014 |  |








## PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION AND WAYS TO IMPROVE INCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR

Rohen d'Aiglepierre

In collaboration with Focus Development Association

Photos by Pierrot Men

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## unicef (3)

## PRIMARY SCHOOL EXCLUSION AND WAYS TO IMPROVE INCLUSION IN MADAGASCAR



Allowing all children access to quality primary education opportunities is a prerequisite for the development of all nations. Yet in Madagascar, there are currently hundreds of thousands of children dropping out of primary schools every year and more than a quarter of them, or more than one million children, are ultimately deprived of any educational opportunity. This huge waste of human and financial resources jeopardizes the future of many children and will in the mediumterm have very negative consequences for the development of Madagascar. This study was conducted to inform future policy choices on this issue and is based on an analysis of available national statistics, and also on data from a national survey, both quantitative and qualitative, that was specifically carried out with more than one thousand children, parents, teachers, principals, presidents of parents associations and community leaders throughout Madagascar. After presenting the context analysis framework of primary school exclusion in Madagascar, the process of school exclusion is looked at from the household, primary school and community point of view, alongside explanations of attitudes and inclusive practices observed. Methods to promote inclusion have been developed based on the results, including the roles and responsibilities of each actor, tools that have already been tried and tested and possible actions to consider in the future to put an end to all forms of primary school exclusion in Madagascar.


[^0]:    4

[^1]:    School Contract for Success Programme (CPRS : Contrat Programme de Réussite scolaire) is a voluntary commitment amongst the local school community to improve primary school education. Actions could be focused on anything from improving the school environment to setting up a school canteen, or addressing students' attitudes toward tardiness, absenteeism, and the like. The actions needed for implementation are integrated into the school's action plan.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ This additional objective however, is not addressed within the framework of this report

[^3]:    ${ }^{2}$ Here, disability is defined as any restriction or lack of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being. Significant disabilities may be long-term or cause permanent impairment of one or many functions; they may be physical, sensory, developmental, cognitive, psychological, or the result of multiple handicaps or a disabling medical disorder. However, in the context of the field survey, it is the perceptions of the local stakeholders that define those children with disabilities.
    ${ }^{3}$ Urban and rural communes are categorised according to the MOE database.

[^4]:    ${ }^{4}$ Given the number of tools used (7 questionnaires and 7 discussion guides) they have not been included in this document but are available upon request.
    ${ }^{5}$ This data will be used in the near future for an impact analysis of UNICEF's interventions.
    ${ }^{6}$ FRAM teachers are community teachers fully or partially supported by parents associations.

[^5]:    ${ }^{7} 12,629$ Fokontany ( $73 \%$ ) out of a total of 17,544 have a public or community primary school.

[^6]:    8 A community school is a school that was founded and is managed by the educational community. The MOE has approved its existence, but all teachers and the principal are FRAM teachers.
    9 This figure is an estimate based on the name of establishments in the MOE database of primary schools, 2010-2011. All schools with a name that makes reference to the idea of community were classified as community schools.
    10 The gross primary school enrolment rate has also dropped significantly; 139.3\% in 2005 (EPM,2005) against $118 \%$ at the time of the 2010 household survey (EPM, 2010).

[^7]:    ${ }^{11}$ Some data from the MOE indicate an NER of $87.7 \%$ and 431,827 excluded students. However, this figure does not include children aged 6 - 10 years enrolled in secondary school.
    ${ }^{12}$ If the estimated NER of $73.4 \%$ is maintained but the age group is widened to include $6-12$ year olds, the number of children excluded is an estimated 1.48 million.
    ${ }^{13}$ As an illustration, according to the EPM 2005, about 581,000 children were out of school. If the age group is widened to include children up to 15 years, the number of excluded children goes up to just over 1,100,000 (RESEN, 2008).

[^8]:    ${ }^{14}$ The pseudo-longitudinal method of estimating survival rates is used here on the basis of two consecutive school years.
    15 The overall primary school dropout rate is calculated as 1 minus the survival rate and is therefore different from the percentage of dropouts. It therefore represents the estimated percentage of dropouts between CP1 and CM2.

[^9]:    ${ }^{17}$ Part of this difference in spending, however, could come from inflation and the fact that households with children who have dropped out of school made these expenses one or two years beforehand, whereas the expenses of households with children still at school are more recent.

[^10]:    ${ }^{19}$ The category 'financial difficulties of the household' includes the following: the child has chosen to leave school to help his parents, financial issues, food problems, gainful employment of the child, death of a parent, the cost of school and non-payment of FRAM contributions. The category 'child's health' includes all the answers that mention anything to do with health, fatigue or a child's disability. The category concerning 'perceptions and attitudes of households towards education' includes lack of ability, determination or effort, child labour, behavioural problems, the impact of domestic activities and the fact that parents consider the educational level reached to be sufficient. 'Characteristics of mainstream education' includes all the answers relating to other students in the class, the teacher, the principal and school, except those that mention the cost of school. Finally, the category for 'administrative problems' includes answers related to civil status and Fokontany registration.
    20 DINA is a local custom, which may consist of a fine imposed by the community on those families who do not enroll their children in school.

[^11]:    "It would be embarrassing for the school in question, it's as if education has lost its value! Primary school should not be confused with secondary school. Here, there is no question of giving the child to the grandmother to be looked after and returning to school as if nothing has happened!" (Focus group: Educational personnel,Ilafy)

[^12]:    ${ }^{21}$ This is data weighted by the number of Fokontany. These figures therefore represent the national average in the Fokontany. To have an estimate of these percentages for the total population of Madagascar, it is necessary to have reliable demographic data. A possible approximation amounts to using the population of children enrolled in primary education. The estimates are quite similar giving $29.8 \%$ of children out of school and $5.2 \%$ of children with disabilities.

[^13]:    ${ }^{21}$ This figure is slightly higher than that of the EPM for children aged 6 to 10 years, which was $26.6 \%$.
    ${ }^{22}$ The EPM (2010) gives a dropout rate of $6.3 \%$ between the 2008/2009 and 2009/2010 academic years.

[^14]:    ${ }^{23}$ Our method does not allow the meaning of the correlation of variables to be determined. If child labour increases the propensity of children to drop out of school, it is perfectly possible that these drop outs increases the propensity of child labour. The effects of variables that were left out can also be influential. Household income could simultaneously influence academic achievement and the propensity to be enrolled in nursery school, which would therefore contradict the direct influence of nursery school on school exclusion.

[^15]:    "The Fokontany should encourage parents to do what they can so their children can complete primary school, to take good care of them by telling them they are intelligent..." (Focus group: Community, Anivorano Nord)
    "Encourage parents and inform the children, even if the children do not do well with general education, encourage parents to send them for vocational training".

[^16]:    "We already talked about this at the beginning. When the parents don't see solid structures but buildings like that, they are hesitant about enrolling their children. If there are concrete buildlings, it is more encouraging for them!" (Focus group: Educational personnel, Ehara)

