

PD-ABP-812

**"Ha Lugar Para Todos"
[There is a Place for Everyone]**

***An Independent Evaluator's Report
of NDI's Voter Education Program
in Mozambique***

December 1994

Vota Mocambique
Ha Lugar para Todos

Evaluation Report
December 1994

Judy Thompson
Election Consultant
Ottawa, Canada

Table of Contents

A. Acknowledgements	1
B. Introduction	1
B.1 Purpose of Evaluation	1
B.2 Background of the Program	1
B.3 Constraints of the Program	2
C. The Civic Education Players	3
C.1 The National Elections Commission	3
C.2 United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	4
C.3 National Democratic Institute	5
C.4 Other NGOs and Political Parties	5
D. Evaluation Methodology	5
D.1 Internal Evaluation	5
D.2 External Evaluation	6
E. Program Objectives	7
E.1 Inform potential voters	7
E.2 Educate parties and organizations about their roles	7
E.3 Design materials	7
E.4 Empower agents for conducting civic education	8
E.5 Create radio and television programs	10
E.6 Conduct public opinion surveys	10
E.7 Maximize voter turnout; minimize spoiled ballots	11
E.8 Contribute to understanding of pluralism	11
F. Conclusions	12
F.1 Impact of the program	12
F.2 Cooperation with the CNE	13
F.4 Materials and radio programming	13
F.5 Developing skills in the community	14
F.6 Continuity of civic education	14
G. Recommendations	14
H. Appendices	16
H.1 Evaluator's biography	16
H.2 Interviews	16

A. Acknowledgements

The external evaluation of Vota Mocambique was carried out in late November and early December, 1994, with the cooperation of The National Democratic Institute for International Development (NDI) and Vota Mocambique. Several interviews were conducted in Mozambique with both headquarters and field staff of the NDI program. The program director, C. Cerf, and her staff assisted in setting up interviews and arranging meetings with field staff. Copies of reports, project details, materials and other written information was also provided and inquiries were readily answered. Their assistance expedited the evaluation process and was much appreciated.

Mr. Augusto Nunes, a Mozambican national, acted as interpreter during the interviews and translated several documents. His assistance was invaluable in the collection of information for this report.

B. Introduction

B.1 Purpose of Evaluation

The purpose of the evaluation is to assess the Vota Mocambique program to determine the extent to which the program achieved its objectives. In terms of meeting these objectives, the program will be evaluated as part of the overall democratization process in Mozambique.

B.2 Background of the Program

The Vota Mocambique program was conducted by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) under a Cooperative Agreement with USAID. The purpose of the project was to "conduct a civic education project in Mozambique to support informed participation in the country's first multiparty elections." The goal of the program was to "instill in the electorate an understanding of and a desire to participate in Mozambique's first democratic election."

The program had six major components which were investigated in terms of the objectives of the program:

(1) Three sets of public opinion surveys/focus groups were conducted to gather information on the knowledge and attitudes of Mozambicans about the democratic process and elections. The first (with a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy), in June 1993, gathered information to assess the need for a civic education

program and to use in the design of civic education materials. The second, in April 1994, assessed whether there had been any changes in the knowledge and attitudes during the previous year. The third, in September 1994, was to measure changes in the knowledge of the electorate, if any, after the civic education program had been in operation for three months.

(2) Voter education materials were developed and produced, some independently by the NDI and others in cooperation with the National Elections Commission (CNE) and its technical organization (STAE). These materials had to be suitable for a large non-literate population.

(3) A countrywide network of trainers was recruited and trained to deliver voter education in local languages to community groups. Workshops were conducted by close to 200 trainers throughout Mozambique. These trainers were supervised by Provincial Coordinators and three Regional Coordinators.

(4) Materials were distributed to the trainers by various transportation methods and a data base was developed to track requests and distribution of the materials.

(5) Radio programs and information spots were produced in several languages and broadcast as widely as possible. A twelve part radio play was used to discuss and develop concepts related to democracy and the elections. As well, eight weekly segments were developed which dealt with women's involvement in the electoral process, for an existing women's program. The third radio initiative was a weekly election quiz show which also featured entertainment and information from the political parties.

(6) In addition, the program included a series of workshops for radio journalists about objective reporting and coverage of the elections; a seminar for the CNE/STAE on the role and structure of elections commissions; and two study tours for members of the CNE and STAE to South Africa and Malawi.

B.3 Constraints of the Program

Mozambique's elections were the culmination of the General Peace Agreement (GPA) signed in October 1992, which ended sixteen years of armed civil conflict in the country. As a result of that conflict, Mozambique was left with its infrastructure devastated. Transportation and communications were particularly difficult. The predominantly rural population was often inaccessible by road.

There is a high rate of illiteracy (estimated at 70 - 80%) and several languages are spoken. Although Portuguese is the official language, it is spoken mainly in the urban areas by those with some education. Many of the African languages are not written languages.

The political negotiations to establish the framework for the election were lengthy. The Electoral Law was approved on 9 December 1993 and entered into force on 12 January 1994. The CNE members were appointed on 21 January 1994. The dates for the elections (27 and 28 October 1994) were announced by the President of Mozambique only on 11 April 1994. On 13 April 1994, the technical secretariat (STAE) was established to implement the decisions of the CNE. The delays in the law and the appointments meant that the time to prepare for the registration and the election was very short.

The Electoral Law stated that the CNE had the responsibility for civic education. The president of the CNE also saw the coordination of the initiatives by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as the exclusive responsibility of the CNE. This was to ensure that there was a common message and program of voter education. As a result, the NDI program was tied to the CNE/STAE's schedule.

C. The Civic Education Players

C.1 The National Elections Commission

Under the CNE's statutory responsibility for civic education, it was decided that each of the 1600 registration brigades would have a civic education agent. The speedy implementation of civic education was a priority in terms of the credibility of the electoral process. The STAE civic education campaign was to combine traditional means (word of mouth, theatre, dance, festivals, games) and conventional means (radio, TV, press, distribution of materials). Priority was to be given to interpersonal methods.

The civic education campaign was to have four phases: information about CNE; registration; pre-election; polling and counting. The first phase was to include education about democratic principles; the second phase was to include the political campaign; and the third, the rationale and meaning of voting. The fourth phase was to deal with the concept of the secrecy of the vote.

The registration agents were encouraging people to register but they were doing very little in the field of civic education. STAE information agents did not talk about concepts of democracy, multiparty system, secrecy of ballot, freedom of expression, etc. It was not clear that the agents understood these ideas themselves. By July 15, STAE admitted that their civic education agents had not met the standards expected and that STAE was not in a position to carry out a satisfactory civic education campaign. Lack of money and transportation problems were part of the problem but STAE did not have experience with civic education and had too many other tasks to perform. The civic education department of STAE had only four staff members; two of those had been added very late in the process.

At the local level, the District Elections Commissions (CDE/STAE) often blocked voter education initiatives from the NGOs as they were not aware of national decisions. However, in time this problem was overcome by the intervention of the Provincial Elections Commissions (CPE).

The civic education agents from the registration teams were re-trained in late September to assist with voter education and they were in the field by early October, less than a month before the election. STAE did have mobile units (i.e. vehicles with voter education agents and audiovisual equipment) which went to communities and information centres in the provinces.

CNE/STAE viewed the voter education initiatives as one program; the various groups worked under its supervision and mandate and it did not try to separate the programs by the responsible agency. The civic education program was praised by the President of Mozambique after the election and estimates were that up to 90% of the electorate had been reached.

C.2 United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)

The terms of reference for ONUMOZ included "participation in the electoral education campaign" which was to be reinforced by "a public information campaign about electoral activities, ONUMOZ objectives and the mechanisms established". Because the CNE did not want direct involvement by ONUMOZ in the civic education program, electoral staff at provincial and district levels were encouraged to interact with the Provincial and District Elections Commissions (CPEs and CDEs) who needed assistance. ONUMOZ had electoral staff in each province (total 130) and over 1000 CIVPOL observers. It was envisioned that they could easily and efficiently perform the function of civic educators if they were properly trained. The training did not materialize and ONUMOZ staff had several other responsibilities in the lead-up to the election.

By July, when the CNE encouraged a stronger ONUMOZ involvement in voter education and in coordinating NGOs, it was too late to design a civic education campaign. Posters on peace were printed, videos were developed and logistical support was offered to voter education agents from STAE and the NDI.

A proposal for joint action with CNE/STAE, NDI and ONUMOZ was drawn up but never signed. The suggested logistical support for NDI trainers and materials was put into place. Representatives of the three groups were to meet on a weekly basis to coordinate programs and parallel coordination would occur at the provincial level.

The ONUMOZ approach to civic education was ambivalent. The definition of the activities stated in the mandate was not precise enough and was not further defined with a formal agreement with the CNE. Staff in the field were not clear on what the expectations were for them in the area of civic education.

C.3 National Democratic Institute

The NDI program to fund civic education gave it the base to become the major player in the efforts to get information to the electorate of Mozambique. A formal 'Memorandum of Understanding' was signed with the CNE/STAE. It was a joint venture agreement to produce educational materials and to recognize the CNE's role in the coordination and definition of civic education and STAE's role in the delivery of civic education. The NDI's role was to reinforce the CNE's initiatives by participating within the framework of the program in cooperation with STAE. Weekly meetings were held to discuss the implementation of the program. The CNE had to approve the materials and scripts before production.

By the time the NDI trainers were in the field, it was July and August, well into the registration period. Since the CNE education agents were also working at this time, the NDI program concentrated on training for the voting process.

The NDI was the only body involved in voter education in some provinces before October. They were the "only group out there doing any substantive voter education work in the way of training" stated the program's director. Interviews confirmed that the NDI was the only group doing "grassroots" education. The CNE was positive about the way in which the NDI worked together with them. The CNE also recognized and appreciated the efforts of the NDI to understand the problems of the country in designing its program.

C.4 Other NGOs and Political Parties

There were voter education programs by other groups in Mozambique including political parties, women's groups and NGOs. According to STAE, most of these were very localized and suffered from lack of funds. Education efforts by the political parties consisted mainly of telling voters who to vote for, not how to vote or why to vote. Without taking away from any positive impact they may have had, there were no nationally organized or far-reaching programs other than that of the NDI.

D. Evaluation Methodology

D.1 Internal Evaluation

Vota Mocambique had an internal evaluation methodology built into the proposal. The continuing focus groups gave feedback at three stages which allowed for the development of the program and for adjustments to be made.

The trainers made reports on all workshops/presentations which gave numbers, locations, makeup of audience and other comments. This information was entered into

a data base as it was received which gave an up-to-date picture of the areas covered and the people reached. The data base also could be used to identify areas or groups of voters that might have been missed.

The distribution system was also entered into a data base for instant feedback on coverage and language needs. This assisted in determining the numbers of materials needed.

The internal evaluation methods were a very important part of the program. At each stage, staff were aware of changes needed to staffing and production to cover any weaknesses in the program. Adjustments could be made to the final radio programs and printed materials to deal with information raised in the focus groups. The external evaluator found that any problems or weaknesses in the program had been identified by the staff and adjusted, if time permitted.

D.2 External Evaluation

An independent evaluation was commissioned soon after the elections in late October. The investigator reviewed reports and background documents, examined materials, interviewed NDI staff, voters, STAE members and ONUMOZ staff. (See appendices). These interviews were structured to determine if the program met its objectives and to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the program.

One of the drawbacks of the enquiries was the evaluator's lack of Portuguese. An interpreter was retained who was familiar with the electoral system and with Mozambique but who was not involved in the NDI program. His professionalism and empathy assisted greatly in eliciting information from Portuguese-speaking participants and staff.

The investigator had been present at the presentation of the findings of the first focus groups in Maputo in June 1993 which was useful background for the evaluation process. It is difficult to determine the specific effects of an educational program on the behaviour of voters but conclusions can be drawn from anecdotal and statistical information. The following report discusses the program's objectives and the findings related to those objectives.

E. Program Objectives

E.1 Inform potential voters about registration and balloting

A varied program, including personal contact through voter education meetings, radio programming and printed materials, was used to reach the 6.2 million registered voters in Mozambique. Although no measure can be made of the numbers reached, close to half a million voters were reached through workshops. As well, about 30% of homes have a radio so a large number would have been reached through that medium. The NDI video was used in the CNE information centres and at ONUMOZ public meetings where equipment was available. There were also spinoff effects such as voters talking to family members and friends about the workshops and other information.

ONUMOZ field staff in the districts gave anecdotal information about the large number of meetings held at the community level by NDI trainers and the interest shown by voters. In many districts, it was reported that the NDI trainers were the only people actively involved in voter education. The presentations were generally about the technical process of voting and not the concepts of multiparty democracy and the campaign. However, the personal contact was seen as important to the process of encouraging participation.

E.2 Educate parties and organizations about their roles

The NDI was involved in advising and educating the parties during the development of the Electoral Law. Within the voter education program, the trainers responded to requests from political parties and other organizations for voter education. However, the lack of time prevented a less ad hoc system from being developed.

A program for the education of party monitors was carried out under the auspices of ONUMOZ and other NGOs which dealt with a much-needed aspect of the voter education program.

Within communities, the NDI trainers addressed groups from various organizations and in the workplace. Often, the trainers were requested to hold further sessions for other groups in the same community.

E.3 Design materials

The development of materials fit into the overall strategy of the CNE's approach to civic education and, as a result, could be used by all the groups delivering education programs. Materials were designed to respond to the need for many languages and for a non-literate audience. In printed materials, preference was given to photographic images and colour, methods which were identified in the first focus groups.

Three posters were developed. The first had three photographs and a simple text which encouraged people to register to vote. Unfortunately, if the voter could not read the text, it was difficult to ascertain the message from the pictures. The second poster was a workshop announcement which had limited use in a population which does not read. Because the workshops were often held spontaneously in a community, there was not time to advertise them in advance and word of mouth was the best advertisement. An announcement poster was found to be useful in a more urban setting.

The third and most popular poster was the final one which had a series of photographs depicting how to vote. There was universal acclaim for this poster and its utility. The poster and other visual material was used in the tabloid 'Vamos Votar' which also was very popular. The poster and the tabloid were widely distributed.

The development of the kits for the trainers to use for voter simulations were a great success. The need to have a portable kit of materials was solved with the design of a backpack which held the necessary equipment. The kit also included a manual with photographs and a short text which was an important training guide for the trainers. Nearly all the materials in the kit were produced in Mozambique and the assembly was done by NDI-hired staff. The NDI kits were used by their trainers as well as STAE trainers, ONUMOZ staff and other agencies.

A video was produced which showed the voting process. It was used for public information where the equipment was available (i.e information centres, ONUMOZ presentations, etc.). Despite its high quality and informational value, it could not be used during most of the workshops due to the lack of electricity and/or the lack of equipment.

Distribution of the materials was a time-consuming and frustrating experience due to the transportation problems. One staff member was responsible for these arrangements and was assisted by a warehouse staff. Materials were kept moving by air, bus and other vehicles. Some provincial staff found it difficult to distribute the materials to their trainers in the field once they were received. Towards the end of the program, many materials arrived in the provinces too late for further distribution. Despite the problems, most of the materials were distributed widely. The movement of materials was tracked on a database which aided in a fairly equitable distribution throughout the country.

E.4 Empower agents for conducting civic education

Vota Mocambique developed its own cadre of trainers to deliver voter education programs. Many of these trainers were drawn from social organizations such as churches, mosques, NGOs, etc. There was not a well-developed or organized civil society in most of Mozambique and these trainers became a focal point for delivering information to the district communities.

The trainers were recruited where possible from the district (one or two in each) in which they would work. One of the problems with the STAE education agents was that they were often students who were not from the area where they worked and were not accepted by the community. The NDI did not encounter this problem as their trainers were hired from the community and were chosen for their community experience so that they were acceptable to the communities where they worked. They were also recruited based on criteria such as maturity, confidence, local languages and some literacy skills, communication experience and politically neutral. A large number of the trainers were women and, again, because they were drawn from the communities where they delivered the programs, they did not encounter problems of acceptance.

The training program was decentralized with core trainers (or provincial coordinators) responsible to recruit and train district trainers and to plan programs and budgets. Three regional coordinators (northern, central, southern) were recruited to assist with the administrative aspects of the program when it became apparent that there was a need for program development and better liaison. The core trainers often did not have the skills needed to budget, keep accounts, have contracts signed, and other administrative duties. The regional coordinators worked with the provincial coordinators to assess needs, coordinate with the Maputo headquarters, distribute materials, keep financial records and collect reports. Administration and financial details took time at all levels. There was a staff member in the Maputo office who was responsible for tracking and consolidating these details.

The Regional Coordinators developed a strategy for each province which allowed the planning to take into account local differences and problems. Transportation proved to be a serious problem in most areas and the large number of trainers (close to 200) was needed to compensate for the lack of mobility. There was insufficient time to monitor the work in the field in any systematic way both because of the size of the program and the very short time period.

The program was to be coordinated at the provincial level with the Elections Commissions but there was a reluctance by some provincial coordinators to seek contacts. The NDI coordinators and trainers set up their workshops in cooperation with the district administrators and community groups. In many cases the organization of the CPE/STAE and of ONUMOZ was lacking any mechanisms for coordination and the NDI trainers just got on with their first priority which was to do voter education.

The original core trainers had received training in Maputo in June. As the remaining core trainers were hired, they were trained in the field. Subsequently, in late September, the core trainers attended a week-long training by STAE for its trainers. These core trainers were then responsible to recruit and train the district trainers and to provide them with the materials to conduct further sessions. Programs were underway by July with most districts operational by August. The trainers were expected to conduct workshops throughout their districts and to keep a written record of each one.

The training sessions relied to a large extent on simulations using the kit and did not include much information on the democratic process and the campaign. In the conversations with voters who attended and with ONUMOZ staff who observed the sessions, it was acknowledged that the information received was very technical but it was also seen as very necessary and useful. Voters who were interviewed expressed the need for longer sessions with more information.

E.5 Create radio and television programs

A fairly intensive radio strategy was used to present information to the electorate on all aspects of the election and on democratic principles. A variety of radio productions were recorded in several languages to reach the large number of voters who did not understand Portuguese. A radio series, titled Ha Lugar para Todos (There is a place for everyone) focussed on a rural family and was used to raise issues and the concepts of democracy, opposition, campaigning, etc. As well, there were public service announcements, a series on women and elections, a theme song and a game show. These were broadcast nation-wide at various times and on several days a week.

Since there are no surveys of the reach of programming in Mozambique, the extent of the voter education on radio cannot be measured. Those who did hear the radio serial found it interesting but they needed more information on some of the ideas discussed.

E.6 Conduct public opinion surveys

Three surveys of public opinion were conducted prior to and during the program. The first of these in June 1993 showed that Mozambicans had little understanding of what democracy meant and how to participate and vote in an election. The problems of illiteracy, multiple languages, lack of national communications systems and distrust of the government and other parties were all potential problems to overcome in any voter education program. Those in rural areas and women had the least information. Personal contact was seen as an important way to disseminate information with radio as the next best method.

The second set of focus groups in April 1994 showed that there was more knowledge of the election and a perception that it would occur. There was more optimism about peace and elections. Although democracy was viewed more positively, there was still a lack of information about the actual process. A discussion of possible slogans showed that it should focus on the future.

The third focus groups in September 1994 showed that although there was no fear of participating in the election, there was a fear of war after the vote when one side lost. The voters had more knowledge of how to vote but did not understand the multiparty system and democracy. Radio was a source of information on the electoral process.

This ongoing research with the use of focus groups was a valuable way to follow the development and changes in the knowledge of, and attitudes to, the electoral process. The information gathered was an integral part of the development of materials and radio programming.

E.7 Maximize voter turnout; minimize spoiled ballots

Voter turnout was very high, approximately 87% of the registered electorate. Since the early focus groups showed a low level of awareness about the election, the voter education program can be credited with disseminating information about the election and encouraging voters to participate.

The issue of spoiled ballots is confused by two factors. Firstly, blank ballots accounted for 6% and 8% of the ballots cast for the presidential and legislative elections respectively. There is no specific explanation for this high number. One theory is that voters believed that casting the ballot was the important part, thus forgetting to mark it; another is that many women did not want to vote so they simply cast a blank ballot. Neither of these has been accepted as the explanation but there is obviously an issue for voter education programs. Since the education programs concentrate on marking the ballot correctly, perhaps there was an omission of the important fact that the ballot had to be marked.

Nil ballots (or incorrectly marked ballots) accounted for 3% of the ballots cast in each of the presidential and legislative elections. This is somewhat higher than many first elections (usually 1-2%) but significantly lower than in Angola. The CNE felt that the design of the ballot paper was part of the problem as there was a lot of white space between the name and the photograph/logo on the ballot. Many voters marked this space instead of the box. Another extenuating circumstance is that the criteria for an acceptable ballot were extremely stringent. Marks had to be in the box to be accepted. Ballots with any marks outside the box were rejected. In most elections the mark is accepted if it clearly indicates the choice of one party or candidate. The international community raised concerns with the CNE about the strictness of the interpretation but the CNE retained it. When the CNE reviewed the nil ballots, they did reverse the decision on a large number of them but 3% were still rejected.

E.8 Contribute to understanding of pluralism

The concepts of multiparty democracy, representation, civic rights, political stability, making a choice and the role of the opposition are important to the understanding of the electoral process, especially in a first multiparty election. These themes were dealt with in the radio serial but not in the printed materials or in the workshops. This was in part due to the short time frame for the voter education program but nevertheless, these concepts cannot be ignored.

In order to deal with these topics, the trainers would have needed more education. The trainers were starting their jobs with very little knowledge about the electoral system and it was easier for them to deal with the technical aspects of the voting. In the time available, it was probably the only solution.

In speaking with Mozambicans, both NDI staff and voters, one of the hopes expressed over and over was that this type of education would not end with the election. Since the election is the start of a whole new process, they expressed the need for a continuing program to deal with the legislative system, the role of the opposition and the expectations for the future.

F. Conclusions

All of the observations and findings of the Vota Mocambique program had to be seen in the context of a proposed 15 month program which was carried out in less than seven months. Despite the unavoidable constraints this put on the planned program, several lessons can be learned about what is possible in such a setting. In many ways, these lessons are as important as any weaknesses in the program. The NDI has a proven track record in democratic development programs and it is this expertise and experience which gave Vota Mocambique the necessary means to achieve as much as it did in such a short time.

F.1 Impact of the program

The strength of the Vota Mocambique program was that it was a national, community-based and mass media-based educational initiative which reached broad sections of the population in all ten provinces and Maputo City. A massive organization was assembled in a short time which was able to deliver information to voters in their communities. This was accomplished by decentralizing the hiring and training process to the regional and provincial level.

When asked about the impact, one Mozambican staff member said that it was like "a dancer who cannot judge a performance, only the audience can." She left the judgement of the program in the hands of the audience. That judgement has been very positive according to reactions from voters, from community leaders, from district staff of the United Nations and other interested observers.

In most cases, the NDI program was the 'only game in town' and a staff member (non-Mozambican) expressed how satisfying it was "to see trainers making a real difference" in their communities. Many Mozambicans identified the importance of education for the election and saw the NDI program as necessary to that process. The personal contact of the trainers with the community was appreciated.

F.2 Cooperation with the CNE

The NDI program operated within the framework of the CNE civic education program and in cooperation with STAE. The decision of the NDI to recognize the authority of the CNE as the responsible body for all aspects of the election was important to the acceptance and success of the program. In a country where too many 'development projects' have ignored local input and priorities, the cooperative agreement between the NDI and the CNE was viewed very positively. The goodwill gained by these consultations and the approval process for materials was a valuable part of the overall program both for the NDI and the CNE.

F.3 Voter education workshops

The quality of the presentations depended to a large extent upon the abilities of the coordinators and the trainers. And as with many programs, this varied widely. A large number of trainers were hired in a short time and were trained 'on the spot'. In reference to the provincial coordinators, one regional coordinator said they "ranged from good to appalling" and in reference to the trainers, one provincial coordinator said she "had to criticize some and some were brilliant."

The content of the presentations was basic information on how to mark the ballot and how the voting process worked. There is no question that valuable knowledge was gained but the "gains made were on a simple level." Voters were encouraged to vote and did gain confidence about the process and how the polling would happen. It would have required a more intensive training program for the trainers to have done much more.

One of the coordinators expressed the opinion that had there been time, it would have been better to have "more quality, less quantity" in the trainers. She did acknowledge that in the setting of the program, "more quantity, less quality" was the only way to accomplish what they did. Despite the desire to accomplish more civic education, the fact that such a large program was launched can be seen as a major accomplishment.

F.4 Materials and radio programming

The printed materials aimed at basic levels of information to supplement the training program. The use of photographs and simple text was used to communicate to an audience with low literacy levels. The tabloid production was very popular as it put information into the voters' hands which could be taken home and shared with others.

Although the reach of the radio serial cannot be measured, those who had heard it expressed positive comments. The production of the segments in several languages was important to reach all groups. "Receiving a message in our own language is important to people" said one listener.

F.5 Developing skills in the community

A major component of any community-based education program is to develop a civic culture with increased skills and motivation. The Vota Mocambique program involved nearly 200 Mozambicans from all parts of the country who organized workshops with community groups and made presentations on an on-going basis. Amongst the newly acquired skills which were mentioned by various staff persons were self-confidence, communication skills, an appreciation of the importance of education in the community, a sense of teamwork in an organization, and new learning and training techniques. For persons whose only previous experience with learning was to do it by rote, it was stimulating to encourage questions and to use simulation methods to train. There was a desire to have feedback and to improve.

The program has been successful in developing skills in a group of people who are active in their communities. Many of these trainers were involved in community activities before they were recruited and will continue in an activist role following the election. The new confidence, mobility and organizational skills gained in the program can only enhance their involvement.

F.6 Continuity of civic education

Most of the people interviewed agreed that the civic education program should not end with the election. The program was seen as too important to end it abruptly as citizens would need information about their rights and responsibilities in a democratic country. There was a sincere desire by those involved to work for the betterment of their country and education was identified as a priority. At the same time, there was a recognition that Mozambique will need assistance to carry out programs which can mobilize the newly-acquired skills and establish on-going programs.

G. Recommendations

1. A longer time frame is essential for the electorate to learn about democracy and a democratic culture. Funds need to be available to set up an office, to staff it, to develop a plan and to design materials, at least tentatively, prior to the beginning of the program especially when the final go-ahead is awaiting electoral legislation or the appointment of a commission. In this way, there is a framework ready when the program starts.
2. When the conditions exist so that there can only be a short-term voter education program before an election, the project needs to build in a post-election educational program which will continue the democratization process. Post-election training programs for national staff would prepare them to continue the civic education program to prepare citizens for a democratic society.

3. With a short-term voter education program, more attention needs to be given to materials preparation. More emphasis could be put on democratic concepts in a poster or pamphlet or in a page of the tabloid paper. The rights of voters to attend political meetings, to choose a party or candidate by asking questions, to understand what happens to the losers, etc., could be depicted simply by photographs. It is important that these materials be tested with voters to ensure that the message is clear to those who cannot read. These issues could be dealt with in the voter presentations, too, by drawing up a simple core program outline which could be the basis for training the trainers and for their subsequent presentations.

4. Whether the program is short-term or long-term, it is important to have enough staff available so that monitoring can be done in the field. This would assist in upgrading skills and building morale.

5. It is important to investigate the reasons for the large number of blank ballots cast in Mozambique's election. If any information can be discovered about this problem, it would be invaluable for future voter education programs.

6. It would be useful to build into a future program a project to measure the reach and impact of radio broadcasts. It is generally accepted that radio is a powerful medium in many countries to reach voters but some random sampling or surveys would be helpful to confirm it.

7. The internal evaluation process built into the Vota Mocambique program is a valuable model for future programs. At each stage, the staff could make adjustments and changes to benefit the program based on the focus groups, the report-backs of the trainers, the distribution data-base and the reports from the coordinators. The external evaluator found that the staff, both in Maputo and the regions, were aware of any weaknesses that were detected. With a similar evaluation process in future programs, it would not be necessary to have an external evaluator. The senior NDI staff were very objective in their assessments and were ready to discuss future improvements which they could recommend.

H. Appendices

H.1 Evaluator's biography

Judy Thompson is an election administrator from Canada who worked for Elections Manitoba for several years, eventually serving as Deputy Chief Electoral Officer. Ms. Thompson chaired a national committee to develop educational initiatives for first-time voters. She was instrumental in developing information materials and programs for the illiterate, the homeless, the disabled, native Canadians and new Canadians.

Ms. Thompson served with the United Nations in Cambodia as Deputy Chief Electoral Officer for Training, Education and Communications. She worked with the Independent Elections Commission in South Africa as an advisor on training and was a Commonwealth Observer in Malawi. Ms. Thompson recently completed a contract with the United Nations in Mozambique where she was chief of training in the Electoral Division.

H.2 Interviews

Charlotte Cerf, Director, Vota Mocambique, NDI
Amy Marshall, Program Assistant, NDI
Tito Farias, Operations Officer, NDI
Angela Abdula, Production Assistant, NDI

Otilia Aquino, National Training Coordinator and Regional Training Coordinator, Southern Region
Lisa Bornstein, Regional Training Coordinator, Central Region
Andy Scheiner, Regional Training Coordinator, Northern Region

Beatriz Manuel, Provincial Coordinator, Gaza
Ivette M'Boa, Provincial Coordinator, Maputo Province

Antonio Carrasco, Department of Civic Education, STAE

Shirley Skorbiansky, Chief, Civic Education and Media Unit, ONUMOZ

United Nations Volunteers (UNVs), ONUMOZ (Debriefing Session, approximately 40)

Provincial Coordinators and Deputy Provincial Coordinators, ONUMOZ (Debriefing session, approximately 20)

Voters, random sample of voters in Maputo and at a community outside Maputo