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AUTHOR	Klees, Steve; Matangala, Anisio; Spronk, Barbara; Visser, Jan
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ABSTRACT

This report was prepared in the framework of Mozambique's concern to respond to the needs of large numbers of unreached learners and to attend, in an integrated fashion, to a growing diversity of learning needs. As step 1 of a three-phase process assisted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO's) Learning without Frontiers initiative, an international mission team analyzed the context of learning needs in Mozambique and examined resources available to meet such needs holistically. The first section of this report discusses the need for lifelong learning in a rapidly changing world, design of the overall three-phase process, and work of the mission team. This section also examines the notion of crossing "frontiers" to reduce barriers to learning; these frontiers include boundaries between public and private sectors, between channels of learning, between the worlds of work and learning, between "modern" and "traditional" systems of knowledge, and among languages. The second section looks at key problems and issues related to the economy, agriculture, health, education, and communications in Mozambique as a whole and in the provinces of Sofala and Nampula, focusing on effects of the decade-long civil war, widespread dependence on subsistence agriculture, limited access to education, high rates of illiteracy, poor health conditions, and the education of women and girls. Final sections suggest directions for project content, audiences, organization, and location and include recommendations for the next mission. Contains 33 references and an additional bibliography. Appendices list persons and groups met within Maputo and organization name abbreviations. (SV)

REACHING UNREACHED LEARNERS IN MOZAMBIQUE

A report to the Minister of Education on learning needs and alternative pathways to learning in the perspective of an integrated response to the needs of a rapidly developing society in a complex world

by

Steve Klees

Anisio Matangala

Barbara Spronk

Jan Visser

commissioned by UNESCO and financially supported by the Netherlands Government

Maputo, Mozambique

Reporting date: November 1997

The following report has been prepared in the framework of Mozambique's concern to find a response to the needs of its large numbers of unreached learners and to attend – in an integrated fashion – to a growing diversity of learning needs, many of which remain currently unmet. It is the result of a mission carried out during a two-week period from 10 to 24 August 1997 by a four-person team. The mission team, which authored this report, consisted of the following persons: Steve Klees, Professor, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, USA; Anisio Matangala, Adviser, Ministry of Education, Maputo, Mozambique; Barbara Spronk, Executive Director, International Extension College, Cambridge, UK; Jan Visser, Director, Learning Without Frontiers Coordination Unit, UNESCO, Paris, France. Steve Klees had overall editorial responsibility for the report. Jan Visser undertook the final editing. The mission took place following a UNESCO initiative, promoted by the Learning Without Frontiers Coordination Unit (LWF) and the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), both based in Paris, France. The Netherlands Government, through its Embassy in Maputo, supported the mission.

The mission marked the first step of a three-phase process. The first phase, reflected in this report, analyzes the context of learning needs in Mozambique and examines the resources available to attend to such needs in a holistic manner, rather than through isolated and partial responses to pieces of the problem. This initial inquiry is inspired by the notion of distance learning in so far as it reflects a concern with the exploration of a wide range of pathways to learning for multiple audiences, involving the use of different media and other resources, and going beyond – but not necessarily excluding – the traditional patterns of facilitating learning, such as in the school context. Subsequent phases will focus on the identification of specific strategies to improve attending to these learning needs as well as on the participatory design of interventions in that context.

CONTENTS

The greatest obstacle to discovering the shape of the earth, the continents and the oceans was not ignorance, but the illusion of knowledge.

Daniel J. Boorstin (1983).
The discoverers: A history of man's search to know his world and himself

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The challenge of a changing world: Learning without frontiers

There is a growing concern in the world about the inadequacy of current societal responses to existing learning needs. This concern is felt not only in developing countries, but equally in the industrialized world. It is shared by officials of ministries of education as well as of other ministries, such as those who have responsibility for public health, agriculture, the environment, population issues, work (and the lack thereof) and the work force, social welfare, culture, youth issues, etc. There is probably no area of sectoral interest excluded from this concern. It is strongly related to the quite fundamental way in which the world is changing, which gives new meanings to learning and calls for different approaches. It is also related to the insufficiency of the human and physical infrastructure developed over time to fully respond to the learning needs for which it was created: many children supposed to be in school are not in school and, if they are, their learning may often be irrelevant or unsustained. As a consequence, there are almost one billion illiterate people in the world and many people who have had schooling feel they are inadequately prepared for life after school. What needs to be done?

Learning is frequently equated with what one does in school. Certainly, people recognize that learning also takes place in other contexts. However, when it comes to consciously planning for the provision of learning opportunities, the school, or something that closely resembles it, is often what comes to mind first. Learning used to be seen as a preparation for life, mainly engaged in by a new generation during childhood and adolescence, with an extension, for the privileged, in early adulthood. While it was admitted that the occasional refresher course might be necessary during later life, such continuing learning needs would be seen as occasional rather than as fundamental. Effective schooling would be

the key to a successful career. Once graduated from the school system, members of the new generation would be set for the rest of their life, their level of social integration and societal recognition being closely related to the level at which they established themselves academically.

This idea of a once in a lifetime preparation for the rest of one's life is no longer in line with current reality anywhere in the world. Change processes take place at a pace wildly different from the past and the world grows increasingly complex. In the not so distant past, change could be dealt with as a generational phenomenon. As the existing adult generation became aware of the changes that had taken place since it grew up and went to school itself, it made sure that when the next generation entered school, curricula and the teaching/learning processes were adapted to whatever might have changed since their youth so that the subsequent generation, if properly schooled, would be ready for *its* passage through life. Nowadays such generation-long foresight is no longer possible. People have to continually adapt to new circumstances during their lifetime, responding to changing conditions and emerging opportunities. In the Mozambican context, for instance, in less than 25 years the country has changed from a colonial society into an independent nation. It has experimented with different models of societal organization and interacted in that context with the field of tension created by the conflict between global super powers whose roles have since changed. It has lived through a protracted period of civil strife depriving millions of people of life or livelihood and destroying large parts of its economic and social infrastructure, including what it had carefully built up after independence to provide learning opportunities for its young people. Like other countries, it has seen traditional boundaries, including those that define the nation-state, become less important and shared in the feeling that the world is shrinking. Everywhere in the world, we become increasingly aware of our interdependence and perceive that many things that happen to us are not under our direct control in this globalized environment. The nature and effects of globalization are hotly debated, but many agree on the necessity for countervailing policies, programmes, and structures that allow better local control. Such control entails that we must, in a variety of different contexts and at different levels of complexity, participate with others in the joint management of our social, physical, cultural, and economic environment. Technological resources have become available, among other areas for communication, the power and pervasiveness of which had not been imagined at the time Mozambique became independent. For those who then went to school, no

curriculum of the kind still most commonly practised could have adequately prepared them for the changes they would face. They had to learn to live with such change largely without the help of what they had learned in school. And school had not yet been conceived – and often is still not conceived – as the space in which one acquires the skills to engage in a life of lifelong learning.

1.2 Reaching unreached learners in Mozambique

The change processes that Mozambique is going through can be expected to continue. No society in the present-day world is static. If development in a country did at any time become static, that society would have little chance to survive. Societal processes, such as economies, strive for dynamic equilibrium with their larger environment. Learning – both at the individual level and at the level of organically related groups of people, such as agricultural communities, women's groups, street children – plays a very important role in that context. Learning allows people and communities to be proactive, to adjust to new circumstances and to prepare for change. While doing so, they contribute to further change in their environment that, in turn, others have to cope with. Such change being continuous, learning also has to be continuous. It should not be restricted by age, time, space or circumstance.

Mozambique is not alone in the community of nations to be concerned about the changing context of learning and in its desire to get to grips with that new context. It distinguishes itself from other countries in the extent to which it finds itself confronted with the phenomenon of unreached learners and unmet learning needs. It was for the latter reason that UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, shares Mozambique's vision that the country can benefit from approaches such as the ones contemplated and developed in the framework of UNESCO's transdisciplinary Learning Without Frontiers[1] effort.

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1. *Learning Without Frontiers* envisages a change of perspective, both conceptually and in terms of educational practice. Its emerging reality calls for the participation of a multitude of different partners at governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental level, involving both public and private interests. The Learning Without Frontiers Coordination Unit at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, France, functions as a hub ina network representing efforts undertaken all over the world to cross boundaries and break down barriers to learning. Continually updated information on these efforts can be accessed via the World Wide

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It is against the backdrop of the above considerations that the Mozambican Government is interested in seeking an adequate response to the problem of unreached learners and unmet learning needs in the country. UNESCO, through its Learning Without Frontiers Coordination Unit and the International Institute for Educational Planning, with financial support through the Netherlands Embassy in Maputo, is assisting Mozambique in identifying such a response. The mission whose findings and recommendations are reflected in the current report took place in the framework of this interest. The problem being a complex one, the approach to creating such a response is, by necessity, also complex. There is a definite desire by all parties concerned not to reduce this complexity by suggesting that the solution would lie in setting up yet another typical pilot project somewhere to deal with some kind of partial and isolated situation in which learning is an important element, but without a clear idea as to how to get beyond the pilot phase. For that reason, a process was conceived consisting of the following three steps:

- As a first exercise, an overall exploration would be undertaken to get to know the broad range of learning needs in the Mozambican society, their interrelationship and prioritization, the available resources to respond to them, as well as to explore the potential of alternative pathways to learning in that context. Distance learning is the catch phrase often referred to in this connection. However, the discourse and practice of distance education are often rather narrowly restricted to replicating models prevalent in the formal education system, thus doing little to cross barriers to learning that are implicit in the underlying assumptions of the formal education system. Therefore, the exploration undertaken in this first exercise takes a broad view of distance education. The current report is the documentary result of this exercise.

- The second step in the process will consist of the specific and detailed design of a project aiming at the development of learning without frontiers in Mozambique, starting in a specific geographical area. As discussed in the present report, it is suggested that the province of Nampula would be a good candidate, but that should be subject to further review. As part of the same approach towards a gradual development of learning without

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frontiers, the initial project will focus on a particular group of audiences and their varied interrelated learning needs. In addition, a set of media, approaches and processes, designed to work in concert to create a response to the learning needs in question, should be identified as part of this second step. What will be selected should be significant and be chosen with a view to ensuring that success created in a still limited area of concern will have the best chances possible to promote similar developments elsewhere in the country. The product of this Step 2 exercise will thus be a draft project design.

- The third part of the process is a deliberate attempt to create involvement in generating and executing the activity referred to in the previous step by holding a national workshop on the proposed project. As mentioned above, the product of Step 2 is a draft project design. The national workshop on learning without frontiers will be conducted to allow that design to be taken apart and reconstructed so that effective ownership can result both at the national level and at the level of the initial area targeted for implementation of learning without frontiers. The participation by key persons and institutions from areas of the country outside the area selected for start-up will help generate interest and involvement that will be useful to future diffusion.

1.3 Crossing frontiers

The notion of crossing frontiers and thereby reducing barriers to learning is fundamental to the development of learning without frontiers. In the current context – and not only in Mozambique – such frontiers are multiple. In this section a number of them will be highlighted by way of example. As there are so many frontiers the list will not be exhaustive. Later parts of this report will refer back to some of the notions developed here. Other frontiers, not highlighted in this section, may be alluded to or further explored in the context of specific experiences described or recommendations made in later sections of the report.

(33-1) 456-80887, e-mail EDVIS@UNESCO.ORG.

1.3.1 Crossing the sectoral divide

Any significant development towards a comprehensive and integrated approach to attending to learning needs will depend on the political will and creative imagination of a society to work together across sectoral boundaries and to develop modalities of governance that overcome the artificial divisions between sectors. Learning should be seen not just as an interest promoted and attended to through the work of the Ministry of Education. It is equally connected to the concerns of ministries whose responsibilities lie in a multitude of other areas such as, to name but a few, labour, agriculture, health, culture, social welfare, youth, tourism, and the environment. Not only is there a need to cross frontiers between sectoral structures within government, to do so is equally fundamental between government, NGOs, and private sector institutions. As this report will show, there are encouraging examples where sectoral frontiers are being crossed, but there is also evidence that much still needs to be done.

1.3.2 Learning across multiple channels[2]

Advances towards the establishment of learning without frontiers will be hampered by a vision that puts emphasis on formal learning and treats non-formal and informal learning as something separate and of a different category. It will equally be hampered by the non-recognition of learning that takes place via different communication media, such as radio, TV, computers, puppet shows, popular theatre and dance, or of learning that is grounded in the use of symbol systems that require literacies different from the ones based on the western alphanumeric symbol system. One of the mission team members was queried in the streets of Nampula by a little girl who, in the course of the ensuing conversation, mentioned how much she was learning by listening to the radio and watching TV. She had a great interest in reading children's books and asked if UNESCO could provide her with some. Her eloquence in communicating her interests is likely to have been the product of how different learning modes can converge and mutually reinforce each other. Mozambique needs more such girls and boys and needs adults whose ability to continue to learn is not limited because of preconceptions that learning is just for the young or restricted to the school context.

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2. Also referred to as multichannel learning (see e.g. Anzalone, Ed, 1995).

1.3.3 Crossing boundaries between the worlds of work and learning and beyond

The traditional philosophy underlying the school system is quite closely related to the connection between learning and work. The learning that members of a new generation engage in when they go to school is seen, to a large extent, as what prepares them for the world of work. The extent to which they progress in the school system will reflect on their future status in the world of work. Not so long ago that connection could claim to have a certain validity. That validity is becoming challenged in various ways. First of all, there are scores of young people, both in the industrialized and the developing world, who are painfully finding out that their successful academic careers are insufficient to guarantee a job and that what they have learnt is irrelevant as a basis for self-employment. Second, the relation between learning and work is becoming less and less linear and unidirectional. The work environment can be an important learning environment, sometimes more effective than the school, and many a good school does integrate work in its procedures to facilitate and motivate learning. More importantly, and this is a third argument, the world of work itself is changing, just as much as the world of learning changes (see e.g. Rifkin, 1995). Brown and Brown (1994) refer to a variety of authors, including Buckminster Fuller, McLuhan, and Leonard, who, decades ago stressed that learning would become the major occupation of the future, rather than work. They particularly point to distance education as a modality to facilitate learning in a flexible and open manner in a world in which work and learning become more and more intertwined, in which work is not the equivalent of 'having a job,' in which learning may inspire work as well as be inspired by it, and in which learning is increasingly undertaken for its own sake. There is still much to be done in Mozambique, as in most nations, to allow such boundary crossings to become a routine part of reality.

1.3.4 Bridging the gap between 'modern' and 'traditional' systems of knowledge and learning

Opportunities are missed if, in a community, different systems of knowledge and learning operate and if those systems are not allowed or encouraged to interact with each other. School learning is sometimes seen as inherently superior to any other modality of learning. Similarly, the multiplicity of learning contexts notwithstanding, knowledge acquired in the school context is often the only kind of knowledge for which formal recognition can be obtained. The terms 'modern' and 'traditional', though often used in this context, are unfortunate and misleading. With a critical eye in today's world, we can no longer afford to

presume the unbridled progress inherent in this modern/traditional distinction, nor the corollary deprecation of non-Western knowledge.

In a practical sense, what is required is an open eye for the opportunities contained in any system of learning, whatever its designation, and a facilitating environment that allows learning communities to grow together. There is considerable potential in Mozambique for better interrelationships between modern and traditional knowledge systems in areas like farming practices, environmental protection, health behaviours, and school system organization. It is of great concern in this regard that information about learning and knowledge systems other than the school system is not widely available. The mission team was fortunate to have the opportunity to meet with Alberto Viegas, a rare source of information and wisdom about the local knowledge and learning systems in Nampula province.

1.3.5 Breaking through the language barrier

The African continent is rich in terms of linguistic diversity. Mozambique is no exception to this wealth as it is home to a broad variety of language communities. Linguistic diversity is as crucially important for the evolution of humankind as is biodiversity for the evolution of the species. In that perspective, the rate at which languages are disappearing in the world is frightening (Visser, 1997). Pinker (1994) asserts that, at a global level, "between 3600 and 5400 languages, as much as 90 % of the world's total, are threatened with extinction in the next century" (p. 259). As to the mechanisms by which languages disappear, he refers, among other causes, to "the destruction of the habitats of their speakers,...forced assimilation and assimilatory education" (p. 260). The recognition of the importance of linguistic diversity is often at a tension with political motives to promote national unity through the use of a single language. Linguistic diversity is also often resisted by educational decision-makers whose mode of planning is based on the conception of a single-track school system. Yet, instruction in one's mother tongue, especially for young children, has been shown to have many advantages, including in conceptual development.

For the various reasons highlighted above it is important to create learning environments able to accommodate and foster linguistic diversity. The mission team is aware of encouraging developments in Mozambique, based on the above concerns. More adult learning is being done in national languages and plans are being made to do so more in formal

schooling. While there are concerns regarding the need for a common official language like Portuguese as a vehicle for communication across different language groups, there is also recognition of the need for more attention and creativity that is required to build a plurilingual learning environment in Mozambique. Doing so does not at all have to alter the status of Portuguese as an official language. It could, however, enhance the appreciation of the country's rich linguistic and cultural heritage, contributing to development efforts in many ways.

1.4 The work of the mission

In discharging its responsibilities, the four-person mission team made contact with a broad range of people across multiple sectors. An alphabetically arranged list of the various contacts made is presented in Annex 1. The mission worked over a two-week period (10 to 24 August 1997) in various parts of the country, starting with a one-day orientation in the capital Maputo. During that day meetings took place with the Minister of Education and the Head of the UNESCO Office. In addition, an initial situation analysis work session was held at the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE) with a group of 32 participants comprising representatives of the Ministry of Education (DNEP, IAP, INDE, DINET), the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Labour, the Netherlands Embassy, and NGOs (ADEMO, Acçao Contra a Fome).

For the subsequent five days, the mission split into two two-person teams. One of these teams (Matangala and Spronk) visited Sofala province, the other one (Klees and Visser) went to the province of Nampula. From the seventh day onward, the group worked again as a four-person team in Maputo city, comparing field notes, making further contacts, triangulating their findings of the first week while expanding their explorations through further interviews.

During the two-week period, interviews were held with representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Health, and Labour; the telephone company *Telecomunicações de Moçambique* (TDM); the television company *Televisão de Moçambique* (TVM); the national radio broadcast company *Rádio Moçambique* (RM); a private radio station, run by the Catholic church in Nampula, *Rádio Encontro*; the postal services *Correios de Moçambique*; the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM); the

Pedagogical University (UP); and a variety of NGOs, such as CLUSA, SALAMA, OJDR, ADOC, FUMASO, ORMOSIEN, and ADPP.

In addition to interviews, field visits were made to activities in operation. These included, among others, the National Institute for Adult Education (INEA); a training session of literacy workers, whom members of the mission team had the opportunity to talk with extensively; an agricultural community whose members had formed an *associação*; centres of the women's organization OMM, and a rural adult literacy/health class. Interviews and direct observation of activities in operation were complemented by consultation of existing documentation (see reference list and bibliography).

The findings resulting from the above explorations are presented in the next section. They were reported by the team to the Minister of Education during a meeting on the last working day of the mission. In the same meeting, the conclusions and recommendations of the mission team were discussed. A separate meeting of a similar nature was held on the day following the conclusion of the mission with representatives of the Netherlands Embassy in Maputo. This meeting involved only two members of the mission team, Matangala and Visser. Finally, an informal briefing on the results of the mission was given to the Netherlands Education Adviser for Southern Africa, involving one team member only (Visser), during a transit stop in South Africa.

2 SITUATION ANALYSIS

In this section we offer a brief analysis of the situation in Mozambique as a whole and in Sofala and Nampula provinces where we visited. Given the brevity of our visit and the broadness of our topic, we make no claims to be comprehensive. We have read and report on some of the extensive work others have done and include some of the information and impressions that we obtained from our interviews, meetings, and visits. Throughout this process we have tried to test our understanding of the situation and the possibilities for a LWF project against the understandings of Mozambicans and others who live and work in Mozambique. As this mission is part of a three phase project design process in which analyses of the situation and the development of a project will be discussed by a wide range of participants, the analyses and recommendations that follow should be seen as preliminary. The first section, on Mozambique as a whole, looks at some key problems and issues related to the economy, agriculture, health, education, and communications. The last two sections, on Sofala and Nampula, similarly examine problems in each province and consider responses in each sector undertaken by government, NGOs, donors, and communities. The differences in the situation faced by girls and women are considered throughout. It should be remembered that across the nation and within each province there is considerable diversity that can not be captured in the brief examination below.

2.1 Mozambique

Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony, became independent in 1975. The country is situated in Southern Africa and lies on the East Coast of Africa (Indian Ocean) and is bounded on the north by Tanzania, on the west by Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Swaziland, and on the south again by South Africa. Covering a territory of about 800,000 km^2, Mozambique is divided into eleven provinces and has an estimated population of around 18,000,000 inhabitants. The political changes in Mozambique over the last several decades have been dramatic and difficult: from colonial times to the struggle for independence, from the socialist-oriented development policies of the post-independence Frelimo government to the suffering of a decade-long civil war, and, most recently, to the emergence of peace, democratic governance, and market-oriented development.

The devastating consequences of the civil war are still very evident. Over a million people were killed during the war, almost 2 million people fled to neighbouring countries, and over 3 million were displaced internally (Hanlon, 1996). The country's entire infrastructure was severely damaged in all sectors and the economy collapsed, with GDP/capita falling by 45% between 1980 and 1986 (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997; Plank, 1993). To reverse the decline the government negotiated a structural adjustment programme (SAP) with the IMF in 1987. Reduced inflation and renewed economic growth followed for a few years, but worsened during the first half of the nineties, exacerbated by a severe drought in 1992.

One major cost of the war and the policies chosen to promote economic recovery was Mozambique going from having no external debt in 1982 to quickly becoming one of the most indebted and aid-dependent countries in the world. Since 1988, external assistance has accounted for more than 70% of GDP (Plank 1993; World Bank, 1996). Despite these efforts Mozambique remains one of the most impoverished countries in the world, with a 1994 GNP/capita of US$90, second only to Rwanda (World Bank, 1996). Over the last few years, however, the outlook has improved, with inflation in 1996 down to 16.6% and the growth in GNP up to 7.4% (de Vletter, 1997).

The signing of the peace agreement in 1992 led to the country's political stabilisation. Frelimo won the elections held in 1994 and Renamo became an opposition party. Both parties have maintained a remarkable political co-existence. This political atmosphere has helped to develop opportunities for economic and social development and an array of policies and programmes are being implemented to meet the sectoral challenges discussed below.

2.1.1 Agriculture

As in many African countries, agriculture is the predominant economic activity in Mozambique. About 80% of the population work in agriculture, contributing 33% of GDP. Approximately 36 million hectares of land in Mozambique are arable but only 10% is presently cultivated. Greatest agricultural potential lies in the highlands and mid-altitude areas of the interior of the Centre and North. The provinces under these regions normally produce more than 80% of food crops. The coastal zones of the country contain the highest concentration of rural population and, consequently, the highest concentration of cultivated land. The main food crops produced are maize, cassava, beans, sweet potatoes, sugar, rice,

etc., while the principal cash crops are cashew, cotton and copra. Smallholders in the "family" sector farm 95% of the area under production, consisting of 2.5 to 3 million families principally using traditional farming methods on an average size plot (*machamba*) of about one hectare (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997).

Although the agriculture sector is capable of generating considerable output for international and domestic markets, and has at times done so, it has been seriously damaged over the years. The Portuguese exodus at independence in 1975 set back production. The government's post-independence policies called for the concentration of rural population in the so-called communal villages and the setting up of big state owned farms and agriculture co-operatives. Forced "villagization" and low producer prices discouraged farmers from marketing their produce through official channels. The war and the worsening of security conditions kept land out of production and a drought in the early eighties lowered output even more. Marketed production in 1986, for instance, was less than half of its 1981 level.

While the 1992 drought was another setback, since 1993 there has been an increase in agriculture output, due to the positive effects of peace, the return of displaced people to their farms, better producer prices, and good rainfall in 1995 and 1996. Maize production in 1996 increased 29% over 1995, cassava increased by 13% and groundnuts by 15%. Cashew production, in 1996, almost hit the highest level (60,000 tons) since 1981 (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997).

Agricultural development is a principal focus of government policy and programmes. In 1995, the government approved the Poverty Alleviation Strategy, the National Nutrition Plan, and the Agriculture Policy and Implementation Strategy, which together emphasized the fundamental importance of food security and of the agriculture sector in reducing poverty and promoting economic growth. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAP) has primary responsibility for the Agrarian Policy, which emphasizes the following four aspects: food security, sustainable economic growth, employment creation, and poverty reduction. MAP has just prepared the National Agricultural Development Programme (PROAGRI) that will orient the investment of national and external resources over the next five years to promote the recovery and development of the sector. Some of the important components of PROAGRI concern issues of extension, livestock, land, irrigation, credit, agricultural production, plant protection, and human resource development.

2.1.2 Education

The educational system in pre-independence Mozambique was not very developed and characterised by its discriminatory nature. As argued by Mondlane (1969), the objectives of the school system implemented by Portugal to educate native Mozambicans, were twofold: a) to produce a relatively few Mozambicans who would act as intermediaries between the colonial power and the population, and b) to inculcate an attitude of servility in the educated Mozambican. The inherited system of education reflected little or nothing in the way of Mozambican content and was inadequate to meet the needs of both the individual and society.

After 1975, considerable efforts were devoted to education. It is estimated that "more Mozambicans were included in education and graduated during the first 10 years of independence than during the entire 500 years of Portuguese domination" (United States Agency for International Development, 1992). The number of children in EP1 (the first primary education cycle, from Grade 1 to Grade 5) rose from about 670,000 in 1975 to 1.4 million in 1981. Enrolment in EP2 (Grades 6 and 7) increased four-fold, from about 20,000 in 1975 to 78,000 in 1981. Large-scale literacy campaigns reduced illiteracy from 93% at independence to 70% in 1985 (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997; United States Agency for International Development, 1992). This education explosion was damaged severely by the civil war. Government estimates indicate that, between 1983 and 1992, over 3,500 primary schools were destroyed or closed down, representing 58% of the school network. Around 900,000 students and 13,000 teachers were affected by the war (Ministério de Educação, 1994). Literacy and other adult education activities were brought to a virtual standstill.

Despite recovery efforts, problems of limited access and low quality are pervasive in the formal school system. There are now an estimated three million children of school age and the EP1 net enrolment rate is only about 40%. Combined with high dropout and repetition rates, this leaves many young people with no real access to primary schooling (Ministério de Educação, 1997). While large-scale rehabilitation and reconstruction of educational facilities has taken place, with the number of schools increasing from 3,381 in 1993 to 5,165 in 1996 (Ministério de Educação, 1997), it is still far below the required levels to achieve the Education for All goals, which sets targets for universal primary education and massive reduction of illiteracy. Moreover, it will even be difficult to keep up with the growth

of school-age population given the high population growth rate, which is currently of 2.6% (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). Access to education for adults also remains very limited. Estimates are that 60% of the population is still not literate. 42% of men are illiterate compared to 77% of women, which reflects the gender inequalities that can be seen throughout the educational system as well as in all sectors of society (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1977).

Low quality education is another serious problem facing the education sector, which is clearly reflected in the high repetition and drop-out rates for formal schooling. The system is suffering from bureaucratic centralisation, a not-so relevant curriculum, and a traditional methodology of teaching. The absence of learning materials, especially of good quality, and the strains caused by overcrowding and a multiple shift system are also contributing to low education quality. Teachers work in a very difficult situation. They are not adequately prepared: about 24% of EP1 teachers have no formal training at all, and some 52% fall within the category of "6 years + 1" meaning that they have six years of primary education and one year of professional training (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). Classroom conditions are difficult due to the problems above, a high student-teacher ratio, as well as the fact that the language of instruction is Portuguese, which is the mother tongue for neither the teacher nor the children.

These problems are well-recognized and the Ministry of Education has been developing policies and programmes to improve the situation. Most recently, the Ministry prepared a *Plano Estratégico de Educação*, which has the objectives of increasing educational access, improving education quality, and developing an institutional capacity to sustain the future educational system (Ministério de Educação, 1997). To implement this plan, the Ministry of Education is counting on its ability to establish and reinforce co-operative linkages with various groups interested in education, such as parents, communities, employers, NGOs, other government sectors, religious institutions, etc., who will all be called upon to play a role in the provision, financing and management of education.

2.1.3 Health

Since independence, health policy in Mozambique has been emphasizing primary health care, with the objective of controlling major diseases through preventive, curative and rehabilitative measures. Similar to the situation in other sectors, some of the main problems

affecting the Ministry of Health are: insufficient funds, decreasing external assistance, shortage of qualified medical personnel, insufficient and inadequate health posts, and other weaknesses of the national health infrastructure. These shortcomings, combined with inadequate knowledge of basic health and hygiene issues, lack of safe water, limited access to health care, and other correlates of poverty, are the main causes of illness and death in Mozambique.

As in other sectors, some progress was made after independence. In 1975 there were about 170 doctors and 2,000 other health workers in the country. By 1985 this had increased to about 320 doctors and 3,800 other health workers. The number of health posts and centres rose from about 330 to 1,180 over the same period. Still, this gave a coverage of only one health post for every 12,000 people and one doctor for every 44,000 people. However, the war again took a heavy toll and by 1990, 1,100 rural health units, representing almost 50% of the primary health care network, had been destroyed or forced to close. It is estimated that the destruction of this health infrastructure was responsible for 1 million deaths in addition to the deaths more directly caused by the war between 1980 and 1989.

Mozambique has one of the most difficult health situations facing any nation, manifested by such basic indicators as very low life expectancy, high infant mortality rates, and low access to safe water (World Bank, 1996; United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). Serious epidemics continue to occur. In 1992, a cholera epidemic was registered with more than 30,000 cases. In 1993-1994, measles and dysentery epidemics hit the country. Malaria, tuberculosis, malnutrition, lung infections, and diarrhoea are still the main causes of death in children under five years and adults. 27% of children suffer from malnutrition and 55% are stunted. AIDS is a growing problem and the HIV infection rate in adults is estimated to be 10%, with the central provinces of Manica, Tete, Sofala, Zambezia more affected (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997).

Since the end of the civil war, the GOM has been working to re-establish and improve the primary health care network. A current priority is to extend system coverage to unreached rural areas and the neglected provinces, such as Zambezia. There are specific targets in terms of health network improvements for the year 2002, such as adding 30 to 40 rural hospitals, as well as almost 2500 health centres of various sizes, and doubling the reach of immunization programmes. Overall, it is hoped to increase those with access to health

coverage from 40% to 60% of the population. As in all sectors, to make this a reality the government is trying work with donors, NGOs, the private sector, and communities on a variety of projects and programmes (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997).

2.1.4 Communications

The majority of existing media in Mozambique date from the colonial period. These channels of communication became state-owned after independence and were under the control of the Ministry of Information until 1995, when it was abolished following the adoption of a new Constitution and the establishment of a multi-party system in the country. The Ministry of information was replaced by the Directorate of Information, a bureau attached to the Prime Minister's office, which deals with media policy and other related issues. In 1996, to promote and safeguard freedom of the press and the right of information, a body was formed, called the Supreme Council for Social Communication, comprising representatives from Parliament, media institutions and journalists.

As part of these changes, the Government has released its control over the media and allowed the establishment of private newspapers and broadcasting stations. Previously state owned media, such as the national radio and television stations, are in the process of becoming independent, publicly owned corporations. This process is reshaping the communications media system in Mozambique.

There are two major newspapers published in Mozambique. The most important of them is the Maputo daily named *Notícias*, with a circulation of 30,000 copies. The other daily newspaper in the country is the *Diário de Moçambique*, based in Beira, with a circulation of 12,000. In addition, there are, at least, four more weekly newspapers with a total circulation estimated in 59,000 copies (Bureau de Informação Pública, 1996). All these papers are published in Portuguese. There are few written materials of any kind in other, national, languages.

Due largely to the existing high rate of illiteracy, radio is still the only medium that Mozambicans have wide access to. The national broadcast station, *Rádio Moçambique (RM)*, transmits in Portuguese and in national languages. Geographical coverage is limited due to insufficient and obsolete equipment. Most of RM's 47 transmitters date from the 1940's and over half of them do not function properly. Even under optimal conditions, RM's short wave

and FM network may reach less than 33 per cent of the national territory. In addition, access is limited by the low level of ownership of radio sets, due, among other things, to little electrification and relatively high prices for batteries. Plans are, however, in progress for the installation, in the short run, of new 50 kW radio transmitters in every province of the country. With this installation, *Rádio Moçambique* hopes to increase its coverage and, therefore, make its signal available nation-wide. In addition to *Rádio Moçambique*, at least seven more private radio stations have been established in various provinces in the last three years, but all of them still have low geographical coverage.

The *Instituto de Comunicação Social* (ICS) also uses communication media in its mission to provide information on health, literacy, and agriculture issues, mainly to the rural population. ICS's experience began in the post-independence years with the establishment of *Centros de Comunicação Social* in rural communities, which broadcast news and information over loudspeakers. More recently, low power community radios are being experimented with and expansion plans are being implemented. The community radio of Xai-Xai (Gaza) and Mocuba (Zambézia) are just two examples of such radio stations. ICS also produces a newspaper, called *O Campo*, aimed at rural communities and a half-hour weekly TV programme covering a variety of education and information issues on health and agriculture.

There is also a national television station, *Televisão de Moçambique* (TVM), which, in conjunction with a private station (RTK, Rádio Televisão Klint), constitute the only two TV stations of the country. Both TVM and RTK broadcast for a limited numbers of hours daily. TVM currently has a broadcast area of about 75 km around Maputo and 50 km around Beira, Nampula and Lichinga, with approximately nine hours of broadcasting every day. Currently, a considerable part of the remaining TV time in Beira, Nampula and Lichinga is filled by retransmitting the programming of the international channel of the Portuguese station RTP (Rádio Televisão Portuguesa). Plans for expansion of the TV coverage network are already in preparation at TVM. This will include the installation of a new production and broadcasting centre in Maputo, the widening of broadcasting hours to a 24 hour service, as well as the use of a satellite which will enable it to cover the entire country with a much better signal quality. It is noted also that, particularly in the urban areas, but not exclusively, people put up satellite dishes to get access to a wider range of TV channels.

Surprisingly, Mozambique is one of the more advanced countries in Africa as far as Internet development is concerned. Because of its deficient terrestrial infrastructure, it may well also take more rapidly advantage of some of the emerging global satellite based communication facilities, such as the WorldSpace digital direct delivery radio broadcast services and the Iridium network of Low Earth Orbiting satellites. The Informatics Centre at the Eduardo Mondlane University (CIUEM), which over time has received support from The Netherlands, the World Bank and USAID (in the framework of the Leland Initiative) is a leading force in the area of informatics infrastructure development. Following the developments spearheaded by the CIUEM, an increasing number of private Internet service providers sees opportunities in Mozambique.

2.2 Sofala

The province of Sofala is Mozambique's fourth largest province, with a population in 1997 estimated at 1 570 491 (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 1994). Beira, the capital, is Mozambique's second largest city and acts as the business and transport hub for the central region of the country. The development of the city has been closely linked to the port and the railway, which were designed to serve Mozambique's landlocked neighbours. In particular, the 'Beira Corridor', which links Mozambique to Zimbabwe, comprises a highway, a railroad, and an oil pipeline. Industrial sites are dotted along this corridor, including the main workshops of the state railroad and port company, where railway ties are constructed and engine parts overhauled; a major cement factory; a roofing factory; a sugar plant; gas exploration sites; rock quarries; and cotton plantations. However, it is smallholdings-based, subsistence agriculture – primarily maize, vegetables, and small animal raising – that provides the vast majority of the population of the province with their livelihoods.

In terms of education and health indicators, those for Sofala province vary, falling in some cases above the national average and in others below it. For example, infant mortality in 1995 in Sofala was 120 per 1000, compared with the national average of 134. However, the percentage of newborns weighing less than 2500 grams at birth was highest in Sofala province, at 18 per cent, compared with only 8 per cent in Manica province. Maternal mortality rate (1991 figures) was also amongst the highest in the country, at 1551 deaths per 100,000 live births, compared with a national average of 1062 (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). In education, a 1994 cohort study indicated that Sofala led the country in terms of graduate rate: of 1000 pupils entering

school, 127 completed EP1, compared with 103 in Inhambane province, for example, and 76 in Maputo City (Ministério de Educação, 1996). However, in 1994, the net enrolment rates for EP1 for Sofala and Nampula provinces were the lowest in the country (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). During the war many schools and health posts were destroyed. These are now being rebuilt and restored. For example, compared with the pre-war level of 383 schools at EP1 level in Sofala province, by March 1997 there were 309 schools at the EP1 level, with a total of 112,000 pupils (Ministério de Educação 1997; Ministério de Educação, 1996).

By any measure, these figures above represent very low levels of schooling and health conditions. In response, a large number of governmental, non-governmental, community and donor agencies have undertaken programmes of training and livelihood enhancement in Sofala province. Examples of these are outlined below.

2.2.1 Agriculture

Agricultural activity was not a focus of the team visit to Sofala. Nonetheless, since agriculture is the economic mainstay of the province, the team encountered several projects that involve the enhancement of skills in agricultural production. For the most part these were through women's centres, many of which provide training in the growing of vegetables and raising of poultry and small animals. The women typically have an opportunity to sell their produce as well as to meet their own household needs, thereby gaining skills and experience in marketing. In addition, the small loans made through micro-credit schemes, such as those supported by the NGO ORMOSIEM, can be used to enhance villagers' ability to grow new, more marketable and hence more profitable crops.

The Project for the Support of Small Rural Industry (PAPIR), which is funded by the Danish NGO IBIS and covers Sofala province, provides a fully integrated approach to micro-enterprise development, with a focus on small producers. The project offers assistance through productive skills training, basic business courses, credit, input supplies, and marketing, as well as establishing an association and newsletter for its beneficiaries. This is no 'quick fix', however, to promoting the smaller producer, since it takes relatively long periods of time for the beneficial impact of these measures to become apparent (De Vletter 1997).

In addition to these kinds of schemes, one of the most important strategies in the promotion of better agriculture is training through extension. The NGO World Vision is taking a

leading role in this respect, with a large programme in Sofala province. Training officers work with communities, introducing improved agricultural technology and seed varieties as well as animal traction methods. The results have been very encouraging. World Vision has also recently introduced small credit programmes to encourage commercialisation of crops (De Vletter 1997).

2.2.2 Health

The officials of the provincial directorate of the Ministry of Health with whom team members met also emphasised the need for continuing training and professional development, in this case of health care workers at all levels, from birth assistants and community health workers to nurses, doctors, and administrators. Team members did not visit any projects that were directly health-related, but many of the training projects the team encountered dealt to some extent with health-related issues, including the importance of sanitation and safe water (e.g., village projects in constructing wells and latrines) and sound nutrition (e.g., cooking classes and vegetable growing).

2.2.3 Education and training

Education and training form a major part of many projects in Sofala province, whether organised by government or non-government agencies. In the school system, one of the major focuses is teacher training, both pre-service (e.g., *Universidade Pedagógica*, ADPP *Escola de Professores do Futuro*) and in-service (e.g., IAP, the *monitores* training programme). Another focus of the formal system is girls' education (the UNICEF/CIDA project). These programmes cross many boundaries. For example, the IAP project operates at a distance, enabling practising teachers to learn while continuing to teach. The ADPP programme crosses the school/community boundary, putting trainee teachers in a yearlong supervised practicum that requires them not only to teach and to continue to learn, but also to develop and implement a community development project. The girls' education programme also works at bringing school and community together, to sensitise community leaders, parents and students themselves to the importance of educating girls. The GTZ-funded German-Mozambique education project, which provides additional support to the girls' education project, also works at breaking down divisions that exist within communities, by focusing on the school as a mechanism for unity. Another formal programme, that offered by INEA (*Instituto Nacional de Educação de Adultos*) crosses the boundary between the formal and the non-formal system in another way, in training practising educators in the techniques of training trainers.

Beyond and outside the schools, training projects cross yet more boundaries. Centres used during the day for training women in literacy and livelihood skills can be used in the evenings for adult night school classes at the secondary level for both men and women (e.g., the Makombe Centre in Beira). FUMASO's centre in Dondo crosses language boundaries, specialising in bilingual literacy training that begins with first language literacy and follows with literacy training in Portuguese. Women at some of these centres also learn construction skills, building the centres with their own labour using materials that have been donated or which they have purchased with the proceeds from sales of their produce. The Ministry of Labour's *Centro de Formação Profissional* takes training to the villages, in the form of a mobile training unit that provides materials and teaches villagers how to use them in constructing a building that will be theirs to use. Micro-credit schemes also typically involve training, in skills ranging from basic literacy to business practices and marketing.

2.2.4 Communications

The communications infrastructure in Sofala province is in considerable need of development: the existing Radio Mozambique transmitter in Beira reaches communities within a relatively limited area around the city; there is only a small number of telephone lines in the province, again mostly concentrated in the city; postal services are slow and unreliable. Each of the ministries or agencies responsible for these services has plans for expansion, however: Radio Moçambique has a 50 kW transmitter which it hopes to install in the near future, enabling its programming to reach the entire province; TDM has ambitious plans not only to install more telephone lines but in particular broadband capacity that would enable the setting up of 'telecentros' in the province that would provide communities with Internet access and videoconferencing capability; and the post office is planning to provide delivery personnel with motorbikes and bicycles, to increase both the speed and reliability of postal deliveries throughout the province.

It is evident that there is a considerable foundation of goodwill, commitment and commendable effort on which to build in the continuing development of Sofala province. What is needed perhaps more than anything else at this time is some way of expanding these efforts in a coordinated manner and greater attention to follow-through so that the skills and material infrastructure that are being built up will be sustainable.

2.3 Nampula

The province of Nampula is the second largest in population, with about 3.5 million people in an area of about 81,000 km^2. This yields a population density about twice the national average (Passos et al., 1996a). The capital of the province is the city of Nampula, which is the third largest city in the country, and sometimes talked of as the "capital" of the North of Mozambique. Agriculture is by far the dominant economic activity in the province, even more so than for the nation as a whole. About 87% of the workforce is classified as small farmers (*camponeses*) compared to 76% for the nation (Passos et al., 1996a). In Nampula, as in the rest of the country, there is still a marked division of labour by gender. Women are almost exclusively categorized as camponesas (97%), while 23% of men engage in other economic activities (Passos et al., 1996a). The nature of agricultural work also often differs by gender. For example, in coastal areas women play the lead role in agriculture production while the men focus on fishing (SNV, 1997).

Before the war, Nampula was the main producer of agricultural products, fishery, and wood (Netherlands Embassy, 1997). It is still a leading producer of corn, cotton, and cashew. Like Sofala, before the war, the province of Nampula served as an important transshipment area. The war destroyed a large part of the physical, social, and economic infrastructure needed for agriculture and trade, and rebuilding efforts are still in their early stages. The railway line running from the port of Nacala (the deepest in Africa) to the Malawi border has been mostly rehabilitated. Projects to rebuild roads and warehouses are underway (Coulter and Sondhi, 1996).

The greater commercialization of agriculture is being emphasized. The year 1996 marked Northern Mozambique's first major venture into the international maize market. Record world prices for maize made it profitable, but infrastructure limitations, lack of information, inexperience, and other problems hampered the effort. Also, it is not clear what constitutes the market for Nampula's agricultural products. Southern Mozambique can probably be served cheaper by trucks from the more central provinces or from South Africa (Coulter and Sondhi, 1996). Raised expectations are also a problem. A group of farmers we visited while they were finishing the maize harvest were very unhappy that this year's price was only half that of last year's, causing them to face serious immediate hardships and making them reluctant to grow maize as a cash crop. Moreover, while commercial market

entrepreneurship is growing in Nampula, at another extreme there still exists almost feudal relations in some agro-industries, like with cotton companies that exercise a high degree of direct control over farmer production, through, for example, arrangements to supply key inputs such as seeds and pesticide.

As in Mozambique as a whole, in Nampula widespread poverty is the most basic problem. It is just now that the country and province are beginning to recover from the devastation of the war and the severity of the 1992 drought. The extent of poverty is reflected in the infant mortality rate in Nampula, the second highest in the nation (after Zambezia) at 141 deaths per live births (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). The current educational situation is also sobering. Illiteracy rates are very high, considerably higher than in the rest of Mozambique. In Nampula, it is estimated that 60% of men and 87% of women are illiterate, as compared nationally to 42% of men and 77% of women. Like in many parts of the country, in Nampula the formal schooling system was severely damaged by the war; over 50% of primary school infrastructure was destroyed and gross enrolment ratios for primary schooling (EP1) went from 95% in 1981 to 59% in 1988. Net enrolment ratios for EP1 in Nampula remain very low, lower than the already low national average of 35% for boys and 28% for girls in 1994 (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997; Passos et al., 1996a). Moreover, school system performance is very poor in any terms. Of 1000 school starters, it is estimated that in Nampula only 48 would complete (Ministério de Educação, 1996; also see Martins 1992). Most primary schools are overcrowded, many operate in three sessions, blackboards or other basic equipment are not common, and most children must sit on the floor. EP2 suffers similar access, quality, and efficiency problems, and, after EP2, the educational pyramid has narrowed so completely that Nampula offers very few further formal educational opportunities. Budget and activity cuts brought on by war and peace have curtailed access to non-formal educational opportunities as well.

However, this picture is beginning to change as it is throughout Mozambique. Considerable effort is being expended in Nampula towards improving this situation by a combination of government, donors, and civil society.

2.3.1 Agriculture

Policies and programmes that improve the commercialization of agriculture appear to be the major development direction in Nampula, as they are throughout the country. This

involves everything from physical infrastructure to the practices of small farmers. The government, as part of a national project supported by World Bank loans, is improving main roads in Nampula. The Dutch are very active in Nampula, supporting agricultural and rural development through programmes that, for example, improve feeder roads and build essential warehouse storage capacity (Netherlands Embassy 1997, 1996; Coulter and Sondhi, 1996).

Many government and non-governmental organizations are paying attention to the need for farmers to learn how to obtain credit and to market their products, two activities with which farmers have had little experience in previous subsistence or state-run economies. Often, programmes have a focus on women entrepreneurs. Almost all programmes seem to make an effort to develop in a participative and sustainable manner. Examples abound, such as the government's *Gabinete de Promoção de Emprego* which has, together with a local NGO, *Associação de Mulheres Rurais*, trained and helped 250 women form an association to market their produce. Other NGOs, like SNV and CLUSA, are engaged in similar ventures. Most NGO programmes we saw were very dynamic but small scale. CLUSA, a U.S.-based NGO, was one of the largest. It had five teams of 5-6 people each living and working in different districts around the province, although it still could only offer services in a very restricted geographical area. Like a number of NGOs, CLUSA pays attention to the long-run sustainability of its programmes; in particular, it is working towards replacing all foreign people and structures with local ones over a 3-year period. A participative, community development orientation pervaded some donor programmes as well; we heard several times of the close attention paid to assessment and planning by the community in the work of UNCDF, but we did not have the opportunity to visit their programmes.

The nature of many of the programmes above fall within the purview of the agricultural extension system, but the current system can not meet these demands with the few resources that it has available. Gaining new knowledge quickly is essential in a modernizing, market oriented environment. Small farmers must make new decisions about whether and how to grow corn or tobacco or cotton as well as whether to experiment with new crops being touted, like soybeans, sunflowers, and pigeon peas (Coulter and Sondhi, 1996). The Provincial Director for the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries (DPAP) told us that at present he has only 150 agricultural extension agents to cover the entire province of about 800,000 families. For adequate coverage he estimated 3000 agents would be needed.

The activities of NGOs can help extend agricultural extension efforts, but the gap is still large. There is one agricultural secondary school (Escola Básica Agrária) in the province with about 200 students and the Ministry of Education and the Dutch are working to improve it (Mtobi, 1996).

2.3.2 Health

While we did not specifically investigate the health sector in Nampula, some aspects of the overall situation seemed similar to that in agriculture. The serious health problems faced by people in Nampula can not be responded to in any substantial way by the government, given the few resources currently available. NGOs attempt to take up some of the slack and are doing some excellent programmes on a small scale. For example, a Danish NGO is trying to update the training of former community health workers in the hope that informal community networks will make use of them or that the government will be able to employ them. We find that necessity pushes many NGOs across the type of frontiers we talked about earlier. Beginning work in one area leads to work in another. For example, CLUSA's orientation is to the formation of marketing associations for agricultural products, but taking seriously the role of community participation and control, CLUSA has offered courses in prenatal care (as well as in literacy and other areas). Another NGO, SALAMA, runs a very successful programme in the district of Ribaue focused on health practice regarding primary care, water, latrines, nutrition, sanitation, etc. However, in response to listening to the communities in which they are working, SALAMA now has 11 *animadores* doing literacy training, within which health education is treated as an integral part.

2.3.3 Education and training

The improvement of education and training is the focus of many public and private efforts in Nampula. Expansion and improved quality of the formal school system is the focus of a variety of projects. A World Bank loan goes for school construction and capacity building. Project *Osuwela*, financed by the Dutch, seeks to improve teacher training. The Danish NGO ADPP is equally active in the area of teacher training in Nacala. A girls' education project, sponsored by UNICEF and the Canadians, is developing ways to improve girls' enrolment as well as pay attention to gender issues in curriculum and teacher training.

With Muslims comprising at least 40% of Nampula's population (unofficial estimates are much higher), religious issues intersect with those of gender and schooling coverage. The Muslim community has been rebuilding their system of *madrassa*s and it was estimated that there are 48 *madrassa*s within a 15 km distance from the city of Nampula, enrolling on average about 50 students each. The President of the Muslim community, Sr. Issufo, told us that *madrassa* students are strongly encouraged to attend EP1. Almost all the boys and girls at the *madrassa* we visited were doing so.

Non-formal education and training is done by government departments to the very limited extent budgets permit, with NGOs attempting to cover some of the many gaps in a few geographical areas. Adult literacy training by the DPE is minimal relative to the vast extent of illiteracy. There is one training centre for literacy trainers located just outside Nampula. In theory, there are 15 "centres" for literacy training throughout the province, but these centres do not usually exist physically. Still, in 1996, a survey reported that 38 teachers were giving literacy classes to about 1300 students (Passos et al., 1996b). Many NGOs in Nampula have become involved in meeting community requests for literacy classes – e.g., ADPP, CLUSA, SALAMA, and SNV. Often efforts are done cooperatively, as for example, when CLUSA employs the DPE's staff and training centre to train *alfabetizadores*.

Outside of literacy training and agricultural education discussed above, there are a variety of other learning needs being addressed, usually on a small scale. There are still efforts to target demobilized soldiers, particularly to develop skills for trades. The Ministry of Labour has just finished a three-year project with the ILO and UNDP that involved 4-6 month training throughout the province for about 1800 demobilized soldiers for trades like carpenter, electrician, and mechanic. NGOs are also active in this area. IDIL targets demobilized soldiers, women, and others interested in small business training. ADPP trains people for construction and commerce, as well as offers seventh grade equivalency. OJDR has three centres in the province in which they have had courses in diverse subjects like human rights, land rights, and carpentry (based on interviews; also see Passos et al., 1996b).

2.3.4 Communications

As in most of the rest of the nation, the communications infrastructure in Nampula is weak, but there are plans for expansion over the short-term. There are two radio stations, but both cover a small geographical area with a reliable signal quality. However, Radio

Mozambique, the government station, is in the process of switching to a 50 kW transmitter which will enable it to cover the province. In addition, the ICS is installing two community radio stations in the province to offer locally specific, participatively developed broadcasts that contribute to development activities. There is a local government television station, TVM, that is also planning to expand its coverage of the province. There is no newspaper for the province, and distribution of other newspapers, magazines, and printed materials is hampered by inadequate postal and transport services. Telephone coverage is still thin, with most rural areas relying on, at best, a few radio links for essential transmissions.

As in Sofala, there is considerable goodwill and interest expressed by media representatives regarding social and educational applications. Both radio stations broadcast educational programmes. *Rádio Encontro*, sponsored by the Catholic Church, develops and broadcasts programmes for agriculture, health, women, and other areas related to community development, often broadcasting in the Emakua language. Community radio, as envisioned to be installed with Netherlands participation, will offer even greater possibilities for orienting programming to local needs. At the higher end of technology, plans for improved telephony and television will soon allow some wider use of computer and video technologies. As is true for all the sectors examined for both Nampula and Sofala, there is a considerable foundation of experience and interest on which to develop a learning without frontiers approach.

3 PROJECT DIRECTIONS

While the second and third phases of the current LWF effort in Mozambique will be specifically concerned with the definition and refinement of a pilot project proposal, the preliminary situation analysis, undertaken by the current mission and reported in the previous section, suggests directions for the substance, organization, and location of the project. These considerations are discussed below. The points made should be considered as preliminary, to be modified and concretized as this process continues.

3.1 Project emphases

In this section we briefly discuss the emphases, in terms of audiences and substance, that we believe should be taken in the pilot project. These emphases cover a relatively large number of significant areas and, at first (and even second) glance, may seem overly ambitious for any project, let alone a beginning pilot project. This is clearly true in some ways and therefore it is important to return briefly to some of the points in the introduction to explain why we see such an approach to be both necessary and feasible.

A multisectoral, interlinked, participatory, and empowering approach to learning is essential (world-wide) if we are to move beyond the isolating boundaries that have given us partial, inadequate, and unresponsive systems. Crossing the frontiers that pigeonhole how we conceive of and practise education is not simply about moving into a 21st century information age but, more importantly, about enhancing our ability to collectively create and shape that world.

Such an approach to learning without frontiers is also feasible. By the term "project emphases" in this section, we do not mean to suggest that this system can provide all things to all people. For example, having agriculture, formal schooling, and crossing language barriers as project emphases does not mean that the project encompasses all of formal schooling and agricultural extension and does them all in national languages. Having these areas as emphases does mean that the project, from its inception, crosses these boundaries and deals with some of the urgent interrelated needs in each – e.g. the commercialization of agriculture, the relevance of the school curriculum, and the need for literacy and a post-literacy environment in local languages and Portuguese.

On a small scale, the feasibility of this approach is also demonstrated by the work of many NGOs in Mozambique and elsewhere who cross these frontiers every day through integrated and community generated processes. To do this on a larger scale, across a province and a nation, is difficult but far from impossible. The 20th century institutional frameworks within which we consider education and development issues and policies need to be re-thought and re-worked through practice. It is hoped that a LWF approach in Mozambique can contribute to this process. Below, we offer our thoughts on the high priority content areas and audiences that need to be integrated in a LWF pilot project.

3.1.1 Content areas

3.1.1.1 *Agriculture*. As discussed earlier, the economy of Mozambique and the livelihood of its people are dominated by agriculture. While, in part, the future of the nation will depend on greater economic diversification, improving agricultural success is key to the health and well-being of the vast majority of the population. Agricultural policy has as a key short-term goal that the family sector should be self-sufficient in food production and able to produce a marketable surplus, as well as to create an efficient commercial sector that contributes to rural development. There are many opportunities for a LWF project to help provide relevant knowledge, skills, and technology. One specific project direction could include helping to expand the reach of the many small efforts currently underway to help small landholders commercialize, transform and store their product. Another related area would be to help extend the reach of the agricultural extension system.

3.1.1.2 *Health*. Also as discussed earlier, there are severe health and nutrition problems in Mozambique, most especially in the North. Solutions to basic problems like infant mortality, malnutrition, and the spread of infectious and communicable diseases require considerable attention to learning needs, especially for newer problems like AIDS. A LWF project could be of great help in facilitating individual, family, and community learning and actions. In many of these problem areas, such as immunization campaigns, oral rehydration treatment, or AIDS prevention, there is a significant role that can be played by mass communications media and a LWF project could help further mobilize actions in this area.

3.1.1.3 *Environment*. While, in general, environmental problems in Mozambique are not yet acute and widespread, the environmental damage now occurring will become so unless sustainable development measures are put in place (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique,

1997). Sound natural resource and environmental management interventions now are critical and constitute an urgent investment in Mozambique's future. The National Environmental Management Programme, in place since 1995, lists among its main goals two areas for which interventions related to the creation of an open and flexible learning environment are particularly relevant. They are:

- the promotion and enhancement of environmental awareness and culture
- the promotion of community participation in environmental planning and management.

The concern to attend to these objectives is particularly strong in the more densely populated coastal areas, which have a fragile ecosystem. The exploration of local knowledge systems that relate to existing environmental practices is very important to environmental protection. Also important are the opportunities that should result from the development of the communications media infrastructure and the building of capacity for its adequate use for learning purposes.

3.1.1.4 Formal schooling. While a LWF orientation emphasizes that serious attention needs to be given to learning as it occurs outside the school context, it does in no way deny the importance of a consistent and focused attention to learning in the classroom as well. Moreover, this separation between formal and non-formal is often destructive of learning. It misses the many opportunities that link learning of children with parents, of students with workers, of old with the young. Combine this with the serious problems confronting the formal school system and it becomes essential for the project to work with the school system in some integral ways.

3.1.1.5 *Livelihood orientation*. Although in any project centred on the improvement of people's well-being there is an important role for formal, wage employment, in Mozambique only 17% of the labour force are engaged in wage employment in the formal or informal sectors. The vast majority of Mozambicans are engaged in subsistence agriculture or self-employed in the informal sector. This has led some to emphasise the generation of sustainable livelihoods, broadly conceived, as key to developing learning opportunities (De Vletter, 1997). This might involve attention to the learning needs for formal sector employment, but other possibilities that should be explored in this project include enhanced agricultural production and marketing, and a variety of self-employment strategies such as individual and collective co-operative small businesses.

3.1.1.6 *Employment creation*. Educational activities are too often treated as straightforward means to prepare people for wage employment or for other livelihood opportunities. Yet this emphasis on education as the servant of economic needs – jobs for individuals and growth for society – while successful in some ways has been very problematic in others. Most problematic are the literally billions of people on this planet who are left out of this equation. Widespread poverty is a consequence of the widespread lack of good livelihood opportunities.

Educational reform is too often predicated on fixing the "mismatch" between what education provides and the demands of employment and other livelihood opportunities. Aside from this being too limited and economistic a view of education, even on the economic side it at best tinkers at the margins of what is needed. Taking jobs and work as 'out there and given' ignores the role that educators, economists, and others concerned with public policy need to play in creating more and better work opportunities. A major educational issue of the next century will be how to create good work (Rifkin, 1995; Easton and Klees, 1991). A LWF approach to learning in Mozambique and elsewhere must cross the frontiers that separate policies concerned with developing more educated people to contribute to economic productivity from policies concerned with developing more and better productive opportunities for people to use their skills. It is irresponsible to simply educate people and leave it to the formal and informal markets to provide them with work which uses that education, especially knowing how relatively few good opportunities there are.

To talk about developing a project to meet learning needs on a large scale implies also being involved in creating opportunities to meet related economic needs on a large scale.[3] This means that the project should work integrally with those in the public, private, and NGO sectors involved in employment (and other livelihood) creation programmes and policies. It also implies that the project pay attention to its own employment creation potential. Even with the use of multiple media in distance education, to meet learning needs on a national scale must involve considerable employment of human resources too. Such employment creation for educators at the local level, with attention to designing jobs that reflect and value people's skills, can have very positive economic and social consequences.

3.1.1.7 *Contribution to a culture of peace and the development of civil society.* UNESCO's message to establish the defenses of peace in the minds of man is as valid today as it was at the time the Organization's constitution was written. The reality of the establishment of a culture of peace has much to do with the opportunities present in a society's learning environment for people and communities to *learn to live together* as well as to *live to learn together*. In Mozambique the memories of war and of the failure to establish common understanding among people representing different interests in a pluriform society are still fresh. There is little doubt, therefore, that this dimension of a learning environment should be given great attention. The mission team felt much encouraged to note that in many cases the people with whom they spoke about this concern showed great determination to put the past aside and jointly move ahead. A learning environment that capitalizes on openness and flexibility provides excellent opportunities to attend to the interest of developing civil society and building a culture of peace. Moreover, the LWF project should contribute to this process through an organizational structure that works with the public and private sectors, NGOs, women's groups, and other community organizers and leaders and through a project which helps develop opportunities that will enhance peace and democracy.

3. Some suggest that the "mismatch" may be better conceived in the opposite direction; that is, our work should be re-designed to meet our increased learning abilities and knowledge (e.g., Rifkin 1995; Easton and Klees, 1991).

3.1.2 Multiple audiences

3.1.2.1 *Girls and women*. Women constitute the majority of the population of Mozambique (51.5 per cent in 1991) and of the adult labour force (52 per cent in 1991). Along almost any other dimension, however – land ownership, waged labour, literacy, mobility, access to capital and credit – they are a severely disadvantaged minority. Girls' lower participation rates in school (only 28 per cent of girls of EP1 age were enrolled in school in 1994, compared with 35 per cent of boys) mean that their relative disadvantage is destined to continue (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique 1997). It is of critical importance that the project work to empower and contribute to the advancement of women, to reduce discrimination against women and especially girls, and to improve female living standards. Possible strategies for accomplishing these goals include promotion of women's groups, to increase awareness of gender issues and self-help, and searching out women as leaders and *animadores* in all projects rather than simply as beneficiaries so that they can take a central role in the development of their communities, districts, province, and nation.

3.1.2.2 *Marginalized youth*. Although lack of data does not allow an exact estimate of the number of young people who, for a variety of reasons are neither covered by the education system, nor engaged in any kind of employment activity, it is generally accepted that their numbers are extremely high. The country can not afford ignoring their learning needs. This group of people includes those who have dropped out from the system; ex-soldiers; youngsters who have returned from the ex-German Democratic Republic, after the collapse of the Berlin Wall; ex-refugees who are returning from the neighbouring countries, most of them with very little formal schooling and a few with some professional training. In view of the existing weak labour market capacity, only a small number of these youngsters have managed to find employment in the formal sector. The majority of them work in the informal sector and their main activity is based on black market trading.

The challenges of national development require the existence of an educated youth, equipped with relevant professional skills in order to create a working force with solid competence in various field in order to be able to respond, adequately, to the country's development needs. This is an area where the LWF project can play an important role, particularly in providing relevant learning opportunities to this new generation that constitutes the future of the Nation. Although on a very small scale, there are some technical/vocational education and

training initiatives being undertaken by the Ministry of Labour, to respond to specific needs of "marginalized" youth, which LWF can build on.

3.1.2.3 *Push-outs*. Another group that needs serious attention are those students that make it into primary schooling and manage to complete Grade 5, but then are pushed out of it, even when performing successfully, due to incapacity of the system. This is the case of approximately fifty percent of the students who graduate from Grade 5, the end of the first cycle of the primary school system, and who cannot be admitted to Grade 6 due to lack of space. As a consequence, the sad reality for large numbers of children is that they are being educated for frustration, as the tremendous effort that has gone into their early schooling experience can have no sustained results. The fact that such young people have an initial level of literacy and have developed some learning skills makes them an important target group for distance learning of the kind practised in the Open Junior Secondary School in Indonesia (*SMP Terbuka*; see Sadiman, Seligman and Rahardjo, 1995) or the National Open School in India (Mukhopadhyay, 1995).

3.1.2.4 *Accommodating religious diversity*. Mozambique has a rich variety of religious groupings among its population. Nationwide, about 32% are Catholic, 22% Protestant, 22% Animist, and 20% Muslim (Passos et al., 1996). We consider issues relating to crossing traditional cultural boundaries in other sections. Among the different religious groupings, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Islamic communities, comprise major proportions of the population. They often establish their own learning practices and institutions. While usually these practices and institutions are most directly related to the specific interests and ideologies represented by the religions in question, they often also include dimensions in which they overlap with non-religiously motivated learning systems, such as the public school system. As mentioned earlier, the mission team met with the President of the Islamic Community and visited a Quranic school while in Nampula. In the same province it made contact with the radio station *Rádio Encontro* run by the Roman Catholic church. It also came across a wide variety of learning environments, formal, non-formal as well as informal, not connected to religious interests. Most of these contexts are aware of each other's existence, but they do not seek to interact with each other in any other way than to avoid mutual interference. The Quranic schools in Nampula, for instance, are present in all districts and number 48 in a radius of about 15 km around the city of Nampula, with approximately 50

students per school. They schedule their timetable and calendar in such a way that their students can also attend the public school. The mission team verified that indeed the large majority of students of the *madrassa* visited in Nampula also attended the public school system. There is no reason to think that interaction across religious and non-religious schools should remain restricted to the non-interference mode. The mission team in Nampula was pleased to receive positive expressions of interest regarding the prospect of enhanced collaboration, such as for media use in learning. It is in the interest of creating a flexible and open learning environment, shared by different learning communities, to promote such collaboration and create means for its realization.

3.1.2.5 *Integrating speakers of different languages.* In Mozambique, Portuguese performs several functions. As the official language it is considered an instrument for building national unity and overcoming tribalism and regionalism. In addition, it is seen as a tool for access to scientific and technical knowledge. Thus the existing language policy, whereby Portuguese occupies a better position at the expense of the so-called national languages, which are relegated to a local function, used almost exclusively within the family circle, is likely to accentuate inequalities as well as constitute a major barrier to increased education access for the majority of citizens.

According to Katupa (1985), more than 75 per cent of the population speaks national Bantu languages. The total Portuguese speaking population is about 24 per cent, but only 1.2 per cent of them has Portuguese as a mother tongue. This means that a high proportion of children arriving in primary school speaks no Portuguese at all and may have had no contact with it in their daily lives. The same problem also applies to the teachers who have not received relevant second language training themselves, and, therefore, have no established methodology to deal with the problem. If access to education is already limited in Mozambique due to the weak school network, using Portuguese as the only language of instruction can also be considered as a factor that contributes not only to reduced access to education, particularly in the rural areas, but also to decreased education quality. The LWF programme can, in this context, be of fundamental importance to overcome the above problems if the project looks into possibilities to also consider the use of existing national languages.

3.1.2.6 *Crossing age boundaries.* Although crossing age boundaries is implicit in many or all of the emphases above, it is important to make this an explicit principle. Close to half the population of Mozambique is aged 14 and under (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique 1997). Because this group represents the future of the country, any project focused on development must make their interests and well-being a central focus. At the same time, their well-being is currently the responsibility of the adult population, and no project concerned with the well-being of children can effectively proceed without these adults – parents, teachers and community leaders and elders – playing a central role. Project activities wherever possible should seek to include not only adults but also children and especially youth, with an emphasis on creating and sustaining a better quality of life for the future as well as the present.

3.2 Project organization

Given the need for dealing with multiple sectors and multiple audiences on a large scale, the success of a LWF project in Mozambique will depend on how its organisation is conceived of and implemented. While the task of specific organisational design rests with subsequent phases of the project development process, in this section we discuss our recommendations for some principles and features that should characterise the organisation of the project.

3.2.1 Community ownership

The most basic principle is that this project should be owned by the people who it is meant to serve. While clearly this is easier to articulate than to construct, there is now much global experience in what this means and how to do it. Moreover, in Mozambique, this is a principle that has had widespread attention since independence. Almost every governmental and non-governmental project we looked at had community ownership as an explicit and important orientation. Of course, the success of their efforts in practice varies considerably, as does what operational meaning is given to community ownership. To us, making this a community-owned project means that the selection of project activities is generated by the communities themselves and that the communities play a principal role in the management and evaluation of these project activities. This degree of ownership will assure the development of relevant educational activities as well as elicit the investment of community members' time and other resources in the project. Serious attention to developing a structure where empowered communities are at the top of the organisational chart, directing the system, can lead to a sustainable process of diffusion and expansion, as well as to continual adaptation to changing learning needs.

3.2.2 Involving multiple actors and building on work of NGOs

Creating an environment in which people and communities can pursue learning opportunities free of the constraints that hamper learning in most of the existing contexts should build on the recognition that many actors are already engaged in constructing parts of the infrastructure. NGOs, in particular, have been very successful in establishing close working relationships with communities and jointly building programmes that cross sectors and serve multiple audiences. Unfortunately, the action and impact of most NGOs are limited in scale and their relationships with other actors too often uncoordinated. Larger scale actors, on the other hand, such as the public school system or the *madrassas*, may be more pervasive but function much more as closed systems, too isolated from the larger learning environment. An important part of a LWF's project organization will be to try to take advantage of both, i.e., the connectedness of NGOs and the reach of government, and help bring about greater collaboration between the two.

For example, it is important to develop interventions that make school systems more efficient and effective in their own right, but also to foster a change of attitude and build skills among educational personnel that will lead to greater openness and community orientation. A project like *Osuwela* in the Nampula province and the work of ADPP in the area of teacher development nation wide are opportunities to be explored in that regard. In general, we believe that the development of the media infrastructure at different levels – national, provincial, community – can greatly facilitate and strengthen the process of interaction between the various learning communities.

In order to operationalize these processes, some sort of advisory or management boards will need to be put together from the multiple actors already engaged in related work. These boards will foster reflection on and provide guidance to the process of constructing integrated responses to diverse learning needs. Such boards will likely be needed at all levels of the project – community, district, province, and nation. These structures will have to develop good linkages at all levels with the existing public administration infrastructure. Most important, again, is that this structure be designed to invert the usual hierarchical organizational pyramid, so that direction and management comes from the grassroots, as is key to the growth model envisaged below.

3.2.3 Growth model

Living systems, characterized by their capacity to adapt, self-organize and evolve, emerge from the bottom up. Rather than being "designed from the top down, the way a human engineer would do it, [they] always seem to emerge...from a population of much simpler systems" (Waldrop, 1992, p. 278). This principle seems to apply as much to biological organisms, whose complexity is based on cellular, and ultimately molecular structures, as to the way human beings collectively go about organizing their business. Attempts to do it a different way, through central planning, for instance, have generally failed. Huge bureaucracies, created or shaped by a few individuals at the top, may survive for some time, but they either ultimately crumble or degenerate into what could best be compared to cancerous growth.

Healthy growth of human communities, though, is driven by forward looking and outward looking attitudes of the smaller communities and the individuals that constitute them. They see each other, rather than just themselves. Building a learning environment without frontiers, allowing individuals, communities, and indeed a whole society to learn, to continually adapt and reshape itself, letting it evolve, should therefore in the first place be a matter of creating the conditions of growth for open learning communities. As mentioned before, some elements of such communities already exist. The principal organizational challenge of the project will be to help develop structures that foster the expansion of grassroots community participation in a connected, dynamically evolving, learning system.

3.2.4 Resource centres

The successful development of the project will also depend on the degree of assistance and support learners and their facilitators will receive at the local level. The establishment of resource centres is seen as one type of student support services that the LWF project can provide the beneficiaries with. If learning communities can have access to a variety of learning materials such as video and audio tapes, books and other printed materials, this will certainly be an important help for them to facilitate their learning. At the same time this will create opportunities for sharing of experience and collaboratively construct knowledge. Schools and/or other community facilities are probably a good starting point for the establishment of such centres.

3.2.5 'Animadores de aprendizagem'

The project will require facilitators/animators who can reach local communities throughout the pilot region, and eventually throughout the nation. While, like in the case of developing a physical infrastructure of resource centres, the project will make every effort to take advantage of existing education and development workers with access to local communities, there are relatively few such opportunities relative to the magnitude of the needs. In order to meet the learning needs of Mozambicans in a serious and sustained way, especially when local communities are supposed to direct the system, there is an essential role for a good *animador de aprendizagem* to facilitate and broker the process at the local level. This person would manage a resource centre and, working perhaps with district and community level boards, would help the community take charge of its own learning. She or he could act as broker, arranging for example, agricultural extension help, health classes , literacy training, etc. Some animators could serve as teachers of some educational activities themselves. While it will be costly to have a network of animators and centres with sufficient outreach, this is an essential feature of reaching the vast majority of Mozambicans, especially those most disadvantaged. There are ways to keep costs in line. For example, many communities might start with a part-time animator – a local teacher, farmer, health worker, leader, etc. The use of distance education methods can also help keep costs down. To the extent that very low incomes permit, there may even be some scope for cost recovery as in fees for certain courses. However, to embark on developing a system to meet the long term learning needs of Mozambicans can not be done as a cheap or quick fix, but must be seen as a serious and substantial long-term investment that will pay itself back many times over in many ways.[4]

3.2.6 Communication media

As mentioned elsewhere in this report, interesting developments are going on in building up the country's media infrastructure. Radio stations with province-wide coverage as well as community radio stations are gradually being established in several provinces. The national radio and television network increases its transmission capacity and coverage

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4. The scale of what is needed is large. One person we interviewed emphasized how, on the one hand, many Mozambicans couldn't afford batteries for radios yet it was also true that they needed computers. We strongly agree. Despite the difficulty of its present situation, Mozambique requires access to modern technologies and must educate people in their use. The question is not "whether" computers are needed but "how many" and "for what purposes."

through the installation of new equipment and communication technologies. It is important to notice, however, that despite its growing capacity and infrastructure none of the existing media is currently being used seriously for education purposes in Mozambique. The potential of communication media in education has been recognised throughout the world. There is an extensive number of education programmes and projects in both developed and developing countries that build on the growing potential witnessed in the rapidly developing field of communication and information technologies. Such programmes and projects particularly introduce communication media as tools to either increase access to education opportunities or strengthen the teaching and learning process involved in a given context.

In view of the increasing demand for education, and taking into account that it would be extremely difficult to meet this demand if the emphasis is put exclusively on the provision of education by traditional means, the design of a LWF project is of great relevance. Such a project should particularly explore the use of communication media, especially radio, to respond to the identified learning needs.

3.2.7 Building on resources of traditional learning and knowledge systems

The modern world too often ignores or eradicates traditional societies, perhaps even more so than during the colonial era, and the pressures are intensifying in this era of globalization. Too often, we overlook the wealth of knowledge and skills that have enabled people to live in their contexts for centuries and even millennia, to solve the problems with which their environments have confronted them and to create social structures and organisations that order their lives and enable them to make sense of the world around them. Destructive as colonialism, imperialism, and civil war have been for the peoples of Mozambique and their traditional ways of life, still their systems of meanings and knowledge survive. It is important that the project activities work with and build on these systems rather than against them, and that project personnel seek to learn from and with the people with whom they work, rather than only to teach. There is increasing attention to such connections already in Mozambique, as, for example, in projects that foster interchange and respect between traditional educators and school teachers.

3.2.8 Taking local authority structures into account

Politically, especially at the local level, there is still an important reliance on traditional authority structures in facilitating development efforts. While doing so is essential in many

ways, it is fraught with difficulties. During colonial times the Portuguese broke the power of the traditional Kings (mwenes) who opposed them, in part, by appointing others to the position of traditional leaders (regulos). After independence, in consolidating power and in promoting socialist ideas of equality, Frelimo took away much of the regulos' power, leading many of them to be sympathetic to Renamo after the civil war began. Today, the Frelimo government is much more cognizant of the importance of these power structures at the local level, even for introducing changes that challenge those structures, like programmes that aim at empowering women. There is even legislation pending that tries to formalize some of these traditional arrangements, but the difficulties are considerable. In many regions, families of mwenes are disputing the legitimacy of the authority of regulos. Moreover, in many of the conflict zones of the war, there are two regulos disputing power, one with affiliations to Frelimo and the other to Renamo (SNV, 1997).[5]

Regardless of the difficulties, much work by the government, NGOs, and donors in rural areas begins by working with this array of local leaders. Part of the learning required of project personnel involves discovering how power and authority are allocated in any given community, including what conflicts and divisions exist, since no community is a seamless whole, especially given the complexity of post-conquest and post-colonial societies. There are forces for change in any community, and project personnel need to constantly be aware of those forces which their activities and actions may be reinforcing and those which they may be countering. The greater this consciousness and awareness, the greater the likelihood that project activities can be effective and ultimately sustainable, rather than sidelined or even destructive. This discussion also underscores why ideas of community participation and ownership should be seen as on-going processes, not as some ideal end-state.

3.2.9 Long-term follow-through

Too many education and development activities are fragmented and compartmentalised. Key to an LWF orientation is attention to learning needs as a whole, making connections across audiences and across sectors, as discussed above. Equally important is the need to be in this for

5. This situation led some Catholic leaders in Nampula province to say: "Actually, traditional leaders no longer exist, because they depend on political will and not on tradition, and the population is confused about who to listen to at any moment" (SNV, 1997, pp.12-14, our translation).

the long haul and to develop a follow-through capability from the level of the individual to that of the system. Too often education and training activities pay no attention to and have minimal linkages with what happens to their students afterwards. For decades, educators have been saying that we need a lifelong connected series of educational possibilities that have strong connections to the rest of society. At the individual level, this means building a system which offers individuals a lifetime of educational options as well as a hand in shaping what those options are. At the system level, it means recognising that there is a long-term need for such a system, and that for this system to meet the evolving needs of individuals and communities, it will be essential for the system to itself be a learning organisation.

3.3 Project location

Preliminary investigations, prior to this mission, suggested that the provinces of Nampula or Sofala could be good locations to begin the project, which is why, during the first week of the mission the team split up to visit the two provinces. We also discussed other possibilities for locating the start-up of the project. The results of these visits and subsequent conversations have convinced us that Nampula province has some significant advantages as the initial site for the project. The recommendation of the team is therefore to select Nampula and the principal reasons are discussed below.

3.3.1 Population size

The mission team believes that initial attention in building a learning environment without frontiers in Mozambique should be focused on a limited, yet significant and substantially important geographical area in the country. One factor that substantiates the choice of Nampula is the population size of the province. It has approximately three million inhabitants and is the second largest administrative area of the country. Developing a successful project across such a large area would make evident the potential of such an approach elsewhere.

3.3.2 Part of disadvantaged North

While Mozambique as a whole faces a very difficult situation, there is significant regional variation within the country. Some of the most disadvantaged areas are in the Northern provinces, of which Nampula is a part. Generally, the North is more agricultural and has lower indicators of basic well-being in areas like health and education than the rest of

the country (United Nations Agencies in Mozambique, 1997). For these reasons, the Northern provinces are beginning to receive greater attention from development-oriented projects and would be a good site for the project to begin.

3.3.3 Development infrastructure that still needs development

In selecting a starting location for a project like this, it is necessary to strike a balance between working in the most difficult environment, which is where help is most urgently needed, and working in less difficult environments, where better access and infrastructure make implementation more feasible. While Nampula province is part of the disadvantaged North, it is also the best-off of these provinces. The choice of Nampula thus strikes a good balance. The situation facing its people is extremely difficult, yet there is enough physical and social service infrastructure to reduce somewhat the already sufficiently numerous barriers to project implementation. Within Nampula, of course, there is considerable variation in situation, and thus, in many ways, the project will encounter as wide a range of conditions as in the country as a whole. Moreover, as is common elsewhere, most government and NGO programmes are in the relatively more accessible and developed parts of the province. Indeed, a major challenge facing the project will be to try to support and extend the outreach of existing efforts to the more remote and inaccessible areas of Nampula.

3.3.4 One ethnic/linguistic group

The Nampula province is home to a single ethnic and linguistic group of approximately three million people. Another approximately three million Emakua speaking people live in adjoining provinces, particularly in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Upper-Zambezia, a circumstance which is likely to facilitate the diffusion of a successful development effort in Nampula to other areas of the country. The total of approximately six million Emakua speakers across different provinces constitutes roughly a third of the Mozambican population. Significant development through learning among that proportion of the population is an excellent condition for the spread of the effort across the nation as a whole. The mono-lingual character of the province will be a facilitating factor in terms of allowing learning communities to evolve in which the barrier between the official language Portuguese and the mother tongue of its members can be most easily and naturally crossed. A single ethnic identity will also be important in facilitating interaction among diverse learning communities to inspire collective, rather than isolated, growth. The experience gained will enable the

system to perform better when it expands to incorporate more diverse ethnic and linguistic areas.

3.3.5 Acute learning needs across many dimensions

To take learning out of the sometimes ghetto like situation of the school system (Hirsch, 1992), it is important to attend to learning needs in an integrated fashion. Not only are individual learning needs connected to different purposes in a way that one learning need may serve various purposes at a time, these purposes are also themselves often related and constitute a whole that as such motivates the human development effort. Taken in isolation they often fail to do so, whence a certain amount of coercion is not entirely alien to many learning systems constructed on the basis of partial, rather than holistic, learning concerns. In view of the large diversity of learning needs the mission team encountered in the province of Nampula, it is not difficult to imagine a connected whole, and, actually much better, to let the community itself, through their participation in the design of the project, determine how learning needs are interconnected. From the perspective of the mission team, it was abundantly clear that many learning efforts related to agricultural development in the province fail to lead to desired results because necessary connections are not present. For instance, learning to apply more efficient agricultural techniques, or more efficient techniques for the on-site preparation of agricultural products for their commercialization, lead to frustration if the commercialization process itself, or the infrastructure that facilitates it, constrain the flow of products from the producer to the consumer. Then learning is also required to ease such bottlenecks. In a similar vein, people require a livelihood that sustains them. Part of that livelihood has to do with conditions of health, nutrition, access to services (including e.g. schooling and credit, to name but a few), sanitation, environmental sustainability, and the like, each of which are connected to learning needs. While eventually an environment in which learning will occur in an open fashion, as expressed by the idea of learning without frontiers, will cover ever increasing varieties of learning needs, it is important, in initiating it, to do so by attending to a smaller collection of such learning needs. That collection should both constitute an integrated whole and have a built-in potential for growth. The Nampula province has the potential for such nuclei for growth to be identified in its learning environment.

3.3.6 Active partners with LWF vision

Nampula is fortunate to have a progressive and very active group of local, national, and international organizations working in development. As said earlier, we were very impressed by the NGO community in Nampula and their diversity, competence, depth, and commitment. Much the same could be said for many government-run activities where, despite lack of funds, the staff maintain a commitment and, when possible, run quite successful programmes. International donors are also doing significant work in Nampula, especially the Dutch, who have been key in implementing a long-term programme for the improvement of many aspects of the province's social and economic infrastructure. Especially important is that all of these potential partners generally share a vision of the need to develop institutions and structures through which today's limiting boundaries can be easily crossed and in which it is the active participation of the learner which governs the directions of learning.

3.3.7 Availability of information and documentation

As in many nations, in Mozambique it is difficult to find reliable and recent information, even on conditions at the national level. For example, while a recent census has been completed, it is not yet analyzed, and the most reliable population data stems from the 1980 census. A few household surveys completed since then are a source of data, but the difficulties of representative sampling, especially during the war years, make those unreliable as well. Information disaggregated by regional, provincial, or district level is even more difficult to find. However, in Nampula there is more information and documentation available than might be expected. This is principally due to the degree of development activity discussed above, particularly by the Dutch who, in putting together their assistance plans, commissioned some excellent quantitative and qualitative studies related to agriculture, education, and health areas, among others (see reference section). This information will be very helpful in LWF project planning.

3.3.8 Diverse and expanding communication media infrastructure

In the Nampula province, as discussed earlier, much still needs to be done in terms of building up the communication infrastructure. However, across all media, the prospects for improvement are good. *Rádio Moçambique* is already expanding its transmission power. With a new 50 kW medium wave transmitter it will soon cover the entire province. The *TDM*

has detailed plans for the development of telephony. While at the time the mission team visited the Ribaue district there was not yet a single telephone, that circumstance will soon be history. A number of people we talked with in the city of Nampula had access to e-mail. Postal services leave much to be desired. It may take days before a letter from the Ribaue district of Nampula province reaches a destination in the provincial capital, a distance which the mission team covered in a few hours by four-wheel drive vehicle. Yet, here too, there are plans for improving the system. Newspapers, at the present stage, hardly get beyond the provincial capital. A rural press is absent. It would be useful to look into the possibilities for its development.

In developing the communications infrastructure in Nampula, one should not only focus on the installation of hardware, but particularly attend to ways of accessing and using the technology. The creation of community learning resource centres is suggested as a model to allow technology infrastructure, and its usage, to grow. On the basis of the creation of a flexible fund, the building of awareness through the use of social communication media, and the provision of targeted expertise through a network of *animadores de aprendizagem* (see above), communities can be invited to propose and help construct and shape their own learning resource centres.

It is to be stressed, also, that technology development needs to be approached from the perspective of different levels. There is, for instance, as much need for radio broadcast at the national level or provincial level, as there is for its development at the community level. This provides, at the level of Nampula province and for the specific case of radio, excellent opportunities for collaboration among *Rádio Moçambique*, *Rádio Encontro*, and the community radio experience the Social Communication Institute (ICS) wishes to promote. It is furthermore stressed that technology needs to be conceived of as an environment in which different media operate. Media can perfectly exist side-by-side and the exploration of that environment is in the first place a question of what medium should be used *together with* what other media, rather than of which particular medium *instead of* what other media should be used.

4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEXT MISSION

Our experiences in Mozambique and our analyses above lead us to make a few recommendations regarding plans for the next phases of this project. For the next phase, the composition of the team is an important issue. We recommend that it predominantly be made up of people who know Mozambique well and that there are people who are specialists in the following areas: gender, agriculture, employment and the economy, adult education, distance education, and traditional learning systems. Some members of the team should also be familiar with Nampula, the work of NGOs, and the culture of the Muslim community. While some team members can play multiple roles, coverage of these (and other) specializations will be difficult to achieve with a manageable-sized team. Therefore, it may be worthwhile to have some shorter-term consultants work with the team. These should be paid consultants since this project design phase will necessitate more intensive work from specialists in these areas than can be expected to be forthcoming voluntarily. We also felt that the team needed to stay for 4 weeks in order to produce a concrete design and that for continuity it is very important that Jan Visser be a member of the team for as much time as is manageable.

While current plans do not call for a national workshop until the third phase, it may be possible and worthwhile to have a smaller local workshop, for one or two days at the end of the second phase, perhaps in Nampula (if it is selected as the project site) at the end of the third week. Some initial design plans could serve as a springboard for a participatory re-design during the workshop. The workshop could also serve as a vehicle to help set the stage for the formation of a provincial advisory board. The results of the workshop re-design could be concretized during the last week of the mission and the report circulated for the third phase national workshop, which would include all those people involved in the local workshop as well. That would serve to develop some immediate connections between those involved in project start-up and those who may be interested in facilitating its expansion.

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ANNEX 1

PERSONS MET

Persons met individually in Maputo

Zuber Ahmed	Independent NGO consultant
Maria José Artur	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
António G. Carrasco	Director Geral substituto, Instituto de Comunicação Social
Henk Frencken	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, STADEP
Roeland van de Geer	Netherlands Embassy, Ambassador
Machado de Graça	Rádio Moçambique
Jules Jongma	Netherlands Embassy, Head, Development Cooperation
Venâncio Massingue	Director, Centro de Informática da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
Luís Filipe de Lucas Mhula	Telecomunicações de Moçambique
António J. Botelho Moniz	Televisão de Moçambique
Yolanda Moussa	Televisão de Moçambique
Arnaldo Nhavoto	Ministro de Educação
Mateus M. Simbine	Telecomunicações de Moçambique

Muriel Visser	Netherlands Embassy, Manager Education Sector
Fion de Vletter	Independent consultant
Gomes de Rosário Xavier Zita	Telecomunicações de Moçambique

Persons met as a group during situation analysis work session in Maputo

Augusto Alexandre	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
Lucas Balate	Direcção Nacional do Ensino Técnico
Gilberto A. Botas	Ministério de Trabalho, Formação Profissional
Vasco Camondimo	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação
Flora Chirindza	Direcção Nacional do Ensino Primário
Della Mercedes Correia	Ministério de Saúde
David Cossa	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
António Mizé Francisco	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores Departamento de Ensino a Distância
Pedro Miguel Francisco	ADEMO
Paulino Gaudêncio	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação
Fárida Gulamo	ADEMO, Técnico da E.E.
Manuel Zianja Guru	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação, Departamento de Formação de Professores
Lucas Chomera Jeremias	Ministério de Saúde
Frédérique Ledeux	ADEMO / Handicap International
Quiteria Mabote	Direcção Nacional do Ensino Técnico (DINET)
Adélia Machaieie	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores

Armando Machaieie	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
Fernanda Machave	Direcção Nacional do Ensino Primário (DNEP)
Moises Ernesto Magacelane	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
Gloria Pedro Manhiça	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
Lénia Mapelane	Action Contre la Faim
Salvador D. Matavele	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação Departamento de Ciências Naturais
Ernesto Muianga	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
Salazar Manuel Picardo	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação
Mariano Tasso	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação Departamento de Ciências Naturais
Samaria dos Anjos Tovela	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação Departamento de Português
Constância Azarias Xerinda	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação Chefe, Departamento de Desenvolvimento Curricular

Persons met in Nampula

Manuel Aissa	Direcção Provincial de Educação
António Álvaro	Direcção Provincial de Educação
Arno Ambrosius	Delegação da Embaixada dos Países Baixos em Nampula
Januário Bernardo	Director Provincial de Educação
Amândio Caetano	Direcção Provincial de Trabalho
Raúl Carvalho	Osuwela project, Nampula

Agosto José Cornélio	Organização de Juventude para o Desenvolvimento Rural
Joel Cossa	Instituto de Comunicação Social, Nampula
Miguel Gonçalves	SALAMA
Ibraimo Issufo	Comunidade Muçulmana da Província de Nampula
Taco Kooistra	SNV, Organização holandesa de desenvolvimento
Jaime António Machincha	Rádio Moçambique, Nampula
Saide Momade	Cooperative Learning USA (CLUSA)
Ruth Claudina Monjane	Cooperative Learning USA (CLUSA)
Matias Bassiano Mulessina	Direcção Provincial de Educação
Mário Barata Mutacaliua	Administrador, Distrito de Ribaue
Carlos A. Natividade	Osuwela project, Nampula
Norberto Ricardo Nunacilaro	Direcção Provincial de Educação
Luís Alberto Rodrigues	Rádio Encontro
Ana Paula dos Santos	Empresa Correios de Moçambique
Maria Helena Taipo	Gabinete de Promoção de Emprego
Juma Taratibo	Director, Centro Formação de Quadros de Educação de Adultos de Mutauanha
José Alves Trindade	Direcção Provincial de Educação
Costa Simeão Vascos	Associação para o Desenvolvimento das Organizações Comunitárias
Alberto Viegas	Consultor UNCDF

Bridget Walker	Independent consultant
Victorino Xavier	Director Provincial de Agricultura e Pescas

Persons met in Sofala

José Luís Alexo	Chefe de departamento de Planificação
D. Amélia	Directora do Centro de Mulheres PIONEIROS
Luo Nhamaze Andrego	Coordenador Provincial do IAP
Francisco J. Xavier Barroso	Director do Instituto Nacional de Educação de Adultos
Alves Manuel Cagana	Chefe do Departamento Pedagógico
João Celestino	Inspector - Chefe de Educação
José Durbeque	Delegado Provincial da Radio Moçambique
Paulo Jaime Fortuna	Coordenador de Educação de Adultos
António Francisco	Director Substituto de Saúde
Caiado Freia	Reitor da Universidade Pedagógica (Delegação da Beira)
Manuel Golias	GTZ
José Saraiva Ligonha	Director do Centro de Educação de Adultos de MAKOMBE
Acácio Ramos Massochua	Director Provincial das TDM
Elias Bernardo Nhambe	Director Provincial do Trabalho
M.Nhamaze	Director Distrital de Educação de Nhamatanda
Tereza Nhoana	Coordenador do Projecto de Educação da Rapariga
António Patuli	Director da Escola Industrial da Beira

António Pereira	Director Provincial dos Correios de Moçambique
Alberto Ponches	ORMOSIEM
A. Rodrigues	Director do Centro de Formaçáo Profissional INEP
Vera Maria Velho	Coordenadores da ORMOSIEM
----------	Coordenadora da GTZ
----------	Directora do Centro da OMM de TICA

ANNEX 2

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FOR NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED IN THIS REPORT:

ADOC	ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
ADEMO	ASSOCIATION OF HANDICAPPED PEOPLE IN MOZAMBIQUE
ADPP	DANISH NGO FOR PEOPLE TO PEOPLE ASSISTANCE
AMR	RURAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION
CIDA	CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
CIUEM	INFORMATICS CENTRE OF THE EDUARDO MONDLANE UNIVERSITY
CLUSA	COOPERATIVE LEARNING USA
DINET	NATIONAL DIRECTORATE FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION
DNEP	NATIONAL DIRECTORATE FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION
DPAP	PROVINCIAL DIRECTORATE OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES
DPE	PROVINCIAL DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION
FUMASO	NATIONAL NGO FOR LITERACY AND ADULT EDUCATION (FUMASO MEANS 'OPEN YOUR EYES' IN SENA)
GOM	GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE
GPE	OFFICE OF EMPLOYMENT PROMOTION
GTZ	GERMAN TECHNICAL COOPERATION
IAP	INSTITUTE FOR TEACHER UPGRADING
IBIS	DANISH HGO
ICS	INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL COMMUNICATION
IDIL	INSTITUTE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRY
IIEP	INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

ILO	INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
IMF	INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
INDE	NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INEA	NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ADULT EDUCATION
LWF	LEARNING WITHOUT FRIONTIERS
MAP	MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES
MINED	MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
OJDR	YOUTH ORGANIZATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT
OMM	MOZAMBICAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION
ORMOSIEM	MOZAMBICAN ORGANIZATION FOR INTERMEDIATION SERVICES FOR MICRO-ENTERPRISES
PAPIR	PROJECT FOR THE SUPPORT OF SMALL RURAL INDUSTRY
PROAGRI	NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
RM	RADIO MOZAMBIQUE
RTK	KLINT RADIO AND TELEVISION
SALAMA	HEALTH RELATED NGO IN NAMPULA PROVINCE
SNV	NETHERLANDS ORGANIZATION FOR DEVELOPMENT
TDM	MOZAMBICAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMPANY
TVM	MOZAMBICAN TELEVISION
UEM	EDUARDO MONDLANE UNIVERSITY
UNDP	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
UP	PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY
UNCDF	UNITED NATIONS CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND
UNESCO	UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION
UNICEF	UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND
USAID	UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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