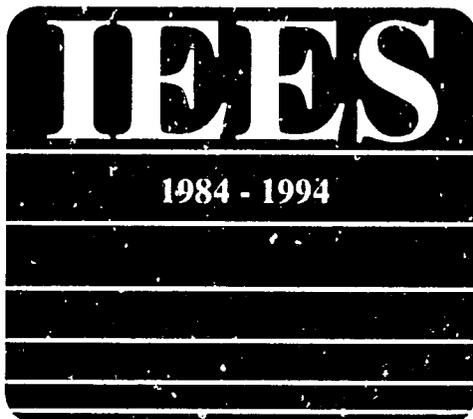

MOZAMBIQUE

Education Sector Assessment

Avaliação da Educação

July 1992



English text with a
Portuguese Summary

Texto em Inglês com
Resumo em Português
(Apêndice)

Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems
Learning Systems Institute
Florida State University

A USAID Project

**IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY
• OF •
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS**

1984-1994

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The Education Sector Assessment that follows was requested by USAID/Mozambique to provide a basis for studying the possible future involvement of the Mission in the education sector. The Assessment was produced by a team contracted by the USAID-funded Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems project at Florida State University.

The members of the Education Sector Assessment Team would like to express their appreciation to the many people who assisted our work in Mozambique. Within the USAID Mission we would like to extend special thanks to Luisa Capelão, who displayed extraordinary energy and patience both in helping us to arrange our many meetings in Maputo and in explaining to us aspects of the Mozambican educational system which we might otherwise have misunderstood. We are also grateful to Deputy Director Jack Miller for providing support and guidance in every phase of our work.

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We are especially grateful to our friend and colleague, Mr. Cremildo Binana, who made many of the difficult logistical arrangements for our visits to the field, and who accompanied us on our journey to Chimoio, Quelimane, and Sofala.

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Finally, we would like to extend our gratitude to the students, teachers, and administrators whose schools and classrooms we visited. We were invariably impressed by their dedication and seriousness of purpose under what are often extremely difficult conditions, and we wish for them a brighter future in a country at peace.

K. Peter Dzvimbo
David N. Plank, Team Leader
Carlos Alberto Torres
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASDI	Swedish Agency for International Development
CEGRAF	Centro de Formação e Produção Gráfica
CFPP	Centro de Formação de Professores Primários
CPF	Centro de Formação Profissional
DIFAP	Direcção Nacional de Formação e Aperfeiçoamento Profissional
DINAME	Distribuidora de Material Escolar
DINET	Direcção Nacional de Ensino Técnico
DINIDA	Danish Agency for International Development
DP	Direcção de Planificação
EP1	Ensino Primário do Primeiro Grau
EP2	Ensino Primário do Segundo Grau
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
ESG	Ensino Secundário Geral
EPU	Ensino Pre-Universitário
FINNIDA	Finnish Agency for International Development
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação Moçambicano
FDR	German Democratic Republic
GRM	Government of the Republic of Mozambique
IAP	Instituto de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores
IDA	International Development Agency
IDIL	Instituto para o Desenvolvimento da Indústria Local
IMP	Instituto Médio Pedagógico
INDE	Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento de Educação
IPI	Instituto Pedagógico Industrial
ISP	Instituto Superior Pedagógico
ISRI	Instituto Superior de Relações Internacionais
MINED	Ministério da Educação
MINTRA	Ministério do Trabalho
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicano
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries
SETEP	Secretaria de Estado de Educação Técnico-Profissional
SNE	Sistema Nacional de Educação
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Commission
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

By the World Bank's reckoning, Mozambique is the poorest country in the world, with a per capita GDP of approximately US\$80. Some two-thirds of the population live in absolute poverty, unable to satisfy basic nutritional needs.

The poverty of the country is reflected in the educational system. Only about a third of primary school-aged children are enrolled in school. The percentages of children enrolled at higher levels of the educational system are even smaller. Only 3,000 students are enrolled at the University, out of a population of about 15 million.

Despite these very low levels of enrollment, standards of expenditure, physical infrastructure, instructional quality, and student achievement are extremely low. In primary schools most teachers have completed only six years of primary schooling and one year of professional training. Many schools cannot function in the rain, and students are often seated on the floor. Textbooks and instructional materials are in short supply. Administrators have no specialized training.

Conditions are similar in secondary and tertiary level institutions. Teachers are minimally qualified, books are scarce, and laboratories and libraries are entirely inadequate, when they exist at all. Standards of student achievement are low, and higher level institutions have trouble recruiting qualified candidates.

These problems are partly attributable to the war, which has had a devastating impact on the Mozambican educational system. Between 1983 and 1989, 3,100 primary schools were reportedly destroyed by RENAMO, affecting 800,000 students and 12,500 teachers. In addition, however, difficulties are caused by administrative problems within the education sector, including a lack of trained administrators at all levels of the system and vigorous competition for resources among institutions.

As a consequence of these problems and the straitened fiscal circumstances of the government, educational planning and policy-making are subject to a very heavy influence from foreign donors, including especially the World Bank. Donor support already amounts to more than 40 percent of total educational expenditure.

Nevertheless, the educational system continues to function. Teachers are in their classrooms, school directors are in their offices, and provincial and district administrators are knowledgeable about the schools under their authority. Parents make tremendous sacrifices to enroll their children in school. The problems of the system are primarily due to a lack of resources, not to a lack of effort or commitment.

Assistance to the sector must take account of these very difficult circumstances. Aid should be provided in such a way that it shifts resources to schools as efficiently and directly as possible. This might be achieved by trying to obviate normal administrative channels, heavily centralized at the Ministry of Education, and providing material and financial support directly to schools. Preferably, greater efficiency might be achieved by engaging, to at least a certain degree, in activities to raise the Ministry's administrative and sector management capacity. Insofar as possible, any actions undertaken should not add to the administrative burden borne by the Ministry of Education or to the recurrent cost burden borne by the government.

One way in which an efficient, direct transfer of funds to education might be accomplished is through the provision of non-project assistance, accompanied by appropriate policy conditionalities

and a program of targeted technical assistance. As a complementary strategy, a program of matching grants could be established to fund local and private initiatives in the basic educational system.

Another clear need in the educational system is for in-service training for teachers and administrators now employed in the schools. Virtually no in-service training is now provided, neither by the government nor by the donors, and a project in this area could yield large dividends.

These and additional options for donor support to the sector are discussed more fully in the final chapter of the report.

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CHAPTER 1

ISSUES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

1.1 Access, Equity, Quality and Efficiency

After Independence, the education system was considered a central component of the revolutionary project of a new society. Primary education and adult literacy were considered the cornerstones of this new education. The post-colonial regime inherited an economy, society and education system devastated by a lack of investment by Portugal and by the war of liberation. Although education in colonial times in Mozambique is under-researched, it is argued 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.

The new regime was slow in putting together the pieces of a new primary education system. A coherent educational policy was first defined in 1978, and a new educational policy, which introduced changes at all levels, was approved in 1983. Changes in the government outlook toward more pragmatic political and economic strategies in 1987-88 brought about a large increase in support from international donors. In cooperation with the Mozambican government, they have supported efforts to improve access and increase equality and efficiency in the education system, and to upgrade the quality of Mozambican education.

Severe problems remain, however. The deterioration of the Mozambican economy, the fragmentation of the State's ability to plan and implement a consistent primary educational policy in the whole country, its extremely low human capital base, and the destruction caused by the war have implications in terms of access and equity to primary education. These consequences also constrain the level of efficiency and quality of the primary education system. The war especially has brought about the closure of hundreds of primary schools, mainly in rural areas, severely undermining the availability, quality, and development of primary education. The decline in national primary school enrollment is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1
Years in Which Primary School Enrollment Declined

Year	Total Enrollment	Girls' Enrollment	Girls' %
1980	1,467,091	613,069	41.8
1981	1,455,083	618,561	42.5
1982	1,413,796	599,589	42.4
1983	1,311,183	551,763	42.1
1986	1,419,530	615,141	43.3
1987	1,362,838	592,050	43.4
1988	1,296,049	554,031	42.7

Source: GRM. June 1991. "Policy Framework Paper"

Table 1.2 shows that the primary education system, from the time of Independence, has followed a very erratic pattern of enrollment growth. First, the system experienced a steep increase immediately after Independence, followed by three years of sustained growth averaging slightly more than five percent per year, and then falling during another cycle of four years of up to 8.5 percent in a given year. However, the rate of growth improved substantially in 1984, perhaps as a result of the reorganization of the education system. Growth continued for two years, fell again in 1988, but has recovered since. Thus, rather than consistent improvement or, conversely, systematic deterioration in the capacity of the system to enroll pupils, we observe a configuration with peaks and valleys. It is interesting to note that the upper level of primary education (EP2) has grown consistently throughout the period, with the notable exception of 1987, when there were no admissions at this level because of the introduction of the 5th grade in the EP1 level.

Second, girls remain under-represented at all levels of the system. Nonetheless, the figures in Table 1.2 show that enrollment of girls has improved substantially in primary education since Independence. Girls represented only 34 percent of pupils in 1975, but represented 43 percent by 1990. This trend is even more marked in the upper primary grades (EP2), where the enrollment of girls grew in all but two years.

Table 1.2
Mozambican Primary Education Enrollment and Growth

Year	Enseñanza de Primer Grau: 1º - 5º				Enseñanza de Primer Grau: 6º - 7º classe					
	Total	Growth	Women	%	Growth	Total	Growth	Women	%	Growth
1975	671,617	--	227,554	33.9	--	20,430	--	8,931	43.7	--
1976	1,276,500	99.8	518,900	40.7	128	32,304	58.1	11,070	34.3	24
1977	1,363,000	6.8	557,910	40.9	6.9	43,468	34.6	13,208	30.4	19.3
1978	1,426,282	4.6	584,423	41.0	4.7	62,660	44.1	18,202	28.0	37.8
1979	1,498,729	5.1	627,370	41.9	7.3	85,401	36.3	24,349	28.5	33.8
1980	1,387,192	-7.4	590,101	42.5	-5.9	79,899	-6.4	22,968	28.7	-5.7
1981	1,376,868	-0.7	594,393	43.2	0.7	78,215	-2.1	24,158	30.9	5.2
1982	1,333,050	-3.2	574,132	43.1	-3.4	80,746	3.2	25,457	31.5	5.3
1983	1,220,139	-8.5	522,073	42.8	-9.1	91,044	12.7	29,690	32.6	16.6
1984	1,303,650	6.8	562,823	43.2	7.8	103,970	14.2	33,421	32.1	12.6
1985	1,311,014	0.6	575,748	43.9	2.3	111,283	7.0	37,362	33.6	11.8
1986	1,305,582	-0.4	574,380	44.0	-0.2	113,948	2.4	40,761	35.8	9.1
1987	1,286,961	-1.4	564,271	43.8	-1.8	75,877	-33.4	27,779	36.6	-31.8
1988	1,199,669	-6.8	524,271	43.7	-7.1	96,380	27.0	29,760	30.9	7.1
1989	1,210,671	0.9	527,028	43.5	0.5	96,907	0.5	37,534	38.7	26.1
1990	1,260,218	4.1	542,908	43.1	3.0	115,885	19.6	*****	***	***
1991	1,206,278	-4.5	497,787	41.3	-8.3	117,644	1.5	45,772	38.9	***

Elaborated with data from Ministério da Educação, Direcção de Planificação, Subsistema de Educação Geral. Evolução de Número de alunos matriculados por níveis de ensino. Anexo 5. Maputo, Mozambique, November 2, 1990. For 1991. Estatística da Educação. Levantamento Escolar-1991. Dados Preliminares. Maputo, July 1991.

The war has deeply affected primary education. During 1983-1989, 3,110 primary schools were closed down in the country. This constituted, in the estimation of the Ministry of Education, approximately 53 percent of the total primary school system.¹

What the war has perhaps affected the most in terms of access is the regional distribution of schooling. With the war and security problems, particularly after 1982, the urban areas (and especially the City of Maputo), have received more than their fair share of educational resources. This may be described as a process of educational investment by default. The government essentially has the ability to invest only in those areas under its control, or which are considered reasonably safe. Thus, although good data are not available, schools in rural areas have likely been systematically neglected in the past few years. In some provinces, particularly in the rural areas of Tete and Zambézia, more than 80 percent of the total lower primary education (EP1) schools have been closed down. Throughout the country in lower primary education more than 50 percent of the school network has been destroyed.

Lower primary education schooling has been the level most affected by the war, particularly from 1982. Overall, between 1983 and 1989, 807,926 pupils and 12,515 teachers were affected. Destruction has been more extensive in rural areas, but it has also varied by region. For instance, in Tete destruction of school facilities reached 89 percent, but in Cabo Delgado only six percent of schools were destroyed. Upper primary education and secondary education have been less affected: of the 176 schools existing in 1976, only 32 were destroyed, displacing 13,300 students and 560 teachers in five provinces. These schools are usually situated in the urban areas, and thus are better protected against RENAMO's attacks.

An additional problem results from the demands for education by Mozambique's war refugees. A report from the Directorate of Planning in the Ministry of Education has estimated that 82,699 pupils continue their education in Zimbabwe and Malawi, under the guidance of 733 refugee Mozambican teachers, with a student/teacher ratio of 113:1. These teachers are either paid by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, or by the host governments.

The Vice-Minister of Education in a public presentation lamented that due to the war, a great number of children cannot be offered a place in the schools, and that only one-third of Mozambican children of school age are enrolled in 1992. Regarding those who have enrolled, the government complains of low school achievement: "Promotion rates are never above 60 percent, repetition rates are always above 20 percent, and dropout rates are around 30 percent. Between 25 to 30 percent of the pupils enrolled at EP1 level each year are repeaters. More than one-third of a cohort of 1,000 pupils leave school without concluding the 5th grade. The deterioration of quality at this level affects pupils progression and quality throughout the whole system. The University is carrying out a six-months program which is aimed at reducing the negative impact of the low quality of the EPU graduate on the University graduates."²

The deterioration in school quality has been pervasive. Class sizes increased substantially and the school year was in practice shortened with the introduction of three shifts of 3 1/2 hours each. Instruction appears to focus on a bare minimum of content to be taught while examinations seem to cover the totality of subject matter prescribed in the official curriculum, further increasing school failure rates. As a result, repetition and school dropout rates in Mozambican primary schools are

1 Direcção de Planificação, Impacto da Guerra no Sector de Educação, Ministerio de Educaçã, September 1990. Mimeographed.

2 People's Republic of Mozambique, Op. cit, page 3.

extremely high. According to Palme's study, more than 25 percent of the total pupil population drop out in each new grade.³ In some rural districts, such as Nampula, he estimated that only 50 out of 1,000 Grade 1 beginners among girls graduate from Grade 5.

Our own observations confirm the high repetition rate of Mozambican children, even at the lower grades. At the beginning of the school year in three urban and peripheral schools in the city of Quelimane, we found that 19 out of 60, 11 out of 36 and eight out of 45 second grade pupils, respectively, were repeaters (see Table 1.3).

When we observed third graders, we found a similar situation: 23 out of 39 pupils in a given classroom in Sinapura had repeated at least one grade. Twelve from this group had repeated the second grade, and eleven the third grade. When we asked sixth graders in an EP2 school in Quelimane, only eleven out of 38 had never repeated at least one grade.

According to data from the Ministry of Education for March, 1991, 298,107 students out of 1,217,364 repeated their grade in lower primary schools, an average of 24.5 percent. The situation in upper primary education is even worse: for March 1990, of a total of 116,718 students who concluded the sixth and seventh grades, 31,910, or 27.3 percent had repeated their grade. In Maputo, one of the best EP2 schools (Polana) had an enrollment of 3,091 students in its day shifts, of whom 1,101 (35.6%) repeated in 1991 — 484 boys and 617 girls.

Classrooms are crowded, sometimes with 55-60 and up to 80 students per teacher, and with children of very diverse ages, academic abilities and experiences joined together. The classrooms in our sample show an impressive diversity, with an age range of five years in each grade. For instance, in grade three in Sinapura, only five children out of 39 were nine years of age, the expected age for third graders. The majority were 10 and 11 years old, and some were 13 and 14 years old. This is the trend in virtually every classroom visited (see Table 1.3).

Poverty and austerity have further damaged the education system in a variety of ways. In real terms, teachers' salaries have been sharply reduced, prompting teachers' strikes, particularly among the lowest paid (category E) teachers in the last two years. The availability of pupil materials seems to have decreased. Although textbooks have been printed, either children of rural and poor families cannot afford them, or they do not reach students at all, as described in Chapter VI. This also has important implications in terms of educational achievement and social equality. In some of the classrooms visited, as far as books are concerned, social/economic differentiation was rampant. In one classroom, for instance, 25 pupils in grade six had all their notebooks, and 13 had none. In another classroom in the same school a handful of third graders had all or some of the required textbooks, while 22 pupils had none.

Principals, teachers, and parents have reported to us that there is a serious problem with the management of textbooks in the schools. A school principal in Quelimane complained that the much needed history textbooks have been in a warehouse in Beira for three years, without being distributed to the schools. Even if books were to be distributed free of charge for the schools, particularly in rural areas, there is no furniture to house the books in locked bookcases. Thus, textbooks frequently disappear.

3 Mikael Palme, *Repetition and Drop Out in Mozambique's Primary Schools*. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education and Planning and External Relations Department Ministry of Education, Mozambique, February 25, 1991, mimeographed.

Table 1.3
A Comparison of Several Indicators in Schools Visited in the Provinces of Zambesia, Manica and Nambula

Classroom/School	Students	Girls	Repeaters	Books	Ages
EP2, 6th grade/Chimoio	33	10	--	24 (math)	--
EP1, 5th grade/Chimoio	35	19	--	6=15* 5=14 4=4 3=2	11=8** 12=16 13=6 14=5
EP1, 2nd grade/Aeroporto Quelimane	60	35	19	--	7=4 8=9 9=17 10=18 11=3 12=9
EP1, 2nd grade/Aeroporto Quelimane	36	25	11	3=20 2=11 1=8 0=9	7=6 8=15 9=11 10=2 11=2
EP1, 2nd grade/Sinapura Quelimane	45	23	8	3=4 2=20 1=6 0=11	7=11 8=12 9=6 10=3 11=6
EP1, 3rd grade/Sinapura Quelimane	39	23	11 (3rd grade) 12 (2nd grade)	3=3 2=6 1=6 0=11	9=5 10=16 11=19 12=4 13=3
EP1, 1st grade/Sinapura Quelimane	53	31	none	2=25 1=8 0=7 nd=13	5=5 6=28 7=14 10=1 nd=5
EP2, 6th grade/Quelimane	38	19	11 (6th grade) 23 (all other grades) 11 (never repeated)	5=25* 0=13	11=1 12=8 13=24 14=5
EPU, 11th grade/Quelimane	32	12	--	--	--
EP1, 2nd grade/Maputo	60	32	3	1=50	6=15 7=30 8=4 9=1 10=2 11=2
EP1, 3rd grade/Maputo	55	26	8	3=42 2=9 1=2 0=3	6=1 7=6 8=17 9=14 10=10 11=4 13=2
EP1, 5th grade/Maputo	57	25	1=18 2=14 3=11 4=2	5=37 4=10 3=5 1=1 0=1	10=6 12=13 14=5 15+=2
EP2, 6th grade/Maputo	42	31	none	5=30 4=6 3=3 2=2	10=26 11=16

* Notebooks . ** Age and Number of students.

With structural adjustment policies, the government is working towards a policy of full cost recovery, requiring parents to buy textbooks and workbooks for their children. This is an onerous burden for most Mozambican households, two-thirds of whom live in absolute poverty. The official minimum monthly salary is 40,000 *meticais*, or slightly more than twenty dollars; the salary of a skilled worker is roughly twice as much. Public education is very expensive for a peasant family, who often has more than one child in school. In general, a family pays 1,500 *meticais* for the *processo* (initial fee for school record-keeping), and 500 *meticais* as an annual enrollment fee. They also pay 2,000 to 4,000 *meticais* per textbook, with three to five textbooks per grade, depending on the grade; and 350 *meticais* per notebook, with at least two required per discipline per year. Beyond this, they are expected to purchase a geographic atlas at a cost of 480-500 *meticais*, as well as pencils, rulers, and so on. Total expenditures may thus amount to 20,000 *meticais* per child per year, excluding the cost of transportation and clothing. Expenditures on this order are clearly beyond the means of many households: in one school we visited, more than 20 percent of the children who presented themselves for enrollment had been turned away because they could not pay the 500 *meticais* enrollment fee.

Although statistics are not readily available, and the figures that are widely circulated may not be in fact as reliable as some of our informants assume, reports indicate that only 10 percent of those who enter grade one of primary school ever reach grade six. In some Provinces (e.g., Gaza, and Tete) only five percent of those who conclude lower primary (EP1) can be chosen to enter grade six (EP2). There is consensus within the GRM that the system cannot afford to offer a place to every student qualified to enter EP2.

The same is true of the transition from EP2 to secondary schools. For instance, in a rural EP2 school in Namacata, in the district of Nicuadala, last year 129 students passed the seventh grade. However, there were only sixty places available in the nearest secondary school for grade 8, in Quelimane, 15 kilometers away. Obviously, competition to get into secondary schools is fierce, and the rural children who graduate from Namacata are likely to have difficulties competing for placement with their urban counterparts. The competition for places by urban students is reported to be equally fierce. According to the Director of the EP2 school of Polana, 580 students graduated in 1991, but only 128 found placement in a post-primary institution: 70 students in general secondary education, 28 students in commercial schools, and 30 students in industrial-vocational schools.

According to teachers, placement is decided on the basis of a list of students ranked according to their GPA and age. Since this is such a crucial step in a student's academic mobility, perhaps this is one of the clear situations where discrimination and corruption may take place. Informal reports that school places are "sold" to prospective students were received from multiple sources in Maputo and Beira, but it is impossible to know how widespread this practice has become. Indications from the MINED are that this is still not a generalized practice. However, in the words of the Educational Inspector of the province of Manica: "the transit from one educational level to the next is open war." A Director of an EP2 School in Maputo argued that he is highly suspicious of GPA scores after the several teachers' strikes in the last two years. This senior administrator confessed openly that he has lost confidence and trust in teachers' grading, and that several cases of corruption have been identified. Thus, his solution is simple: he assigns priority placement to the youngest students who graduated, who in fact might be those who have not repeated any grade, thus showing good academic performance. This criterion may serve as a proxy for academic achievement if the age of entrance to school is standardized, and norms are upheld. However, in classroom observation in two second grades in Maputo, we found many (17 percent) children who entered the first grade who were above the standard age of matriculation, seven years (see Table 1.3).

When public schools cannot cope with the demand for primary schooling, many students look for alternatives in the private sector. The GRM first authorized private schools to function in 1990. The GRM is unable to provide many new schools, and there are a number of facilities now being operated as public schools that were previously owned and/or operated by the Catholic Church that could be returned to their owners. Under present laws, such a return is not authorized, nor does the Government have any plans to change this stance. The Vice-Minister of Education has stated categorically, though, that, "Private schools will not solve the needs (*carências*) or difficulties of the State." The Church apparently remains interested in working with MINED to expand the availability of schooling across the country.

1.2 Teacher Training and Supply of Teachers

Teachers are trained at three levels. First, there are the Centers for Training of Primary Education Teachers. Applicants should have completed primary education (EP2), and they receive three years of further pedagogical training. If students want to teach at secondary level, they have to study two extra years. Second, there are the *Institutos Médios Pedagógicos*, or teacher training colleges that train secondary school teachers. Applicants should have completed secondary education and receive training for two years. Third, the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico* prepares teachers for secondary and pre-university levels.

Salaries are based on educational qualifications, as follows:

- Category A – University degree;
- Category B – 13 years of education;
- Category C – 11 years of education;
- Category D – 9 years of education; and
- Category E – 7 years of education.

The majority of teachers are Category E teachers. For instance, a survey of teachers in upper primary education (EP2, morning shift) shows that 701 (30 percent) teachers have less than nine years of education, 1,450 (62 percent) have nine years of education, and only 170 (8 percent) teachers have 10 or more years of education.⁴

In an EP1 school in Maputo, the distribution of teachers' credentials is as follows: 30 teachers with seven years of education, two with nine years of education, one with *magistério* (teaching degree in the Portuguese colonies) and seven without professional training. In an EP2 in Maputo, 81 teachers have nine years of education, 12 eleven years of education, and the rest were either without training but allowed (*habilitado*) to teach, or had a title of *magistério*. In addition to limited training, teachers are also very young (see Figure 1.1).

The modal age of EP1 teachers in Maputo is 30 years; in EP2 it is 29. In EP2, 50 percent of the teachers are between 25 and 30 years of age. The general feeling of government officials is that many of these young primary education teachers are badly trained and that many of them have little more education than their own students. Opportunities for in-service training are practically non-existent. In the opinion of the Vice-Minister of Education, the only short-term solution is to rely on textbooks. Considering the serious problems of textbook distribution, this solution in the short-run might not be sufficient. On the other hand, increasing the years of education of teachers, and or the qualifications of the teaching profession may increase the demands of teachers for better salaries, and in fact it may

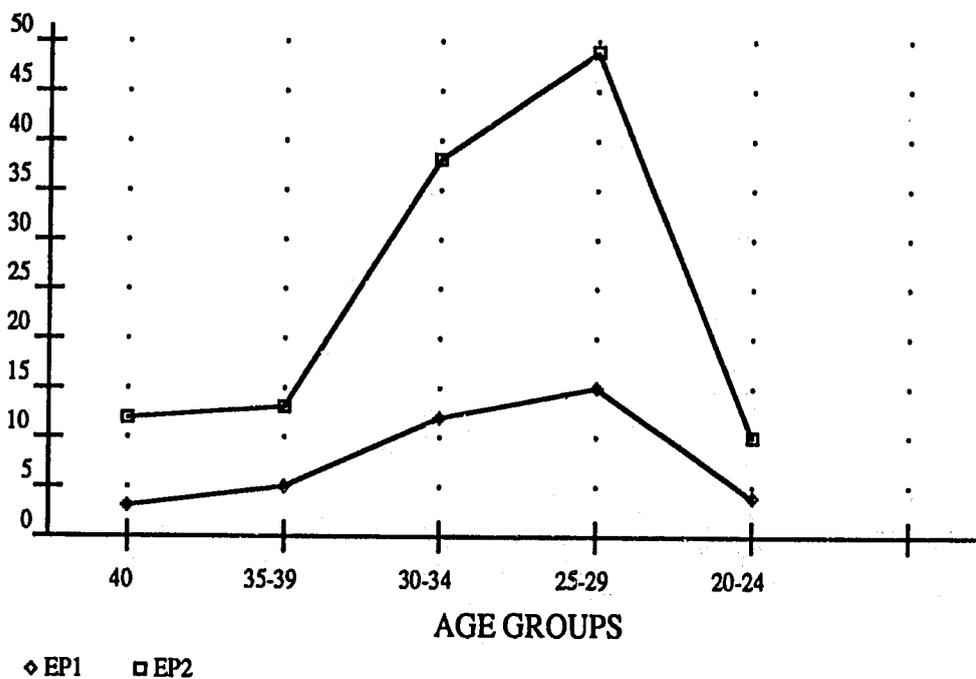
4 Ministério da Educação. *Professores EP2. Resumo Final*. July 16, 1991. Mimeographed, p. 1.

increase the overall wage bill of the government. Thus, the Mozambique government confronts a classic dilemma, clearly perceived by the World Bank:

Increasing the general education requirement for primary school teachers could be unaffordable in many low-income developing countries. Civil service pay scales are often based on educational attainment and teachers are typically included in the civil service. Thus these countries face a predicament: if they raise teachers' educational levels, they incur severe financial obligations they can ill afford. Such countries should consider separating teacher salary scales from civil service scales based on educational attainment. Otherwise, their only option may be to recruit less well-educated but affordable teachers and then invest more in supplementary interventions to sustain student learning.⁵

Figure 1.1

EP1 & EP2 Teachers (Maputo)



An additional problem is the growing disparity between the need to increase the training of teachers and the limited current market for newly trained teachers (due largely to the on-going war). On the one hand, in the eleven centers for primary teacher training in 1991, 3,233 teachers (of first, second and third year) were trained, 2,185 as *internatos* in boarding schools, at a very high cost to the government. On the other hand, the Director of the *Centro de Formação de Maestros de Escola*

⁵ The World Bank. *A World Bank Policy Paper. Primary Education*. Washington, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1990, p. 5.

Primária in the Province of Manica told us that, since 1989, not all graduates from the Center have been able to find jobs. In 1991, only six teachers were employed, while the rest of their 120 graduates remained unemployed, or accepted jobs in a textile enterprise as skilled workers.

The Mozambican education system thus faces another dilemma. With the foreseeable end of the war, and the need to rebuild a solid education system, a greater number of teachers will need to be trained and re-trained. It can be anticipated that much of the currently unemployed trained teachers will be absorbed relatively quickly back into the schools once the war ends. However, with the current ceilings for public expenditure, an accelerated expansion of public employment in education does not seem likely, or even possible. Only with a substantial increase in the share of GRM resources devoted to education (and continuing support from donors) can any of the GRM's educational objectives be achieved.

1.3 Textbooks and Instructional Materials

Textbook production and distribution has been an area of relative success for the GRM, though some problems remain. The philosophy of the government is that textbooks should be produced by practicing teachers and not exclusively by curriculum experts at the central level. With the school reform of 1983, an effort has been made to produce textbooks for every educational level of primary education. Currently, there is an educational enterprise that produces the books, CEGRAF (*Centro de Formação Gráfica*) which in fact falls administratively under the Ministry of Information. Another state enterprise, DINAME, (*Distribuidora Nacional de Material Escolar*) distributes the books. In addition, private merchants transport and sell books in the provinces. Until 1991, books were subsidized, and sold at only 15 percent of their values. Currently the government is operating on the basis of full cost recovery, with the provision of a profit margin for intermediaries/distributors. Overall, between five and six million books are produced and distributed per year. In the view of the Vice-Minister, this amount is satisfactory in the short-run, but capacity should be expanded in the long-run. For the academic year 1992, a system of free-textbooks for poor families who cannot afford to buy the books (the *Caixa Escolar*) is being established with assistance from ASDI.

1.4 Curriculum and Instructional Methods

An evaluation of the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa found that teachers in primary schools generally have a poor command of the official language, Portuguese. This leads to poor learning outcomes in basic education, because Portuguese is the vehicle for instruction. In addition, there is insufficient knowledge of mathematics subjects and poor mastery of relevant teaching skills among primary school teachers. This results in poor acquisition of basic mathematics skills by learners. Finally, the teaching styles of the majority of primary school teachers are based on memorization of knowledge rather than on active learning. Thus, traditional teaching methods may undermine the acquisition of usable and relevant skills and knowledge both at the secondary school level and in the workplace and home for those students not proceeding beyond EP1 or EP2. In addition, young teachers pose additional challenges to educational planning, not only because they will be around longer, thus calling for stepping up in-service training, but also because they have just recently been socialized in the fairly traditional Mozambican educational model.

Classroom observation shows that student-teachers behave just like they were young kids. For instance, when we entered the classroom during a session of Methodology of Teaching Mathematics with second year students at a *Centro de Formação de Maestros de Escola Primária*, the students stood up and said as a chorus: "*Bon dia senhor*". When addressed by their instructor, they responded collectively, as would be expected from little children. If asked individually a question, they stood up with their hands behind their backs and answered with great deference. This example and many others

reflect the rigidity of teachers' training, its emphasis on classroom discipline for successful teaching and learning (even among adults), and the implications for curriculum and instruction.

As an additional example, in the same discussion on the teaching of mathematics, the instructor discussed the concepts of high and low, and the need for teachers to use the environment of their students to draw examples of those concepts. He referred them to trees and bushes, and the students took careful note of the examples. These will likely be repeated incessantly by most in their own teaching. We did not observe any invitation to develop creativity in explaining mathematical concepts using examples from children's surroundings.

However, there are teachers struggling to overcome the deficiencies of the system, with varied success. For instance, in a conversation with teachers in a rural EP2 school in the province of Zambézia, we heard the complaint that teachers do not have books or materials, and that very often the only input students have access to is the lecture by the teacher. Teachers, in turn, without having access to libraries or books, rely on notes from their courses in teacher training institutions. To improve this situation, some teachers in this rural school attempted to collect information for a book of history, and they even organized a manuscript. However, they did not have access to a typewriter to type the manuscript. The project was postponed indefinitely!

In spite of these problems, the system seems to work. A visit to a 5th grade classroom at an EP1 rural school 15 kilometers from Quelimane is illustrative. Most of the children were barefoot. The students had brought brooms from home to clean the school. There were 39 children in the classroom. Twenty – 13 boys and seven girls – did not have chairs, and they stood or rested on their four-people desks. The heat in the classroom was intense.

The teacher conducted a Portuguese class, in a classroom which was a rustic building with two large bins supporting a split roof of corrugated carton. Several lizards played joyfully on the walls while the children, divided in two groups, read aloud a text in Portuguese. The teacher had written the title of the lesson on the blackboard, a piece of wood painted green nailed to the wall. The age difference of the pupils was notable: teenagers sat side by side with little children.

The teacher, who had no book, borrowed one from a student to follow the reading exercise. After the exercise of collective reading was over, the teacher, who was conducting a placement test, asked individual pupils to read aloud.

Child 1: Read fluently, no comment from teacher.

Child 2: Read fluently, no comment from teacher.

Child 3: Read with some difficulty, and made many mistakes. The teacher ordered him to read it at home at least three times.

Child 4: Read with great difficulty and some hesitation, but no comment from teacher.

Child 5: Read well, no comment from teacher.

Child 6: Read with some difficulty; the teacher helped him occasionally.

The children behaved exceedingly well and seemed to follow the exercise without any difficulty. Discipline is reportedly not an issue in Mozambican schools. Some children spend three and a half hours standing behind their desks, a remarkable effort. Many others sit on the floor. One cannot help but wonder what their attention span is, and their ability to profit from classroom instruction under those conditions? However, they seemed to be happy to be in school.

1.5 Community/Parental Participation

The *Escola Primária do Aeroporto* in Quelimane is an example of how community participation can promote basic education aims. Located in a shanty town, most of the population are *deslocados*,

displaced by the war. The area is poor but clean, the school's classrooms are made of clay and straw. From the outside, the rooms seem to be dark and unsuitable for instruction. Inside, this is confirmed: lighting is barely sufficient, and most of the children try to sit in the front rows to take advantage of whatever light comes through the door. There is no running water, and classrooms are built without cement floors. The Provincial Direction of Education pays the salary of the teachers, but all of the classrooms were constructed by the community.

The precariousness of the building did not seem to upset the more than 600 children in the day shift. Demand for schooling seems very high. At the beginning of the academic year of 1992, many parents were observed waiting patiently in the sun to receive confirmation that their children had been enrolled at schools. Children waiting to be enrolled stood patiently outside the classrooms, listening to the lessons being conducted inside.

There are romantic tales about community support of their local school, such as the one in the *Distrito de Alto Malócué*, a rural area in the Province of Zambézia. Facing an attack by RENAMO a year ago, the community reportedly moved away, carrying with them their most basic belongings and the essential furniture to re-establish the school for their children. Once settled away from the disputed area, the community built new classrooms, and school activities resumed.

In the current conditions of civil war in Mozambique, it is difficult to assess quantitatively the extent of community and parental participation in schools in most parts of the country. However, there are many indications that communities, particularly in the rural areas, are eager to have their children attending primary education, and in many cases they have provided labor to build the schools and to help with its maintenance. Research on community participation and involvement in school support is needed.

1.6 Language Issues

Portuguese is the language of colonization in Mozambique, but it is also the official language of the post-colonial state. Spoken by one-fourth of Mozambique's population according to the last census, Portuguese is the language of school instruction. In classroom observations, both in Maputo and three provinces, we tried to find out how many children spoke only Portuguese at home, and, whether a proposal for bilingual education in Mozambique (teaching and learning in any of the 14 major local languages and in Portuguese) was sensible.

In nine classrooms visited, more than 400 children were surveyed, asked what language they use at home. More than 80 percent insisted that they speak only Portuguese with their parents and siblings at home. In some classrooms, particularly in Maputo and Quelimane, only a handful of children reported that they speak languages other than Portuguese at home. This finding, from a relevant rather than a representative sample, should be considered very cautiously. Maputo and Quelimane are in no respect typical of the rest of the country. More than half of all children are not in school at all. Moreover, several informants mentioned that children are punished if they are found speaking a language other than Portuguese at school. Thus, children may have learnt to deny that they speak a different language at home. However, some of the classrooms visited were first and second grade classrooms, many of the children were still very young, and they may not have been sufficiently exposed to a coercive socialization in Portuguese.

A possible explanation for the apparent wide use of Portuguese at home may be that the war has had a socialization effect, at least in urban areas of the country. With the forced removal of families from their normal environments, thrown together by circumstances to live in urban communities, Portuguese may have been the only means for people originally from different ethnically homogeneous communities to communicate. Obviously, this observation requires more research. However, in two

classrooms, after asking how many students speak another language at home and finding that very few in fact do, they were asked how many of them understand languages other than Portuguese. The results showed that one-third of the children understand a local language or dialect, but two-thirds continued to claim that they only understand Portuguese. In short, although more research is needed to confirm this hypothesis it might seem that the balance between local languages and Portuguese may have been altered by the combined effects of the educational expansion of the post-colonial era and the war.

Another issue arises from the situation of a country surrounded by English-speaking countries and with the need of laborers to learn English to work in neighboring countries. The full incorporation of Mozambique into the regional economy may require improvement of English proficiency in secondary education, and not only at the level of elites. This will be particularly true for population concentrations near Mozambique's borders, but this objective should not be set above instruction in Portuguese.

1.7 De Facto Privatization of Services

Because of cutbacks in spending in the 1980s, parents are often asked informally to contribute annually for each child in school toward teacher school supplies. In addition, to guarantee their children's places in schools, or even that their children be taught, anecdotal evidence indicates that teachers are asking parents for an undisclosed sum of money (allegedly as high as 150,000 *meticaís* a year) at the time of enrollment. Comparing these supplementary "fees" to the cost of private schools in Maputo (up to 100,000 *meticaís* a month), this may still be considered a bargain. Added to the cost of notebooks, workbooks, textbooks, and other school supplies, however, these contributions mean that the total family contribution to public primary schools can be prohibitive.

This increasing "privatization" of public education can be classified as corruption in school settings. In the context of increasing social disorganization, this corruption seems to have become an important component in the operation of the system, particularly at the primary level. Swedish researcher Mikael Palme, in a study conducted under the joint auspices of the Stockholm Institute of Education and the Ministry of Education of Mozambique, argues that:

In later years the decline of living conditions among teachers and the enormous amount of children trying to get into overcrowded urban and suburban schools in conjunction with the deterioration of the relationships between school and community in urban areas have created a climate where achievement sometimes is sold for money or is linked to the conditions that pupils must accept taking paid extra lessons from the teachers (what is called *explicação*).⁶

The pressure for this manner of commercialization of school places and certificates cannot be attributed only to attempts by teachers and administrators to supplement their low salaries. Enormous competition for limited classroom places, particularly as students pass from one level of schooling to the next (e.g., from EP1 to EP2) seemingly compels parents to resort to illicit means to assure that their children advance. This aspect of the apparent "privatization" phenomenon is exacerbated by the emphasis of the GRM and many donors on supporting tertiary education. As the rewards to formal schooling become increasingly concentrated at this higher level, seeking alternative means of access become more diverse.

6 Mikael Palme, Op. Cit.

1.8 Summary

The problems of the primary education system in Mozambique are too many to list and they will be resolved only over a very long time. In spite of the severity of these problems, however, the system is working.

School principals and teachers with low morale voiced all sorts of complaints. But unannounced visits to schools also revealed that teachers were teaching, that large numbers of students were attending their lessons, that parents were waiting patiently to receive confirmation that their children had been enrolled in school, and that school inspectors and government officials, particularly in the provinces and at the school level, were able to produce immediately substantive and written statistical information on request. Given the precariousness of Mozambique's educational infrastructure, the durability of the system and the dedication of those who work within it are amazing.

The following narrative offers two examples of the vibrancy of the Mozambican primary education system. When team members parked a car near a restaurant for lunch, half a dozen very young children, many of them barefoot and with ripped clothes, approached telling their names. They competed for the designation of car caretaker, with the hope of collecting a tip afterwards. After lunch, they came to collect their tips. Asked what he would do with the money—less than 25 cents US—one child responded: "I will buy a *caneta* (ball-point pen) for school." For a group of researchers trying to find clues about the Mozambican primary education system, the answer was gratifying.

Visiting an EP2 school in Sinapura, in the province of Zambézia, the office of the director, the only one with security bars in the windows and a security lock, housed not only the normal furniture, official wall pictures, and supplies, but also a disarray of typewriters and a mimeograph, all of them sitting on the floor, or resting against arm chairs. The Director apologized for the untidiness, but explained that vandalism and crime abound in the area, forcing him to lock up everything of value in his own office. In the school no pupil or teacher had a desk or chair to sit or work on. All had been stolen from classrooms with broken doors, perhaps to be used as firewood.

In such a context, the motto of the director, hanging on the wall, was paradoxical: "*Não há problema sem solução. Não há solução sem defeitos. Não há defeitos que não possam ser corrigidos.*" [There are no problems without solutions. There are no solutions without defects. There are no defects that cannot be corrected]. This optimism may be part of what keeps this education system going.

Notwithstanding the fact that the system is working, a number of critical issues demand solutions. Access to the system is increasingly limited, particularly for rural, poor children, and, in some areas, for girls. The quality of educational provision is seriously jeopardized by the lack of instructional materials and textbooks; by poorly educated and trained young teachers; by inadequate educational buildings (many without running water or toilets); by a very short school calendar with less than three and a half hours of instruction per day; and by overcrowded classrooms with children of different ages, abilities and talents. In addition, more than a decade of civil war has left serious emotional, psychological and cognitive scars on Mozambique's children and youth. Finally, unqualified and traditional authoritarian teachers with little mastery of subject matter compound these problems.

In addition to the inability of the primary education system to offer places to all school-age children, the absolute poverty in which two-thirds of the Mozambican population lives makes the schools' direct and irregular private costs unaffordable for many parents. Private efforts by school administrators and teachers to supplement their salaries have led to a de facto privatization of public education, under which scarce school places are rationed on the basis of ability to pay. School

efficiency is another important issue. Two-thirds of children will repeat a given grade. In some provinces, less than five percent of school graduates have access to the next educational level. Thus, there is a sharp contradiction between the GRM's goal of providing universal education and the reality of a relatively small and highly selective system. School places are scarce and the "private" costs of enrollment are high. As a result, the operation of the system embodies a strong urban and upper class bias, standing in stark contrast to the Government's proclaimed aspirations for a broad-reaching basic education.

These are some of the problems that block the development, quality, and efficiency of primary education in Mozambique. Suggestions for improvements are made in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 2

ACADEMIC SECONDARY EDUCATION

2.1 Introduction

Secondary education in Mozambique comprises two sub-systems, one academic and the other vocational/technical. This report devotes a chapter to each.

Academic secondary education consists of two levels, referred to as general secondary (ESG) and pre-university (EPU). The former lasts three years, extending from grades eight to 10, and the latter lasts two years, comprising grades 11 and 12. Each level enrolls a day school and a night school contingent, with the latter group made up of those who are at least two years older than the age which officially corresponds to their grade level.

The importance of secondary schooling to the overall education system lies both in providing middle-level, trainable manpower for the labor market and in preparing students for higher education, and thus for eventual positions of leadership in political and economic spheres. Despite its crucial role, however, secondary level education has received relatively little attention from either the GRM or from international donor agencies. At present, therefore, it constitutes a major bottleneck in the educational structure. As discussed below, very few Mozambican students are admitted to secondary education. Very few of those who are admitted complete secondary schooling, and very few of those who complete their secondary studies enter and graduate from college. Those who fail to complete have difficulty obtaining employment, in part because they are poorly prepared for the world of work.

The economic consequences of such a restricted and inefficient system are severe. According to one survey, only about half of the department heads in the Central Government have completed secondary school, and only about one-third of district directors have gone beyond the primary level. Ministry of Labor statistics indicate that about 40 percent of the country's technical and management positions are filled by individuals who have not completed the ninth grade. Regardless of the basic personal and professional competence levels of Mozambique's cadre of middle- and high-level technicians and managers, it is difficult to imagine how the country's private and public sectors can advance if most of their upper-level staff have not achieved further than a secondary education.

2.2 Access and Equity

Theoretically all students who complete upper primary school (EP2) can enroll in lower secondary school. The decision as to whether a student goes to an academic secondary school or a technical secondary school is made by the teachers and administrators at the student's EP2 school. Entry to the upper secondary level, on the other hand, is governed by performance on admission tests. Here the academic versus technical school choice rests primarily with the student and parents.

Official statistics indicate, though, that access to Mozambique's academic secondary system is very limited. After growing at a rate of about 17 percent a year between 1975 and 1987, enrollment totals have remained stationary over the last five years. This means that, given population growth, the percentage of those served by the secondary system has decreased. Whereas the country currently has over 1.4 million students in primary school, it has only about 42,000 students studying on the ESG level and just 5,500 enrolled in EPUs (see Table 2.1). Approximately two-thirds of these matriculants study in day classes. The nation has 42 public ESGs (located in all provinces) and five public EPUs. It also has a small number of private schools operating on both levels. In all but one case these are unaccredited. According to official estimates, private schools enroll fewer than 1,000 students.

Table 2.1
Academic Secondary School Enrollments for 1991 by
Schooling Level, Period of Study, Gender and Province

Province	General Secondary				Pre-University			
	Day		Night		Day		Night	
	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total
C. Delgado	246	1582	172	788				
Gaza	600	1389	489	1099	35	185		
Inhambane	786	2432	283	687				
Manica	277	1344	287	1399	12	80	29	141
Maputo	658	1542	399	922				
Nampula	617	3099	414	1572	141	565	67	232
Niassa	249	1209	176	863				
Sofala	136	945	282	1295			52	198
Tete	576	1506	432	1218			95	336
Zambézia	568	2337	371	1452	81	387	49	200
C. Maputo	3688	6984	2696	5428	748	1752	576	1403
Total	8409	24429	6001	16513	1007	2969	868	2513

According to recent figures from the World Bank, approximately five percent of the relevant age group is enrolled in secondary education in Mozambique. This is comparable to rates in Tanzania and Malawi, but far below the rates achieved in Kenya (23 percent), Botswana (33 percent), or Zimbabwe (51 percent). The average rate of secondary school enrollment in all low-income countries (excluding China and India) is 25 percent.¹

About 50 percent of those who complete the primary level (EP2) enroll the following year in the first year of ESG. Approximately 34 percent of those who finish ESG go directly on to EPU. The government plans to increase these percentages slightly by the year 2000 to 51 percent and 39 percent, respectively. It should be remembered, of course, that at each secondary level some youths move from the academic to the technical/vocational sub-system. If the vocational/technical segment is included in the analysis, the rate of movement from the upper primary to the lower secondary levels is nearly 70 percent, and that for movement from the lower secondary to the upper secondary is approximately 50 percent.

These percentages are not higher for a variety of reasons. The number of secondary schools is very limited and almost all are located in provincial capitals. The majority of their students (and potential students) face very unfavorable economic circumstances. Although schools are ostensibly free to students, all charge a matriculation fee (about US\$1.50). In addition, many demand covert payments as a way of distributing scarce student vacancies. The system discriminates against the poor. Most of those who successfully advance in the hierarchy are from the relatively more privileged segments of Mozambican society.

¹ World Bank. *World Development Report, 1991*, p. 260.

There is also evidence of enrollment imbalances according to sex and geographic region. Females account for about a third of the enrollments on both the ESG and the EPU levels. Although many of the school officials interviewed claim that the relative participation of females in the system has improved in recent years, official statistics do not support this contention. Since 1980 females have consistently accounted for about 30 percent of total ESG and EPU enrollments. With regard to geographic region, over 40 percent of the country's lower secondary enrollments and about 50 percent of its upper secondary school enrollments are in Maputo. As already mentioned, upper secondary schools are present in only seven provinces. The urban location of all academic secondary schools means that enrollment is difficult for rural students in every province, even though the Ministry of Education offers subsidized hostel spaces for 6-8,000 secondary students every year.

2.3 Internal Efficiency

Exacerbating the narrowness of the secondary schooling pyramid in Mozambique is the system's high level of internal inefficiency. Student failure rates appear high for all secondary-level grades. In 1990, 52 percent of the ESG students and 47 percent of the EPU students were failed at the end of the year. The percentages for each level were slightly greater for women than for men. They are highest (around 60 percent) for the final year of each level, where standardized final examinations are administered. These rates mean that each year the number of students who complete the two academic secondary levels is only about one-third of those who entered that level as new students. Thus, in 1990, when population exceeded 15 million, the system produced only 3,000 new lower academic secondary graduates and 500 new upper academic secondary graduates.

High evaluation standards, low instructional quality, and the economic difficulties that confront most students help account for these excessive failure rates. Another contributing factor, according to some sources, is corruption on the part of many teachers and administrators. Passing grades, it is claimed, are often exchanged for covert monetary payments and/or non-monetary services from students. If true, it is evident that many students are either unable – too poor or unwilling, discounting the private benefits as compared to the private costs of further schooling – to respond to these demands.

High failure rates are accompanied by high dropout rates. Most dropouts apparently occur between one school year and the next. Data collected by the Ministry of Education suggest that about half of the secondary students who fail a grade do not enroll the following year. On the other hand, dropouts during the course of the school year are relatively few. Only six percent of the ESG students and three percent of the EPU students were classified as dropouts during the 1990 school year. These rates are slightly higher for females than for males.

A judgement of the system's low internal efficiency rates must be made within the context of the requirements of the country for highly educated graduates. The classic measures of this external efficiency question are described below. Acknowledging, however, the apparently low real absorption capacity of the overall economy for upper secondary- and tertiary-educated graduates, the high dropout rate may be considered a rational strategy (if indeed it is purposeful). Qualification of this assessment is necessary, though, as one considers two further factors. First, the high repeater rate seems a true waste as it appears to be related more to an effort by students (and their parents) to avoid forced dropout (expulsion) than to a genuine desire to master a body of knowledge.² A second, and related

2 — Findings of the BRIDGES project in Burundi indicate that real gains in learning are derived by school repeaters at the primary level. (Eismon, et. al., 1989)

factor, is the perception that the curriculum and teaching methods in Mozambique's schools are designed more to prepare the student for further schooling (ultimately university) than to prepare the student for the workplace or community life, the more common alternatives to progressing in the education system. If this is the case, the internal efficiency of schooling does not seem best-served by a process operated primarily for successively culling out future intellectuals.

2.4 Teachers and Teacher Preparation

As mentioned above, a key reason for the secondary system's low level of internal efficiency is the poor quality of instruction. The academic secondary system currently employs about 1,000 teachers for day classes and approximately 900 for night teaching. Since many teachers work both shifts and some work on both the ESG and EPU levels, it is not possible to estimate precisely from official statistics the total number of secondary school teachers in the country. It appears, however, that about 80 percent of the total are ESG teachers, that fewer than 20 percent are women, and that over 90 percent are officially certified. The typical teacher has been in the system for more than a decade. The majority were certified by UEM's School of Education, which closed at the end of 1985. Most of the ESG teachers took a two-year teacher certification course after completing the ESG level (i.e., the ninth grade), and most of the EPU teachers took a similar two-year certification course after finishing their EPU studies (i.e., the eleventh grade). The majority of those who went through one of UEM's certification programs were prepared to teach in more than one discipline.

With the exception of some occasional seminars sponsored by MINED, none of the teachers has received short-term in-service training. A number are currently enrolled in the five year *licenciatura* (Master's in Education) course given at the Higher Pedagogical Institute (ISP) in Maputo. This course, established in 1986, is just now beginning to produce graduates, expected to be the secondary school teachers of the future. Initial outcomes are not promising, however. Over two-thirds of those who graduated from ISP in 1991 have gone into high-level bureaucratic jobs in the government rather than into the classroom. Meanwhile, many teachers are nearing retirement age, and many others are moving into non-teaching private sector jobs in search of better pay. In one private school most of the teachers were former public school teachers who had left the public school system for better paying jobs, but who were eager to return if given appropriate pay. Most public secondary school teachers officially make between US\$60 and US\$100 a month, depending on their level of certification and years of service. Pay is not only low, but also often irregular. For these reasons, the secondary system in many schools and regions throughout the country was shut down for two months in mid-1991 by striking teachers.

The consequences of low teacher quality, low teacher pay, and a lack of in-service training are evident in many ways. The pervasiveness of corruption as teachers try to supplement their salaries by extorting bribes from students has already been mentioned, as has the disruptive effect of teachers' strikes. In one of the secondary schools visited, very few teachers were present because, according to the principal, almost no one likes to teach during the first weeks of the semester. Teaching itself tends to be highly formalized, with an emphasis on rote memorization. Many teachers resist using textbooks and teaching materials (when these are available) because of their own lack of experience with these items. Instead, they rely on notes, in many instances taken when they themselves were students many years ago.

2.5 Curriculum

The problem of teacher preparation is aggravated by the recent implementation at the secondary level of the curriculum for the National Education System (SNE). The system was introduced in the eighth grade in 1990, the ninth grade in 1991, and the tenth grade in 1992. The eleventh and twelfth

grade curricula will be amended in the next two to three years (if conditions permit). In theory, the SNE is designed to make learning more practical; in practice it has meant adding a year to the system (ESG now goes through the tenth rather than the ninth grade) and replicating in a given grade what used to be taught in the grade before. Disciplines are the same as those found in classical academic schools the world over, and content is still more abstract and theoretical than concrete and practical, serving an academic education agenda at the expense of any hypothetical designs to educate for life.

Although the curriculum implementation process has been accompanied by orientation seminars given by MINED, only one teacher from each school is allowed to attend, and the multiplier effect that is assumed to take place appears to be more fiction than fact. The lack of in-service training is consequently viewed by many school teachers and administrators as one of the most deficient aspects of the education system. In justifying their lack of attention to the matter, authorities at MINED point to the high costs involved (especially in feeding and housing trainees at centralized locations), and also argue that, as mentioned above, some teachers are involved in long-term in-service training because they are enrolled in ISP's five year *licenciatura* program.

2.6 Textbooks

The SNE effort attempts to link curricular reform with the provision of textbooks and other teaching materials. The Ministry of Education has not had the time or resources to develop its own books for secondary schools, however. Rather, it has purchased books from publishing houses in Portugal, and distributed these to teachers and students through a network of private entrepreneurs. The Portuguese books for the eighth grade are accompanied by an appendix developed by MINED specialists that attempts to relate aspects of the books' contents to Mozambican reality. For the ninth grade books, the adaptation process has been more thorough; instead of merely adding an appendix, MINED has systematically (albeit superficially) revised the books themselves. As of this writing, no books have been supplied for the newly-established tenth grade. Because of resource limitations, MINED has only managed so far to prepare manuals for teachers.

The book situation appears to be even more problematic on the pre-university level, where the SNE has not been implemented and where no clear textbook policy has ever been established. Until 1991, textbooks were sold to students at subsidized prices. These subsidies have now been abolished, and secondary school textbooks are bought on the open market at prices that range from US\$7.00 upwards. These prices are beyond the means of many students, and nothing like the Caixa Escolar program (designed to help needy primary school students obtain books) has been implemented on the secondary school level.

Teachers also have difficulties in purchasing books. While some schools apparently use part of their resources to help their teachers buy books, most do not, primarily because their resources are too scarce. There is currently talk in the Ministry of supplying school libraries with copies of the required texts and of possibly transforming libraries into student bookstores. At present, however, no concrete policies for facilitating access to secondary-level textbooks have been adopted.

2.7 Instructional Infrastructure

MINED's idea of using school libraries to provide textbooks is an interesting one, because at many schools no libraries exist. In other schools there is a room devoted to such a purpose, but it is not open for general use. In those libraries that are operational, books are often few in number, outdated, and written in the language of a non-national donor. Similar problems apply to school laboratories. When they exist at all, these are often not utilized for lack of equipment, qualified teachers, and support personnel. Indeed, teaching materials of all kinds, from globes to charts to chalk boards, are

notably absent at most secondary schools. Moreover, class sizes tend to be very large. The average ESG class size is 45 students, and there are cases where there are as many as 70 to a room.

2.8 Physical Infrastructure

The effects of an inadequate instructional infrastructure in academic secondary schools are compounded by severe deficiencies in the physical infrastructure. School plants are often large and buildings are typically well-built, but the maintenance of classrooms and equipment is grossly inadequate. When visiting schools, one finds large numbers of broken windows, non-functioning bathrooms, and broken desks and chairs. It should be noted that these problems of infrastructure and maintenance also apply to student hostels. Hostels are important to the secondary system because of the limited number of schools; almost one-third of those who enroll in secondary schools are hostel residents. Students pay very little for their room and board (about US\$15 per year) at the MINED-supported institutions, but they are forced to accept living conditions which are very unsatisfactory. One hostel in Maputo has exceeded its limit of students by more than one-third, and currently houses 30 students to a room. The director of the hostel claims that his budget does not allow for the purchase of food of decent quality, and, like the schools the hostel serves, its plant is badly in need of repair. Sources indicate that hostels in other parts of the country are plagued by similar circumstances.

2.9 School Management

Among the factors that account for inadequate maintenance are insufficient funding from MINED, student vandalism, and a poor system for allocating financial resources to schools. The student fees that are collected by the school are sent to the Ministry of Finance; MINED in turn allocates to each school a sequence of block grants to cover expenses. These grants are for set periods of time, and only become available when expenditures for the previous grant have been audited. The amounts of the grants often fail to correspond to the specific needs of the school, and the process of obtaining and accounting for the money tends to be very time-consuming. It is difficult for the school staff to respond quickly to emergencies, and the system does little to foster school autonomy or to develop decision-making capabilities on the school level.

Schools, moreover, are not encouraged to raise funds from alternative sources, although some do so, sometimes by renting out space to local merchants who wish to sell food and school supplies to students. The idea of making money for the school through production or the provision of services has apparently not been extensively applied on the academic secondary level. The school principals interviewed in this study rejected the notion both because of a dearth of necessary materials and equipment and because of a lack of experience (or "know-how") with income-generating endeavors.

2.10 Governmental and Donor Commitment

Spending by the GRM on secondary education is very low. In 1990, only seven percent of recurrent expenditures on education went to academic secondary programs. If expenditures on vocational and technical education are included, the figure increases to 13 percent. This amount stands in marked contrast to the corresponding figure for all of sub-Saharan Africa, which is 32 percent. International donors, meanwhile, have tended to favor investments in the primary and tertiary levels and, within the secondary level, in vocational/technical education. Only two donors in Mozambique have placed any emphasis on the academic secondary level. The Italians have built and equipped 21 laboratories in as many schools in six provinces. They intend to spend about US\$2 million over the next three years on a center in Maputo which will train general secondary school teachers in the utilization of laboratory facilities. The World Bank plans, as part of its Capacity Building Project, to

make a major commitment to the improvement of pre-university schooling. The Bank's purpose is to facilitate a higher return on investments at the university level.

Although the Capacity Building Project is still in the process of formulation, it is expected to provide for (a) upgrading the physical and technical/pedagogical infrastructures of the EPUs, (b) developing a system for the continuing education of EPU teachers, and (c) restructuring school management to permit greater financial autonomy at the school level and to encourage wider community/school participation. More specific Bank goals aimed at improving EPUs include installing and re-equipping laboratories, modernizing school libraries, and increasing the supply and quality of textbooks. The total amount of the Bank's proposed EPU investments is currently estimated to be US\$12 million.

2.11 Parental and Community Participation

Related to the question of local financial autonomy is local parental and community involvement in school affairs. No teacher/parent organizations existed at the schools visited in this study and, according to sources, there is very little experience in the country with parental involvement of any sort in secondary education. One reason is that the parents of secondary school students may live at great distances from the schools their children attend. School involvement by other members of the local community seems to be equally rare, however. Schools do little to foster such participation, perhaps because of a lack of local autonomy for school administrators; perhaps because of little understanding among teachers of how school/community interaction might contribute to the teaching/learning process; and perhaps because parents are unwilling or unable to participate.

It should be noted, in this respect, that school principals on the secondary level are generally poorly prepared for their work. They receive no special training or systematic in-service orientation, and they often assume their positions with no previous administrative experience. Appointments often reflect political interests; managerial and/or pedagogical competencies are not always the chief qualification for a school directorship. It is clear that needed improvements in teacher training must be complemented by training programs, both pre-service and in-service, for school administrators.

2.12 Post-Secondary Alternatives

An important question in evaluating the performance of secondary education in Mozambique concerns the nature of post-secondary alternatives for students. As currently constituted, the academic sub-system is exclusively oriented to study at subsequent schooling levels. Even so, only about a third of those who complete the lower secondary level enter a pre-university program and only about a fourth of those who graduate from EPU are admitted to the university. Moreover, those who are admitted are now required to take a one semester remedial program (BUSCEP or *semestre zero*) during their first year in order to compensate for the learning not done in secondary school. Meanwhile, the majority of secondary-level students drop out before they reach the upper echelons of the academic sub-system, and what happens to those who drop out is not known. Some who finish ESG apparently go to a middle level technical training institute rather than move into a pre-university program. As will be noted in the next chapter, ESG graduates tend to have an advantage over basic technical school graduates in gaining access to these institutes, because the admission tests emphasize performance in academic areas. The total number who are admitted to technical institutes is not very large, however, there are only six such institutes in the country and so the majority of those who do not make it to the top levels of the post-secondary academic sub-system are faced either with trying to find a job in a labor market for which they are poorly prepared or going to a nonformal vocational training center (CFP) like the ones discussed in Chapter IV. Most CFPs, however, emphasize manual skill learning, and, according to several informants, those who have pursued academic studies tend to

disdain both manual work and those who perform it. Secondary schools do not provide any career guidance or job-related orientation, and so the ultimate consequences of not succeeding in the system are probably quite severe. There is a notable lack of systematic research on this issue. Tracer and reverse-tracer studies that illustrate the relationship between academic secondary education and the labor market are sorely needed.

2.13 Private Schools

The dismal picture of public academic secondary education in Mozambique that has been painted above suggests that schools established and maintained by the private sector may represent a viable and necessary alternative. The private school option has been officially sanctioned in Mozambique only since 1990, and to date there is only one accredited private school. This operates in four rented rooms in the back of a little-used CFP hostel in Maputo, and has places for only 96 students. The school charges its pupils about US\$75 per month and pays its teachers approximately US\$5 dollars an hour (or about three times the equivalent public school pay). The school clearly caters to an upper-middle class clientele, and, as such, fails to constitute a genuine alternative to the public school. Under current conditions, however, it is hard to imagine a private school entrepreneur adopting a different approach. The amount of capital that is necessary to start a private school is large: the school in question has had capital expenditures to date of about US\$20,000, and has plans to eventually build its own US\$1.8 million complex. The only way of guaranteeing a return on such an investment is to enroll those who can easily pay. The GRM does not provide any tax incentives or subsidies to private schools, and bank loans are difficult to arrange. Also, the process of obtaining accreditation from MINED was described to be an arduous one, and only those who know the system well and have contacts in key places can expect to succeed. Other sources indicated, however, that, although MINED does require documentation for operation, this is not excessive or difficult.

This unfavorable climate for legitimate private schools has spawned a number of non-sanctioned competitors. These often operate in garages and other dubious locations, and they are usually aimed at the less affluent in an effort to make money quickly with little accountability. One such school did not charge high fees (about US\$100 per year on the ESG level), but it demanded most of the payment at the time of matriculation and offered classes in a very run down house. This same school had closed in the middle of the preceding school year because its teachers went on strike after the school stopped paying their salaries. Thus, under current arrangements, private schools do not appear to represent a mechanism for resolving the problem of secondary school access and quality. With tax incentives, loans, and an effective system for supervising private school operations, however, this situation might be altered, and the private sector could make a meaningful contribution to secondary education in Mozambique.

It is important to emphasize that the analysis of private schooling has not taken into account the possible contribution of the Catholic Church. The Church was a dominant force in the education system during colonial times and it is currently planning to re-enter the field. Unfortunately, this study was unable to schedule an interview with a Church authority, and it is therefore not possible to discuss here the Church's educational plans and prospects. It is recommended that the Church be contacted before drawing any further final conclusions concerning the viability of private educational initiatives in Mozambique.

2.14 Implications for USAID

It should be clear from the contents of this chapter that academic secondary schooling in Mozambique suffers from a number of major problems. Teacher and administrator training (especially in-service), textbooks and other instructional materials, and the maintenance of physical infrastructures

are critical areas. Libraries and laboratories need to be built, refurbished, and/or equipped; school financial autonomy and responsibility must be promoted; school/parent/community linkages have to be created; and programs for vocational guidance need to be implemented. While these and similar actions will probably be at least partially financed for pre-university programs through the World Bank, there is currently very little donor involvement on the lower (or general) secondary level. Effective secondary schooling requires a solid primary school system, and investments in the former should not supersede those in the latter until a country's basic educational requirements have been met. This issue and its implications for USAID assistance are discussed in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 3

FORMAL VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter, vocational/technical education represents a distinct but integral sub-system within Mozambique's secondary schooling system. Basic technical schools parallel the general academic schools in that they last the three years from grade eight to ten. Middle-level technical institutes, like pre-university schools, are upper-secondary programs, but unlike their academic counterparts, they extend for three rather than two years, concluding at grade thirteen. The technical schools at both levels teach both academic and vocational subjects and are designed to enable the graduate either to enter the labor market directly or to continue studies at a higher level of the regular system.

It should be mentioned that Mozambique also has a vocational school which operates in the upper primary level. Before 1980 there were several such programs, operating primarily in rural or semi-rural areas and designed to provide children with artisan skills appropriate for small-scale shop and household production. All but one of the schools have been closed as a result of the war. With the recent movement to deconcentrate and decentralize the economy, the elementary technical school concept has gained new life. Initiatives to reopen these schools have until now been locally inspired, and have not received financial support from MINED. There is reportedly interest by the Government in reopening these schools, but this is not presently an option due to lack of funds. Thus, information about the elementary technical school option was difficult to obtain, and, for that reason, only the secondary-level vocational programs are dealt with in the discussion that follows.

3.2 Structure and Enrollments

Between 1983 and 1991 formal technical schools, like the nonformal vocational training centers discussed in Chapter 4, were under the control of SETEP (*Secretaria de Estado da Educação Técnico-Profissional*), a semi-autonomous organ within the Ministry of Education that had its own organization and funds. This secretariat was abolished in early 1991, in part because of a desire to move nonformal vocational training to the Ministry of Labor where it will presumably be in closer contact with the labor market. Formal technical schooling, on the other hand, remains under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and is directed by a separate department known as DINET (*Direcção Nacional do Ensino Técnico*). This change is too recent for an evaluation of its repercussions. It appears, however, to have had very little effect on the administration of the technical school sector, and, according to those interviewed, in no way signifies a reduction of this area's importance within the formal education system.

There are currently 24 basic technical schools and eight middle-level technical institutes in Mozambique. Five of the basic schools are agricultural in focus, while the remaining 19 are divided between commercial and industrial schools. The middle-level institutes are also of three types. Two are agricultural, one is industrial, one is commercial, and two offer both industrial and commercial training. Whereas basic schools exist in all provinces, the middle-level institutes are highly concentrated. Three of the four that teach industrial and commercial skills are located in of Maputo.

In 1990, just fewer than 10,000 students enrolled in vocational/technical schools in Mozambique. As can be seen from Table 3.1, about four-fifths of this total were basic school enrollers, and over half were in a school or institute devoted to industrial trades. Also indicated by the table is the fact that

enrollment levels drop sharply with each advancing grade level. As in the academic secondary track, the dropout and failure rates for the vocational/technical schools are extremely high. This problem of the system's internal efficiency is examined later in this chapter.

Table 3.1
Enrollments in Basic and Middle-level
Technical Schools, 1990

Level	Trade area	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Basic	Agriculture	625	363	195	1,183
	Commercial	1,499	746	264	2,514
	Industrial	2,625	1,093	544	2,542
	Basic Total	4,749	2,202	1,008	7,987
Middle	Agriculture	132	73	52	257
	Commercial	346	212	103	661
	Industrial		298	158	929
	Middle Total	951	583	313	1,847
Total	Basic+Middle	5,759	2,811	1,334	9,932

Source: Ministério da Educação – Direção de Planificação

About 80 percent of the technical system's enrollers are males. It appears that males far outnumber females in the industrial and agricultural trades, but that there are slightly more females than males studying in the commercial area.

Comparing enrollment levels on a yearly basis between 1980 and 1990, one finds that the number of enrollments in the industrial trades has remained fairly stable while those in the commercial field fell consistently until 1987 and then leveled off. In the first years after Independence, there were more commercial students than industrial ones. As discussed in Chapter 4, governmental policies emphasizing industrialization and the active support of the Soviet Union and the GDR in staffing and equipping industrially-oriented schools help explain the shift in technical school enrollment patterns that occurred in the late 1970s. The recent constancy in enrollment figures is expected to continue. The Ministry of Education proposes to increase the quality of technical education over the next few years but, because of limited resources, has no plans to expand the system significantly or to alter the general mix of trade offerings.

During the 1980-90 period the technical school sector produced about 13,500 graduates on the basic level and 3,000 graduates on the middle level. This output is exceptionally low, which may be explained by the fact that this is an expensive component of the overall education system.

3.3 Curriculum and Instruction

The system currently offers training in 28 basic-level trades and 15 middle-level trades. The curriculum has been developed centrally by the MINED, and has gone virtually unchanged since 1982. All courses contain general academic subjects, theoretical trade-related subjects, and practical subjects. As the student progresses from the first to the third year, the relative number of hours devoted to

academic studies diminishes (from about 60 to 40 percent of the total) while the time spent on trade-related and practical subjects increases. Although in theory the three types of subjects are supposed to be complementary and mutually supporting, in practice this is not the case. They are given by different teachers in separate classrooms and, according to a study by DANIDA, teachers from one subject area do not know the contents of the disciplines in the others. The contents of the academic disciplines are similar to those offered in academic secondary schools, although the total number of lessons is smaller. The Portuguese books used in the academic and technical schools are the same; the math books are different, however, with those for the technical schools being more practical in emphasis. Books are both difficult to come by and expensive (as discussed elsewhere in the report), and the teaching/learning process is essentially based on lectures (from notes) and note-taking.

In one respect, the technical school students have a heavy burden because they are expected to learn what their academic counterparts study and also to master the theoretical and practical aspects of a specific trade. In another respect, they are at a disadvantage because the academic learning is not as intensive as in the non-technical secondary schools. The technical student's chances of passing the admissions tests for upper-secondary study or for university admittance are consequently compromised.

At the same time, the practical, trade-learning aspects of the program are also deficient. There is a notable lack of raw materials and tools, and the machines and equipment are often either outdated or non-functioning. This situation has been seriously aggravated in recent years by the departure of many Soviet and GDR specialists who helped provide machine maintenance and other forms of technical assistance. Some schools, of course, integrate machine maintenance into the practical learning, while others raise supply and maintenance funds by responding to orders from the local industry community. When parts and materials are not available, however, as is often the case, the practical learning is stopped altogether, and the student is taught only theoretical aspects of the trade. In addition to taking practical classes, all technical students are supposed to complete an internship within a firm. When this occurs, it usually takes place during the student's final semester. In-firm training opportunities are not always available, and the costs of an internship are difficult for students or institutions to support. At many schools this requirement is therefore discretely overlooked.

A major criticism of the technical school curriculum is that, with the possible exception of the internship, it has received little recent input from employers. DINET sponsored a meeting with employers in December, 1991, but few of those invited actually attended. Two representatives of employer groups, however, were emphatic in arguing that employers would like to participate, but there is currently no structure which allows them to do so meaningfully. There is now talk of creating a National Training Council and local boards to involve employers, workers and government officials in the curriculum development process. Concrete action, however, is awaiting the completion of a master plan for technical education and vocational training. As noted in Chapter 4, this plan is supposed to be completed by mid-1992. A preliminary version, produced in November, 1991, is too vague and general to have much of an impact.

Another curriculum-related plan for the future that DINET is putting forth – although no decision has yet been made – involves reducing the number of trades taught by merging those which are related into broad, basic disciplines. This proposal would transfer much of the responsibility for trade specialization to firms, where it might be carried out more efficiently and effectively than it is at present. It is not certain how firms will respond to the proposal, however. The employer representatives consulted seemed quite pessimistic, noting that under present economic conditions companies had neither the resources nor the incentive to invest in on-the-job training.

It should be noted that complementing the above-mentioned DINET proposal is another one which involves distinguishing between a technical degree and an academic-technical degree. The attainment of the former would only require a minimum of academic study (thereby facilitating course conclusion) but would not allow its holder to continue study unless he or she took a special six month intensive academic course. The plan involves insuring that both certificates, technical and academic-technical, will be associated with equivalent salary levels.

Yet another DINET proposal concerns the introduction of a modular system. The approach is supported by UNESCO, and it is expected to be implemented by 1995. By specializing through alternative sequences of learning blocks, the modular system is designed to permit more flexible patterns of training, and to enable students to move more easily between the technical education system and both vocational training centers (CFPs) and the labor market.

3.4 Teachers and Teacher Training

About 1,000 teachers are employed within the technical education system. In 1988, about 70 were foreign; the number of expatriates is smaller today. Evidence suggests that most teachers are men, and that the majority are under 40 years of age. According to official statistics, about 85 percent are formally certified. Most of the industrial trade teachers were trained through a three-year middle-level course taken at the Industrial Pedagogic Institute (IPI) in Nampula, and the majority of the teachers in the area of agriculture are graduates of a course of similar level and length given at the Pedagogical Institute at Umbeluzi. The instructors of academic disciplines, in turn, are primarily the products of a two-year course at the Educational Faculty (EF) in Maputo. While most of the students recruited for the teaching of trade skills are from basic technical schools, the majority of those who study to teach academic disciplines are products of the lower academic secondary system. The technical teacher training institutes suffer from the same deficiencies as the technical school system as a whole, and thus they probably help perpetuate the instructional problems mentioned above. The institute in Nampula has been particularly criticized by evaluations conducted by both DANIDA and ASDI, both because the building is (and looks like) a former prison and because it is located 10 miles from an urban center. The director of DINET agrees that the Nampula school is too unappealing to attract good students and proposes to move it by integrating it into an existing industrial institute. He also plans to prepare new teachers by installing six-month pedagogical courses for graduates of middle-level technical institutes.

A major problem with the technical school teaching staff is that very few of its members have ever actually worked at the trades they teach. A survey by ASDI found that only four percent of the teachers have had industrial, commercial or agricultural experience of two years or more. For most trade teachers, their only practical trade experience came when they themselves were technical school students.

A second problem is that MINED offers no in-service teacher training. Although it claims that it will correct this deficiency as soon as resources permit, one MINED authority told the Team that teachers will abandon their jobs for better paying employment once they are more fully trained. Indeed, the problem of technical teachers moving on to better paying jobs already exists, even though, according to an analysis by a DANIDA team, the actual salary paid to teachers (about US\$50 per month plus possible overtime) is comparable to what they can reasonably expect to receive in industry.

3.5 Students and Student Hostels

The process of student selection differs according to school level. On the basic level, school directors report the number of vacancies available for each trade taught to provincial authorities, who then indicate which EP2 schools should fill which slots. The headmasters of the EP2 schools then

decide which students will be sent to technical schools. Although grades are considered, a key criterion is the student's age. Since one cannot enter the labor market until 18 years of age, the best age for beginning a three year basic program is 15. Younger students, therefore, are usually sent to academic secondary schools.

On the middle technical level, in contrast, access is based on admissions test scores. These tests emphasize academic disciplines, and therefore it is generally believed that graduates from the lower academic secondary schools have a better chance of admittance than basic technical completers. Whether or not such is actually the case, however, is not confirmed by data. A countervailing factor may be that most students who complete an academic track prefer to remain in it. Indeed, a preference for academic schooling is probably commonplace among technical school students as well. The DANIDA Report (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1991) indicates that one-third of those enrolled in industrial schools would have preferred to be in academic institutions. According to one school director, most students are in technical schools either because their parents want them to be or because the technical school was the only option available.

Approximately half of the students in technical schools are boarders. This is a necessary outgrowth of the small number of schools in operation. It has a potentially negative repercussion, however, in the sense that many of those who leave their homes to study at technical school never return to their communities again. As in the case of the academic school hostels (see Chapter 2), student payments are very small and the living conditions are generally unsatisfactory. Food is purchased from the very limited current expenditure allotments distributed by MINED to each school. Since the same allotment has also to be used for school and equipment maintenance, there is usually not enough left over to care adequately for the hostel's physical infrastructure. It should be noted, however, that many of the hostel buildings, like many of the schools, are physically well-built. In some cases facilities originally built by the Church as seminaries are utilized. However, in the absence of effective maintenance, there is a limit as to how long these structures can be effectively utilized.

3.6 Costs and Financing

The high costs of formal vocational/technical education has been widely documented (see World Bank, 1991). According to MINED, whereas each lower and upper level academic secondary student costs, respectively, Mt83,600 and Mt193,500 per year, basic and middle-level technical students each cost, respectively, Mt171,000 and Mt377,500 (i.e., about twice as much). And these figures, of course, are based on amounts that are not sufficient to meet basic instructional needs. It is estimated that 80 to 90 percent of the government's technical school allotment is used for teacher salaries, and that most of what is made available for recurrent expenses is spent on electricity and water. At one school, one-third of the yearly recurrent allotment goes to pay electricity alone. It is not surprising, therefore, that many schools claim that they have no money left over for materials and emergency maintenance once the fixed-cost expenditures have been made. Indeed, according to a World Bank report (1991b), recurrent cost allocations from MINED cover only 5–10 percent of what is required to deliver training of an adequate quality. A team from DANIDA produced a similar finding, concluding that MINED's technical school allocation is enough to finance the education of no more than 1,000 technical students. The sub-system nevertheless enrolls nearly 10,000.

Fortunately, MINED is not the only source of technical school income. Foreign aid, primarily in the form of equipment and technical assistance, is not as important today as in the past, when the Soviet Union was particularly involved, but it is still a key ingredient. DANIDA, FINIDA and ASDI are three of the donors who are most involved in the area. In addition, and more importantly, many schools generate their own incomes through a variety of production and service activities. In some instances the amount of money generated locally exceeds the governmental allocation. In other cases,

however, the inadequacy of the latter undermines the viability of the former. The director of a technical school near Maputo stated that it was impossible for his school to generate any money because he could not purchase the necessary raw materials.

It should be added that, as in the academic schools, students pay very low fees (of about US\$1.50/yr. for full-time students and about twice that for working students) and that these fees are paid in the form of stamps and do not add to the school's financial resources. Also, as in the secondary schools discussed in the previous chapter, the Ministry's centralized system of budget allocation and the GRM's lack of discretionary resources do not promote school autonomy, innovation, or problem-solving capability.

3.7 Internal Efficiency

The costs of technical schools are affected by their levels of internal efficiency. In Mozambique, these levels are unacceptably low. According to official statistics, the during-year dropout rate is over 20 percent, and the end-of-year failure rate is approximately 40 percent. Although these figures vary by course and by school, they are unacceptably high at all points in the sub-system. At one school, only two of 38 students enrolled in metal-working passed their final exam. One of the most favorable outcomes was for the course in chemical analysis (which, interestingly, is dominated by females), where eight of 15 passed. The testing, incidentally, involves standardized examinations for academic subjects and school-developed tests for practical areas. At the school visited, final-year students also had to defend, in a session open to the general public, a trade-related project. Not surprisingly, the problem of student failure is most acute in the academic subjects.

There are many reasons for the schools' poor performance. Many relate to low school quality, and can be attributed to the problems of curriculum and instruction, teacher qualification, and materials, supplies and maintenance described above. Other contributing factors include the unfavorable economic situation of many of the students, the severity of the testing system, and the excessive size of first-year classes (often over 40 students).

Interestingly, the class-size problem applies to the later school years as well, but in a different sense. Because of the high dropout rates, much of the technical school system is under-utilized. An ASDI study reports that in many classes the student/teacher ratio is unacceptably low (in the neighborhood of 10:1), and that teaching staffs often work only 13 to 15 periods a week. The study estimates that the use-factor of classrooms and laboratories/workshops is around 70 percent and 50 percent, respectively. Thus, as mentioned above, technical schooling in Mozambique is a very high-cost undertaking.

3.8 External Efficiency

Until 1988 the Government of Mozambique was responsible for finding jobs for all technical school graduates. Data for 1988 indicate that at that time about 50 percent entered the labor market, and about 50 percent continued their studies on a higher level. Now, however, students must find jobs for themselves. Complicating the situation of new graduates is the poor state of the economy and the absence in the schools of any form of vocational guidance. Moreover, institutions of higher education and also upper-level secondary schools (both academic and technical) have recently introduced the use of admissions tests, designed to provide an objective basis for selecting new students. Thus, it is likely that many technical school-leavers are currently finding it difficult either to find employment or to continue their studies.

Precise data pertaining to this problem and thus to the issue of the external efficiency of technical schools are not available. Judgements are necessarily based on impressions, and, in this respect, it is interesting to note that two reports that deal with the issue (one by ASDI and one by

DANIDA), arrive at very different conclusions. The ASDI report (see Hultin-Craelius & Deivard, 1991) claims that there is a shortage of skilled workers in Mozambique, and that the technical system has failed to meet the economy's demand. It cites the Adoma report (see discussion in Chapter 4) in noting a particular need for technicians in accounting, customs assessment, economic planning and statistics, industrial electronics, hydraulics and auto mechanics.

The DANIDA report (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1991), however, provides an alternative interpretation. It argues that today there is no more demand in the Mozambican economy than for what the schools are now producing. This conclusion is based both on the fact that economic growth is minimal and that the employers who were consulted indicated that they perceived technical school graduates to be poorly trained and to be prepared in skills that do not correspond to labor market needs. Thus, according to this viewpoint, the technical school system in Mozambique faces a serious dilemma: if it solves the problem of internal efficiency, it will produce many more tradesmen and technicians than the economy can absorb or that are unsuited to the economy's needs.

The USAID Sector Assessment Team is not able to resolve this debate, though some of the disagreement may be attributable to the fact that demand may vary substantially for graduates in different subjects. There is clearly a need for extensive research on the needs, demands and prospects of the Mozambican labor market. It should be noted, however, that the Team's observations and interviews tend to support the position of the DANIDA report. Individuals at MINED and at the schools visited stressed that school graduates were having great difficulty in obtaining jobs. Employer representatives indicated that current circumstances do not favor the employment of new technicians and noted, too, that the technical school graduates are often of disappointing quality. Several specialties, however, do appear to be in demand, especially accounting and other business/managerial skills. One respondent was particularly emphatic in pointing out the need to train students to initiate and run their own businesses. Interestingly, the Ministry of Agriculture has already taken steps in such a direction, and is currently developing plans to create training programs to prepare rural workers for self-employment.

3.9 Implications for USAID

As noted above, formal technical education is very expensive everywhere. In Mozambique it appears to be exceptionally so, particularly if opportunity costs are added to real expenditures. Schools are very inefficient internally and do not seem to be faced with a high demand for their graduates. While vocational/technical education is often an attractive area to invest in because of the prospect of quick returns, there is little evidence that this applies to the system now operating in Mozambique. In this respect, it should be noted that several donors who are already contributing to the area do not appear to be pleased with the results they have obtained. Thus, at the present moment, participation by USAID in formal vocational/technical education in Mozambique is not recommended. It is important to note, however, that this situation may alter in the future, and USAID should keep abreast of new developments. In particular, it could seek out (or promote) research on school-labor market relationships and observe how proposals to develop a master plan for the field and to create a National Training Council and National Training Fund progress. Additionally, USAID may wish to remain attentive to any opportunities to increase or formalize the technical-academic instruction link, either at the secondary or primary level.

CHAPTER 4 NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Nonformal education is a diffuse and somewhat ambiguous territory, with scattered institutions, programs, projects, and practices. This chapter discusses two main areas of nonformal education in Mozambique. The first is literacy training and adult basic education. The second is nonformal vocational training. On-the-job training programs have not been included in these discussions.

4.1 Literacy Training and Adult Basic Education

At the time of Independence in 1975, 90 percent of the Mozambican population was illiterate. Only in the last two decades of colonial rule did Portugal implement one year of pre-primary education for Mozambican children. Curriculum and instruction focused on agricultural labor and on the rudiments of Portuguese. In schools run by missionaries, Mozambicans also learned Catechism. During the war of liberation (1966-75), FRELIMO implemented reforms in the liberated zones of the North, adopting Portuguese as the lingua franca. Literacy training and elementary education took place in these zones, and perhaps up to 20,000 adults were made literate during that time.

Literacy training was organized as a series of campaigns oriented to reach the majority of the Mozambican population, and to teach them Portuguese. The first literacy campaigns in 1976-1983 were centrally planned and organized from Maputo. They enrolled 264,000 people, of whom 129,000 concluded the training and sat for a test equivalent to a second grade reading level in 1978. Only 25,000 passed the test. The new government considered these results disappointing, and the campaign was extended for five months. This time, 191,000 people sat for the exam, and 115,000 passed it. A third and a fourth literacy training campaign were held in 1981 and 1982, with 61,000 and 37,000 people successfully passing the test in these two years. Overall, by 1985, data from the national Census of 1980 showed that illiteracy was reduced from 93 to 70 percent, and that more than half a million people had been exposed to literacy training.

The reform of 1983 switched the emphasis of the government from adult literacy to primary education, and a new adult primary level was introduced, which included a two-year literacy stage complemented by a one year post-literacy program.

In 1992, literacy training remains only a symbolic system, enrolling fewer than 23,000 students in the country, in 342 literacy training units. The subsystem of public adult education, including EP2, secondary schools for adults, and pre-university education for adults, enrolls 34,000 students, and employs 1,595 teachers. In some Provinces (Inhambane, Nampula, Sofala and Tete), there is an embryonic private system of adult education, with 1,460 students and 84 teachers.

New attempts to promote bilingual literacy are beginning with the project for bilingual education for women developed in INDE. A manual of literacy in the Sena language entitled *Bukhu ya Kupfundzisa Kuona Na Kulemba Malongero a Cifena* has already been published by the Ministry of Education and INDE. In addition, with support from UNICEF and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, research is being conducted on the literacy proficiency in local languages of adult women.

New literacy projects are also beginning, addressing other needs than just basic adult education. These include a children's literacy project in the Provinces of Maputo and Tete, community education linking functional literacy to practical skills among members of several communities in the Province of Nampula, and the impending functioning of the *Centro de Formaço de Educadores Profissionais de Manga*, in two suburbs of the city of Beira.

The Manga School is being rebuilt and refurnished with substantial technical and financial support from ASDI. It was supposed to be in operation a year and a half ago, but delays in construction have pushed the deadline to June 1992. There is debate about the role and function of the school at Manga. With hostels to accommodate 300+ students and houses for two dozen teachers, this project has evolved from a one year (6 + 1) training program for adult educators to a three year (6 + 3) program. In addition, the Ministry of Education is sponsoring an initiative to transform the Manga School into a research center specializing in adult education and technical assistance for the Lusophone countries of the region, following the model of CREFAL (*Centro Regional de Alfabetização Funcional para América Latina*), which has functioned for more than 25 years in Mexico.

Taking into account the large number of students who have had no access to formal schooling in the last decade, the present structure and enrollment in adult education is clearly insufficient to offer a second chance to adults and youths who have not attended, or have dropped out of, the education system. Because of the war and strict resource constraints, however, the MINED has no immediate plans to expand either literacy or adult education programs. Activities in the sector will be limited for at least the next two years to research, curriculum and materials development, and administrative and financial reorganization.

4.2 Vocational Training

4.2.1 Background and Overview

Mozambique offers to adolescents and adults a wide variety of opportunities to learn vocational skills outside of the formal school. These opportunities, for the most part, are provided through a loose network of vocational training centers (CFPs) which exist in all regions of the country. A recent survey of these centers indicated that 92 are presently in operation. Most are run by governmental ministries, agencies or parastatal enterprises, while the others are managed by private firms (usually to train their own workers), by mass organizations, and by NGOs. At present, responsibility for the overall coordination of this network rests with the National Directory of Vocational Training (DIFAP), which in 1991 was transferred from the Ministry of Education (MINED) to the Ministry of Labor (MINTRA). In addition, DIFAP directly operates three CFPs in Maputo, which serve as pilot centers where new approaches and procedures are tested and where an example is presumably set for the other centers to follow.

Most of the CFPs now in existence were created in the late 1970s and early 1980s as part of the newly independent nation's massive effort to promote adult education. Their purpose was (and still is) to provide job skills to individuals quickly and efficiently to meet the country's manpower needs and to enable adolescents and adults no longer in school to participate actively in the economy. Initially, as today, most centers were under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor. In 1983, however, they were put under the jurisdiction of a state secretariat for technical and vocational education (SETEP), created within the Ministry of Education to coordinate both formal technical schooling (see Chapter 3) and nonformal vocational training. The focus of SETEP, however, was always on its responsibilities in the formal education sphere, and many of the centers which were formerly run by the Ministry of Labor were transferred to other ministries and to state corporations. The centers directly operated by SETEP, meanwhile, became quite formalized in structure and, in time, began to resemble the regular technical schools in terms of their curricula and in terms of their lack of responsiveness to the changing requirements of the labor market. Quality fell, firms stopped sending their workers to be trained at the SETEP centers, and the internal and external efficiency of the SETEP-run CFPs dropped to unacceptable levels.

It was for these reasons that the CFPs were recently returned to MINTRA, where, presumably, they will be operated in closer proximity to job market realities. It is important to emphasize, however, that the transfer has been slow, and, at this writing, the DIFAP continues to be housed within MINED and to be run by a staff which is MINED in origin. Attention continues to be focused on the three pilot programs (all of which are in Maputo), and the great majority of the nation's CFPs remain dispersed under the direct control of a variety of entities, both public and private, which have little contact with MINTRA. There is much talk of developing a master plan for both technical education and vocational training. Several donor organizations, including the World Bank, DANIDA, FINNIDA, and ASDI, are attempting to assist in this process, but progress to date has been disappointingly slow and the preliminary version of the plan, produced in late 1991, is much too general and superficial to provide meaningful policy guidelines. The fact that vocational and technical schooling and training are now divided between two ministries undoubtedly complicates the development of a unified, integrated perspective.

The heterogeneity of the CFPs makes it difficult to describe them as a whole. The discussion that follows offers, at best, only a partial picture of the diversity of courses offered and clientele served. It is based on data collected from (1) a survey of 47 CFPs conducted in 1988/89, (2) interviews and reports obtained at DIFAP focusing on the three pilot CFPs in Maputo, (3) visits to two CFPs in Matola and Maputo, and (4) a visit with the Vice-Minister of Agriculture.

4.2.2 The Nature of Vocational Training Centers

Before attempting to analyze the vocational centers, it is important to emphasize that the CFPs are responsible for only a portion of existing out-of-school vocational training possibilities. Not covered in the discussion below, for example, are in-firm, on-the-job training or courses offered by private entrepreneurs for profit-making purposes. The latter have recently sprung up in urban areas as a result of the Government's change in economic policy, and they focus primarily on the tertiary sector, offering instruction in typing, foreign languages, computer programming, and the like. Relatively low equipment costs, the importance of Mozambique's commercial and public administration sectors, and the tendency for members of the middle to upper classes (i.e., those who can pay) to prefer white-collar to blue collar work probably explain why profit-seeking course sponsors have favored tertiary-sector pursuits.

Most of the CFPs, in contrast, focus on the industrial trades (especially electricity and mechanics). This bias reflects both the post-colonial Government's interest in promoting industrialization and the proclivities of the Soviet Union and the GDR, who early on were major contributors to CFP development. The number of commercial-skill CFPs has increased, however, and there are at least five centers that are devoted to agricultural training. Most centers restrict their course access to individuals connected to the ministries or enterprises with which they are affiliated, and many offer a combination of preparatory courses for new workers and skills-upgrading courses for those who have been on the job for some time. A number of centers, however, are open to the public and usually serve not only the employed but also the pre-employed. In some instances, students matriculate voluntarily; in others they are sent by a firm which contracts with the center to train its personnel.

The three pilot centers run by DIFAP are all public. Each has a different trade focus, emphasizing, respectively, electricity (*CFP da Electrotécnica*), mechanics (*CFP de Machava*), and commercial skills (*CFP Terciário*). These centers admit between 50 and 100 students per year and appear to have about twice as many applicants as slots available. To apply, an individual must be at least 18 years old, have completed the fourth grade, and be willing to pay about US\$15 (in two installments) for the course. Admission is based on exam performance (math, Portuguese, and trade aptitude are emphasized). Although the tests are designed to favor those with work experience, most

students at present are young (between 18 and 20 years of age) and unemployed. This pattern represents a reversal of the prevailing tendency before 1987.

A key factor contributing to this change in clientele is a growing dissatisfaction with the CFPs on the part of many companies who formerly sent their workers to study there. Not surprisingly, males are by far the majority in the two CFPs that focus on manual trades, and they represent about 60 percent of the total enrollment of the three pilot CFPs. Females, however, account for more than 80 percent of those in the commercial courses (typing, secretarial work, etc.), a tendency which prevails throughout the country's CFP network and can be considered a worldwide phenomenon.

4.2.3 Course Offerings and Curriculum Content

Considering the CFP system as a whole, it is clear that the variety of courses provided by the 92 nonformal training centers in Mozambique is quite large. Five centers visited by an ASDI team in 1991 offered 23 different specializations, lasting from a few days to a year and ranging from manual skills to management and foreign language training. A survey conducted by DIFAP in 1988/89 revealed that the centers are about equally divided between those using fixed and variable curricula, and that curriculum development is mainly the responsibility of the centers themselves and/or the sponsoring organization. User firms, in contrast, appear to exert little influence. Although the centers are supposed to offer quick and flexible training to meet labor market needs, many curricula are seemingly rigid, formalized and excessively lengthy.

One of the CFPs visited serves as an example. Administered through an agreement between a Mozambican and an Italian labor union, the center offers two-year middle-level training for those who have completed at least the ninth grade, one year of basic training for seventh-grade graduates, and short courses of two to four months for skills upgrading. The middle-level and basic-level courses are similar to what is given in middle and basic technical schools, except that their academic component receives less emphasis and the concluding certificate does not provide direct access to higher levels of the regular school system. In a sense, then, this center, like many others, operates like a regular school. The short-term upgrading courses, which are offered in accordance with requests from companies, insure some labor market responsiveness, but they do not appear to be as important to the center's daily operation as are the longer, more formalized offerings.

This problem of over-formalization and regular-school replication is a concern of DIFAP. Courses at their centers typically last ten months and are divided into three phases, one providing theoretical and academic contents, one devoted to learning the trade itself, and one during which the student has practical experience within a collaborating firm. The length of the course, DIFAP now recognizes, jeopardizes the center's ability to meet student and labor market demands. Current plans are to reduce course length to four to six months by integrating academic contents into the practical classes instead of treating them as separate disciplines. DIFAP is also considering reducing or even eliminating the in-firm practicum. This last proposal is clearly inconsistent with DIFAP's desire to make courses more relevant to work, but it reflects the difficulties that the CFPs are currently having finding firms with enough economic stability to willingly accept CFP students as trainees. At present, 18 firms participate in the pilot CFPs' *estagio* programs.

4.2.4 Teachers and Monitors

The CFP teachers (officially referred to as monitors) represent another problem area confronting the nonformal vocational training network. The centers as a whole employ over 500 such monitors, and their qualifications and the manner in which they were selected vary greatly from one center to another. The 1988/89 CFP survey mentioned above indicates that schooling levels for monitors range from the primary to the university level. About a fifth of the centers have no staff member with more

than a ninth-grade education, and only about a third are staffed with teachers who have pedagogical training. Most of the teachers at the DIFAP pilot centers are graduates of the Industrial Pedagogic Institute (IPI) in Nampula, although some are products of one of the middle-level technical institutes in Maputo (discussed in Chapter 3). Several have studied in foreign countries, most commonly the GDR, Brazil, or Portugal. One of DIFAP's most important plans for the future involves establishing a training center devoted to the preparation of CFP monitors.

Two major problems at the DIFAP centers are (1) many teachers have had no experience working at the trade they teach, and (2) many teachers leave the profession to accept better paying jobs in industry. The situation is aggravated by the fact that DIFAP does not offer regular in-service training to its monitors. The only orientation it provides is occasionally arranging for monitors to visit firms or better-equipped centers. At the same time, DIFAP complains because the many centers that are not under its direct control rarely consult it on the issue of staff preparation and selection.

At the better centers, monitors earn about as much as secondary school teachers with equivalent academic levels. Some centers are said to provide additional bonuses to employees, but this practice is apparently not commonplace. The problem of losing monitors to other employment is most acute for the commercial programs; for example, CFP Terciário in Maputo finds it difficult to maintain a staff of sufficient size. Also, in recent years, some centers have suffered from the loss of foreign personnel who were employed as part of international agreements, especially with East European countries.

4.2.5 Physical and Instructional Infrastructure

Teaching at the centers is obviously hampered by a lack of materials and equipment and generally poor maintenance of the physical and instructional infrastructure. The DIFAP centers are housed in large, solidly constructed buildings but are grossly underutilized because the necessary support system is not available. One center visited has physical space for 600 students but only enrolls 45 (in three courses of 15 each). Equipment donated by the GDR in the early 1980s is in a state of disrepair, and students learn with kits (also donated by the GDR) that have missing components (after years of use) and are outdated. Many internal maintenance chores are performed by the monitors and students, but parts are often hard to come by and many of the more complex tasks, once performed by foreign assistance specialists, are no longer manageable. The students rely on handouts and class notes rather than textbooks (both because of lack of availability and the cost), and the center has no library facilities. How generalizable such limitations are to the network as a whole is difficult to say. Quality levels probably vary substantially, but sketchy evidence suggests that these and similar deficiencies represent the norm.

4.2.6 Costs and Financing

The financing of the CFPs is obviously a key issue. Large, underutilized buildings, lengthy courses, and a tendency to carry out practical learning in school shops rather than within firms mean that costs tend to be substantial. One CFP which offers training in automotive mechanics estimates that a six-month course costs over US\$300/student, excluding the capital cost of tools and equipment. DIFAP claims that the US\$15 that the pilot center students pay to matriculate represents only 12–18 percent of their cost. In the case of public centers, basic operating costs (salaries, utilities, some materials) are provided by the sponsoring ministry or agency, while at most private centers the costs are covered by the affiliated company, which usually limits training access to its own employees. It is clear from the centers visited that the funds allocated usually cover no more than the bare essentials. Some centers outside DIFAP's jurisdiction have asked DIFAP for financial help, but the organ does not have the resources necessary to respond to these requests. At its own centers, DIFAP collects the money collected from student fees and then allocates to each center a block grant that has to be spent

and accounted for during pre-specified periods of the year. The allocation process is very rigid and does not permit much local autonomy or flexibility in responding to daily emergencies. As already mentioned, many of the centers (at least 20, according to DIFAP) have received international assistance, and many have also generated their own funds by selling training services to individuals and institutions alike. In most cases, institutions are charged more per student than are individual, unaffiliated matriculants.

A few centers have raised money by providing technical assistance or by marketing products produced by students and teachers. This option, however, does not seem to be widely utilized. As a center director interviewed put it, "You need raw materials to produce anything and we have no raw materials." There seems to be much potential for resource generation that the CFPs have been either unwilling or unable to exploit fully.

4.2.7 Internal and External Efficiency

The issue of training costs is clearly related to the question of internal and external efficiency. Once again information is very incomplete and it is necessary to extrapolate from a small number of experiences. It appears, however, that the problem of internal efficiency, as measured by dropout and failure rates, is not as serious for the CFPs as for the formal school system. The problem does exist, however. An ASDI team reported that dropout rates at CFPs are under five percent, but data from DIFAP suggest a rate of nearly 25 percent for their three centers. The rates vary greatly from course to course, and, not surprisingly, they are much higher for the unemployed students than for those who are employed. The same data reveal that course failure rates also tend to be very low. Whereas in the formal secondary system failure rates approach 50 percent (see Chapter 2), at the DIFAP centers they are in the neighborhood of 10 percent. The commercial courses have the lowest number of student failures, while metalwork and construction courses have the highest rates (over 50 percent in 1991). Interestingly, a recent study by Adorna (1991) found no relationship between course failure and either employment status or level of previous formal educational attainment.

Scattered evidence from other CFPs confirm that pass rates are generally high. Course directors tend to attribute these favorable outcomes to the emphasis given to practical learning and to high levels of motivation among their students.

External efficiency, on the other hand, is difficult to assess. Many centers serve only workers who are employed (usually with the center's parent organization), and so the question of post-course employment is not a serious issue. Most public enterprises, however, do not recognize nonformal course certificates in determining pay rates (only formal school credentials count), and this means that many of the employed who study at a CFP do not receive tangible monetary benefits from their participation. The Ministry of Labor is trying to alter the wage policy in the public sector to provide incentives to industry and other enterprises for engaging in in-service training. So far only a few entities have made any changes. Private firms, on the other hand, are more likely than public ones to use productivity rather than formal credentials as a criterion for wage determination, and thus, in this sector, the employed CFP graduates probably receive a return from their training.

The situation is much more problematical for those who are unemployed at the time they take a CFP course. Job market opportunities are currently very limited (see Chapter 9), and most centers apparently do not provide any systematic orientation or guidance in finding employment. Some students, it seems, are able to continue working at the firm where they do their course practicum, but many are unable to find work once they have graduated. Clearly, both the current economic situation and the tendency of public firms to base employment and salaries on formal school credentials work against the external efficiency of the nonformal training option.

The nature and extent of the demand for CFP offerings is not clear. In a recent survey a number of center directors listed a lack of students as a key problem. On the other hand, at the DIFAP centers, the number of applicants tends to exceed substantially the number of student slots, especially in the electricity courses and some typing and secretarial offerings.

4.2.8 Problems and Perspectives

It should be evident from the discussion above that many problems plague Mozambique's CFP network. The 1988/89 survey by DIFAP reported that the most common difficulties facing the centers were, in order of importance, (1) a lack of equipment and tools, (2) a lack of transportation for teachers and students, (3) a lack of teachers and students, (4) an insufficient budget, and (5) a lack of books and teaching materials. A recent document produced at DIFAP argues that the situation is now one of anarchy, with no central control or supervision over the multiplicity of nonformal course offerings. It notes that there are no quality standards and that centers are preparing people for the same jobs in entirely different ways. It notes too that many CFPs have little contact with job market realities and that many of the curricula that have been adopted are copies of European versions. As solutions to these problems, the document recommends that DIFAP conduct labor market studies, develop alternative forms of financing, develop a system of teacher and monitor training, establish and enforce training quality standards, create a system of orientation for private entrepreneurs who wish to set up centers, and involve employers and labor unions in the process of determining curriculum contents and in raising funds.

In light of the last suggestion mentioned, the Team spoke with the director of IDIL (Institute for the Development of Local Industry) and the Vice-President of the Association of Industries about the possibility of employer involvement in vocational training. Both were quite skeptical about the viability of such a proposal. They noted that firms currently face very difficult economic circumstances. The economy is weak, corporate taxes are high, and labor is cheap (constituting only three percent of the cost of production). Under these conditions, they both argued, firms have no incentive to invest in training and would not likely be willing to help finance CFP-type centers. They agreed, however, that employers would readily participate in the development of relevant course curricula, should the opportunity be offered.

4.2.9 Implications for USAID

The long list of problems that confront the CFPs in Mozambique suggests that there are ample opportunities for donor contributions. As noted, a number of international organizations have already given assistance to CFPs in many parts of the country, although at the moment such aid is not as pervasive as it once was, in part because DIFAP, the coordinating agency, is in a transitional stage and appears to have neither the capacity nor the power to disburse and monitor funds effectively.

There are, however, several reasons why USAID should not commit resources to the CFPs at the present time. First, since the centers are scattered and diverse, any involvement would tend to be fragmented and partial in nature. Second, until the master plan for technical and vocational education is produced, the CFP system is likely to remain poorly articulated both with governmental policy and with the needs of the labor market, which means that investments in this area are not likely to yield acceptable returns. Third, as presently structured, the CFPs are not cost-efficient, so again returns should be low. Finally, the effectiveness of training is highly dependent on the level of schooling that participants possess. A great deal of research establishes that basic education promotes trainability by developing one's capacity to learn. It seems, therefore, that given the current precarious state of Mozambique's primary schooling system, USAID would be wise to place its priority there, and to leave the possibility of investing in nonformal vocational training for reevaluation at a later date.

CHAPTER 5 HIGHER EDUCATION

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the higher education sub-sector with particular reference to the *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* (UEM), the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico* (ISP), and the Higher Institute for International Relations (ISRI) so as to explicate key constraints to improving access, equity, quality, efficiency and relevance in higher education. The National Institute for Educational Development (INDE), which is involved in educational research and teacher development, is also discussed briefly. In the process, the study is intended to highlight policy issues relevant to this sub-sector. The chapter will also identify measures for addressing the key constraints and examine the capacity of higher education institutions to absorb additional financial, human, and material resources.

The chapter is based in part on a review of recent government and foreign assistance agency sectoral and sub-sectoral analyses and strategies. The main methods of data collection were interviews with officials and teaching staff in the three institutions, Ministry officials and the relevant donor agency community. Site visits to ISP and UEM were also included.

5.2 Structures of Higher Education

The higher education sub-sector enjoys a great deal of autonomy from the Ministry of Education and the rest of the educational system. UEM has surprisingly little to do with ISP and vice versa, though individual faculty members often divide their time between the two institutions. INDE, although located close by and specifically concerned with educational research, has few connections with ISP, apart from some staff members who are completing degrees there. The lack of coordination among higher education units engenders some duplication of effort which may imply inefficiencies in the use of scarce human, financial and material resources.

5.2.1 Eduardo Mondlane University

The University was established in 1962 by decree number 44530 as the General University Studies of Mozambique. The institution was accorded the status of a university in December 1968, it starting with ten faculties. By 1968, seven other faculties were added. Teacher Training courses for grades eight to eleven were added to the original University programs in 1965. In 1976, the name of the University was changed to Eduardo Mondlane University. Educational Sciences, Law and Forestry studies were introduced in 1976. With the advent of Independence, governance of the University was democratized and the administration of the University was also changed so as to suit the needs of a new nation committed to increasing access to university education and making it more relevant to the needs of a developing nation. At this juncture, the University was accorded administrative and financial autonomy, which it continues to enjoy.

At the moment, the UEM is made up of the following faculties:

1. Agronomy
Departments: Crop Production, Rural Engineering, Forestry
2. Architecture and Physical Planning
Departments: Architecture and Physical Planning

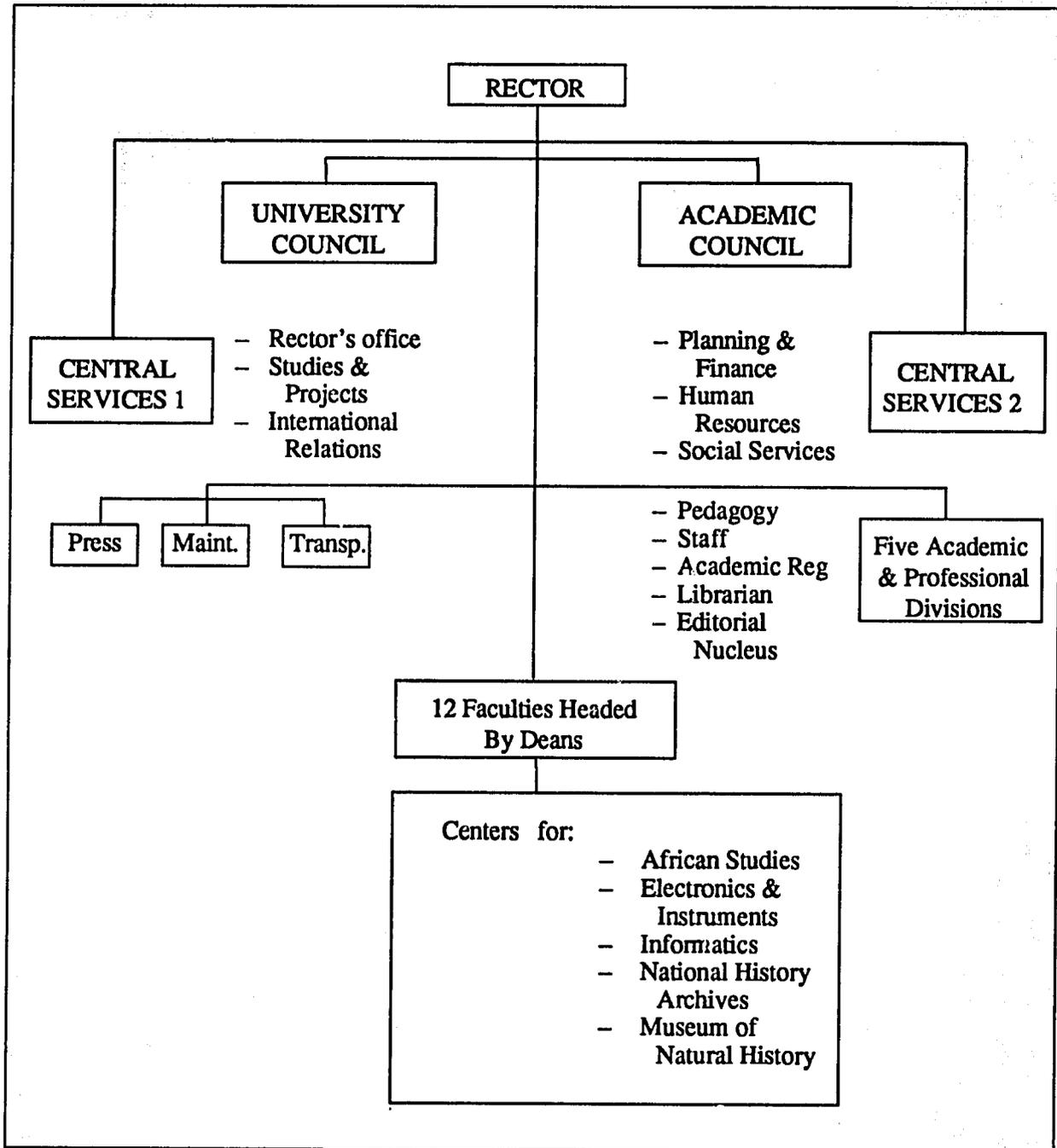
3. **Biology**
Departments: Biology
4. **Science**
Departments: Physics, Geology, Chemistry
5. **Law**
Departments: Law
6. **Economics**
Departments: Economics, Management
7. **Engineering**
Departments: Civil Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Electronic Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Chemical Engineering
8. **FACOTRAV (Faculty of Workers for Vanguard)**
9. **Arts**
Departments: Geography, History, Linguistics
10. **Mathematics**
Departments: Mathematics, Computer Sciences
11. **Medicine**
Departments: Medicine
12. **Veterinary Sciences**
Departments: Veterinary Sciences

As of February 20 when this chapter was already completed, it was announced that UEM now has a Vice Rector. There was no time to discuss with relevant officials to ascertain the Vice Rector's position vis a vis the other departments/Central Services in the Rector's Office.

Beginning in the mid-eighties, the duration of the degree programs was extended from three to four years to five years (*Licenciatura*). The UEM does not offer graduate degrees at the masters' or doctoral levels because the University does not have enough faculty members with the requisite qualifications and experience to handle graduate programs. Additionally, the University does not have the infrastructure and material resources such as library and laboratory facilities to mount and sustain graduate programs.

Governance in the UEM which involves setting priorities, making policy decisions, and allocating resources is done by the Rector, the University Council, Academic Council, Central Services, Deans of Faculties, student representatives and other interested student groups. Deans of faculties have a great deal of autonomy in soliciting funds for projects in their departments and faculties as a whole. Faculties also have much freedom regarding the setting of objectives and priorities for their departments. Up to now, Government's role in the governance of UEM through the Ministry of Education has been minimal. Interviews with the Secretary of the Academic Council, four deans and two Ministry of Education officials indicated that some officials within the GRM would like to increase Ministry oversight over UEM budgets since government provides part of the money used for recurrent and capital expenditures at the University. Institutional autonomy and self-government would not otherwise be compromised. This move is being resisted by UEM officials and faculty, who jealously guard their autonomy.

Figure 5.1
Organigram of Eduardo Mondlane University



5.2.2 The National Institute of Educational Development-INDE

INDE was established in 1978 when a commission was set up to oversee teaching in secondary schools and the provision of textbooks, in short supply after Independence. The Institute was originally conceived as a national directorate for research, curriculum planning, and textbook

production. Between 1981 and 1988 more than 100 textbooks were produced under INDE auspices. Since 1989 its major functions have been in the following areas:

1. Textbook production for reading, writing, and bilingual education;
2. Research in school effectiveness, population and family life education;
3. In-service training of teachers in Teacher Training Centers throughout the country;
4. Production of adult literacy teaching and learning materials;
5. Evaluation of textbooks and adult literacy projects; and
6. Research into social and cultural attitudes that affect population growth and control.

These projects at INDE are funded by various donors as follows:

Table 5.1
Current Donor Funded Projects at INDE

DONOR	PROJECT	DURATION	AMOUNT
World Bank	Bilingual Education	5 yrs	US\$1 million
ASDI	Textbook Production and Evaluation	5 yrs	US\$200,000
UNICEF	Adult Literacy for Bilingual Education	5 yrs	US\$80,000
UNFPA	Population and FamilyLife —Phase I	3 yrs	US\$600,000
MINED	Text Illustration	Long-term	None
UNFPA	Social and Cultural Attitudes	Long-term	None
MINED	School Effectiveness	Long-term	None
MINED	In-service Training of Teacher in Tr. Centers	Long-term	None
MINED	Reading and Writing	Long-term	None

5.2.3 The Higher Institute For International Relations (ISRI)

ISRI was founded in 1986 as a training center for Mozambican diplomats who had hitherto been trained in Tanzania. ISRI occupies three buildings located in different settings in the city of Maputo. The three buildings house the library and administrative services, academic infrastructure and a

research center. The center has a small computer unit that is used mainly by students. The Institute currently has 250 students all reading for the five-year Bachelors degree in international relations. The major courses offered by the center are:

1. International Relations and Diplomacy;
2. Development and International Economics;
3. Political Science and Public Administration; and
4. International Issues of Environment and Social Communication.

There are plans to introduce a Masters degree in International Relations. Students who graduate from this institute find employment in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Commerce, the Bank of Mozambique, the Ministry of Trade and the various national and international NGOs in the country. The center has 32 staff members, three of whom have Ph.Ds. There are only eight female lecturers at the ISRI. Among the 32 lecturers are one Portuguese, one Angolan and one Zambian. Generally, as far as staffing is concerned, the ISRI has the same problem as the other institutions of higher learning in that it fails to attract the best people in the field because of poor salaries and inadequate teaching and learning facilities. The center also has a desperate need for textbooks for students and the library.

The center receives most of its financing from the Government but students do pay fees of 105,000 MT per semestral course, plus 100,000 MT registration fees.

ISRI also receives funding from the Ford Foundation (US\$ 230,000 beginning in 1988) and UNDP (US\$435,000 beginning in 1988). UNDP supports institution-building, the provision of equipment, and salaries for technical support staff. The Ford Foundation supports the library, staff travel, training of graduate students, and support of visiting academics. Currently, ISRI has four staff development fellows in England, two in Australia and one in Portugal.

ISRI has linkages with other regional universities and associations. Its major research projects are in the areas of security studies, development and regional cooperation, and political and foreign policy analysis. Although ISRI receives support from donors, the Institute's library cannot support sound research in its areas of interest.

5.3 Enrollments and Staffing Trends in Higher Education

5.3.1 Teacher Education

Teacher training in Mozambique takes place in three types of institutes. First, there are eighteen *Centros De Formação De Professores Primários* (CFPP). These are located throughout the country, but only fifteen are operating at the moment. Candidates for the CFPP's need only have completed grade seven. They spend three years enrolled at a CFPP before beginning to teach in grades 1-5. The second type is the *Instituto Médio Pedagógico* (IMP), of which there are five. Students spend three years at IMP, training to teach grades six and seven. Candidates for IMP have usually completed grade 10. The third type is the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico*, which is located in Maputo. Enrollment at ISP requires a full secondary school certificate. Students spend five years before qualifying to teach in schools up to pre-university level.

Until 1986, secondary teachers were trained at UEM, which maintained a fully-staffed Faculty of Education. In 1986 ISP was established by Dr. António dos Muchangos, who is now the Minister of Education, in effect taking the place of UEM's Faculty of Education and assuming the responsibility for preparing secondary school teachers and teacher trainers. However, the majority of the students who graduate from the ISP do not end up in teachers' colleges. They are usually employed by the

MINED as education officers. In this respect the graduates of the ISP are not being used efficiently, because secondary schools remain without well-qualified teachers.

The ISP has the following faculties:

- Social Sciences
- Pedagogical Sciences
- Natural Sciences and Mathematics
- Languages.

Licenciatura courses are offered for prospective teachers in:

- Chemistry and Biology
- Mathematics and Physics
- Portuguese and English
- History and Geography
- Pedagogy and Psychology.

In 1989, the ISP opened a branch in Beira with fifty students studying Geography and Physics. Mathematics was added to the course offerings in 1991. Interviews conducted at ISP revealed that plans are under way to open a separate ISP offering its own degrees in Beira.

ISP experiences the same constraints as those experienced by UEM. These include inadequate facilities, lack of qualified staff, and lack of housing for students and staff. At the moment, ISP has 18 female teachers and 56 male teachers. The majority of the lecturers were trained in Eastern Europe. Several have degrees from ISP and the local university.

One criticism of the ISP program is that students spend a long time in the Institute when teachers are needed in schools. Students who were interviewed confirmed this criticism. Staff interviewed support the length of the program, however, on the grounds that their students do not have a very good secondary education when they enter ISP. A second criticism concerns the continued use of out-of-date Russian theories of education at ISP.

Although ISP receives assistance from ASDI amounting to about three million SW.Cr. (US\$500,000) per year, it still has an acute shortage of books and laboratory facilities. The 545,500,000 MT that the ISP receives from the government is inadequate to meet the recurrent expenditures of the Institute. SAREC also provided funds (US\$25,000) to ISP for research purposes. Sweden is funding a Masters' degree course in Educational Planning that is run jointly by ISP and the Institute of International Education in Stockholm. The program was started in 1991 and is intended to strengthen the capacity of ISP. Since the program has not been evaluated, it is premature to comment on its strengths or weaknesses. The majority of the students in this course are officials in the Ministry of Education.

5.3.2 University Education

Student enrollments at UEM and indeed all other tertiary institutions in the country are affected by the unavailability of qualified faculty and their willingness to teach. The inadequacy of housing for faculty and students and the limited financial resources to equip libraries and laboratories also affects student enrollments. The career pattern of University faculty is similar to that in the US in the sense that an individual can progress from assistant professor to associate professor to full professor on a tenure track. However, for a very long period of time, UEM has had to depend on part-time staff from both the public and private sectors. Since Independence, there has been steady progress toward the employment of Mozambicans to teach at the University, as indicated in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Growth in Professorial Staff at UEM

YEAR	1975	1979	1986	1990	1990 %Inc
Professors (Moz)	1	5	17	22	5
Ass't. (Moz)	4	42	171	286	62
Total Prof. (Moz)	5	47	188	308	67
Profs. (Foreign)	154	193	177	149	33
Total Professors	159	240	365	457	100

NB. Lecturers in the Faculty of Arts and part-time lecturers are not included in this table.

Source: UEM. 1991. "Present and Perspectives," Maputo, p. 9.

Currently UEM has 94 part-time lecturing staff. While the percentage of Mozambican faculty had increased to 67 percent by 1990, the Mozambican staff are relatively young, underqualified, and inexperienced in university teaching as indicated in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3
**Professional Experience of Mozambican
Faculty Members at UEM**

CATEGORY	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE			TOTAL
	<5	6-9	>10	
Ph.D's	--	--	10	10
Licenciatura	77	78	41	196
Bachelors degree	--	45	4	49
Total	77	123	55	255

NB. Excludes 53 faculty members who are currently pursuing degrees in foreign countries.

Source: UEM. 1991. "Present and Perspectives," Maputo, p. 9.

5.4 Key Problems, Constraints and Issues

5.4.1 Staffing and Staff Retention

One of the key problems at UEM and ISP is faculty retention. The numbers of local staff have increased dramatically in recent years, and the GRM has raised University salaries more rapidly than salaries for similarly qualified personnel elsewhere in the public sector. Salaries and conditions of service for faculty at UEM nevertheless remain poor compared to what the private and NGO sectors offer. Hence, the best qualified Mozambicans continue to be attracted to employment in the private sector and in donor agencies. The Faculty of Economics exemplifies the seriousness of this problem. It has lost most of its local staff to the private sector and to non-governmental organizations operating

in Mozambique. The Faculty of Engineering has 41 Mozambican lecturers and 15 expatriates. However, of the 41 Mozambicans, only five have more than ten years teaching experience. Some of the expatriates are also underqualified to teach at university level. For instance, there are only four Mozambicans and ten expatriates with Ph.D.'s. Three Mozambicans and four expatriates have M.Sc. degrees in Science. There are 24 Mozambicans on the faculty, and only one has a Ph.D. In Architecture, no Mozambican has a Ph.D. In medicine all the lecturers were trained locally.

According to its policy document "Present and Perspectives," the UEM staff development program has been hampered firstly by the absence of University policy regarding staff development and its regulation, and secondly by the difficulties experienced by various faculties in recruiting the best undergraduates who graduate from UEM each year. UEM's long-term plan for staff development has also had to be adjusted in response to the recent departure of large numbers of lecturing staff from the Eastern Bloc countries in faculties such as Engineering, Medicine, Economics, Sciences, and Mathematics, imposing an additional burden on remaining faculty. The recruitment of staff from abroad has not been systematic because lecturers have applied on an individual basis rather than applying within the framework of bilateral or multilateral agreements with governmental and non-governmental donors and countries. Countries including Portugal, Cuba, Italy, Holland, and Sweden offer technical assistance in a few faculties at the UEM.

5.4.2 Inadequate Infrastructure

The faculties of Eduardo Mondlane University are located on four main sites around Maputo, with the Faculties of Economics, Mathematics, Arts, Law, Agronomy, and Biology located at the main campus. The Rector and his administration are located downtown, which makes the effective administration of the University very difficult. Plans to shift the Rector's office to the main campus have been developed but not implemented. ISP faces the same problem: some classes and student hostels are located in different parts of the city. In such a situation, it becomes difficult to economize in the use of common support services, including transport, libraries, and photocopying. In addition, institutional integrity is damaged, as faculty members develop little sense of common organizational membership.

The inadequacy of infrastructure varies from one department/faculty to another. For instance, the Faculty of Engineering now has excellent workshops built with funds from the World Bank. At the same time, that Faculty has very inadequate facilities for its library and classrooms. Site visits to the faculties of Biology, Agronomy, Science, Architecture, and Medicine revealed a gross inadequacy of laboratories, chemicals, equipment, and vehicles.

In Science, some of the equipment is almost twenty years old. In fact, the laboratories are virtually empty, and equipment is very rusty. Chemicals are not available for the chemistry students. The writer was taken by the Dean of Science, the only lecturer with a Ph.D., around three empty rooms that used to be chemistry laboratories. A physics class (Sound Experiments) was observed in which the students were using equipment that one would normally expect to find in a secondary school.

As mentioned above, UEM has no central library, with each faculty maintaining its own. The libraries visited at ISP, INDE, Engineering, Science, Biology, Agronomy, Economics, and Architecture have very few new books and journals. Most of the books are in English, which makes them difficult for some of the students and staff to read.

The inadequacy of libraries is exacerbated by the fact that all librarians in these faculties are not qualified. In Science, for instance, the librarian in charge of the chemistry library has no secondary education. The rooms in which the libraries are located are extremely small and cannot accommodate many students. They lack furniture and proper ventilation. None of the libraries is computerized,

although the Faculty of Agronomy is planning to computerize its catalogue system. To make matters worse, all deans interviewed expressed the view that they have no hope of ever getting money from the state to improve library facilities. Hence the donations from the British Council for books and journals from SAREC or the other agencies that offer technical support to UEM, such as the Italians, are the only source of hope for most of the faculty libraries. The location of the faculties in different areas, as already suggested, also makes it difficult for UEM to concentrate its resources by building one main library on campus.

Amidst such an acute shortage of equipment, an ironic situation is developing in Electrical and Electronic Engineering, where equipment for digital electronics supplied by the British Council is still locked in cupboards, at least in part because the manuals are in English rather than Portuguese.

On the main campus, the structures are very good but in need of proper maintenance. On the main campus and in the other faculties, classroom facilities need more furniture, and old chairs and desks need to be replaced. In some of the seminar rooms visited, blackboards need replacement. The new engineering building funded by the World Bank lacks furniture for students.

5.4.3 Equity Concerns: Gender and Regional

In the context of higher education in Mozambique, equity concerns can be analyzed by using such indicators as relative rates or indices of entry, transition, and success among various population groups differentiated by gender, province, or socio-economic status of parents. Equity also refers to the effect of higher education on income distribution and social mobility in Mozambican society. And finally, equity issues pertain to the distribution of public spending on education among people in the same generation.

Gender disparities in the tertiary sector can only be understood in the context of unequal access to primary and secondary education for girls since the colonial period. As indicated in Table 5.4, fewer females than males tend to complete secondary education.

Table 5.4
Comparison of Enrolments by Gender: 1989

	Males %	Females %
Primary 1	56.5	43.5
Primary 2	60.3	38.7
Secondary	65.6	34.4
Pre -Univ.	72.2	27.8

Source: Zucula, C. 1991. "Socio-Cultural Aspects of The School Attendance of Girls At Primary Level In Mozambique", UNESCO/UNICEF, Maputo.

At the university level, females are grossly under-represented in the faculties of Science, Architecture, Engineering, Mathematics, Agriculture and Medicine. In Science, out of 39 lecturers, only one is a woman. In Engineering, out of 56 lecturers, only seven are female. In architecture there are no females teaching as full-time members of staff. In Medicine, out of 256 students, only a third are women. The only exception is Biology, where there are 62 female and 28 male students. In the fourth year, out of 14 students, only one is male. According to the Dean of that Faculty, men regard Biology as a feminine subject and, consequently, they tend to keep away. Biology also happens to be

the only Faculty headed by a woman. In the entire University, there are fewer women on the staff than men. Student enrollments from 1975 to the present also indicate that the percentage of females has consistently been lower than that of males, though their representation has increased over time. Data on enrollment by gender for 1990 are presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5
Student Enrollment at UEM by Gender

Faculty	Male		Female		Total
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	
Sciences	138	80%	35	20%	173
Mathematics	88	74%	31	26%	119
Biology	33	33%	66	67%	99
Engineering	745	93%	59	7%	804
Agronomy	156	75%	53	25%	209
Vet. Sci.	91	62%	55	38%	146
Law	195	77%	58	23%	253
Economics	368	76%	117	24%	485
Arts	124	67%	61	33%	185
Medicine	134	47%	153	53%	287
Architecture	99	80%	25	20%	124
TOTAL	2171	75%	713	25%	2884

Source: UEM. 1991. "Present and Perspectives," Maputo, pp. 17-18.

Gender disparities also exist at the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico*, where staff and student profiles are shown in Table 5.6:

Table 5.6
Staff & Student Profile at ISP-1991

	Male		Female		Total
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	
Staff	56	(76%)	18	(24%)	74
Students	864	(78%)	248	(22%)	1112

Source: UEM. 1991. "Present and Perspectives," Maputo, pp. 17-18.

At ISRI, only 15 percent of the 300 students are women. Of a staff complement of 32 lecturers, only eight are women

In Mozambique and the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, the teaching profession has tended to be monopolized by males because they gain more access to primary and secondary education than females. Historically, the participation rates of females in both the private and public sectors have tended to be lower than those of males.

In terms of regional disparities, students from outside the southern provinces are clearly disadvantaged as far as University entrance is concerned. There are very few pre-university schools in areas such as Nampula, Tete, Cabo Delgado and Gaza (see Chapter 2.) The best pre-university schools are in Maputo, and students from this province therefore tend to be over-represented in higher education, especially at UEM. In 1990, 41 percent of the students at UEM came from Maputo, while eight percent came from Zambézia, seven percent from Nampula, four percent from Tete, and three percent from Cabo Delgado. Such disparities will inevitably continue if more pre-university schools are not built in non-southern provinces.

Table 5.7 indicates that numbers of students from rural areas at the University are very small compared to the populations of provinces such as Nampula, Zambézia and Tete. Rural students in 1990 constituted only 38 percent of the entire student population, while the total rural population of Mozambique was 80% of the total.

Table 5.7
Distribution of Rural Students at UEM

YEAR	1981		1985		1990	
Pre-Univ.	308	47%	340	58%	18	38%
UEM	447	42%	574	48%	1026	38%
TOTAL	755	44%	914	49%	1044	38%

Source: UEM. 1991. "Present and Perspectives," Maputo, p. 14.

When we consider the fact that housing is likely to be a major problem in Maputo and its environs, it can be reasonably argued that regional disparities are likely to continue in higher education, even with the anticipated opening of a Catholic university in Beira sometime in 1994.

5.4.4 Access Concerns

Higher education remains inaccessible to the majority of Mozambican youth. At present the main problem is not a shortage of capacity at the University, but the scarcity of secondary school places in most parts of the country, which prevents students from preparing themselves for admission to higher education. Selection is accomplished by means of three competitive examinations, which are administered at the 7th, 10th, and 12th grade levels. Table 5.8 illustrates the bottlenecks in the Mozambican educational system.

Despite rigorous selection at all levels of the education system, a substantial proportion of the students who reach UEM reportedly lack adequate preparation for university work. Interviews conducted with University deans indicated that the command of Portuguese of the majority of their students is inadequate for advanced-level studies. Hence some of the deans felt that it may be necessary to offer Portuguese classes at the University for new students so that they can cope with the demands of scientific and intellectual discourse in Portuguese. (See Chapter 1 for additional discussion of language issues.)

Table 5.8
Bottlenecks in the Education System

Year	GR.1-5	GR.6-7	GR.9-10	GR.11-12	ISP	UNIV
1985	1,303,650	111,283	21,623	2,162		2,034
1986	1,305,582	113,984	23,847	2,220		
1987	1,286,961	75,877	25,362	2,083		
1988	1,199,669	96,380	26,203	2,499		
1989	1,260,218	96,907	25,244	2,801	1,143 ¹	2,926 ²

¹ This is a 1991 figure which includes Mathematics students from the Beira campus.

² This is a 1990 figure which includes 42 non-tertiary level students

Source: Ministerio da Educaçao - Direcçao Planificaçao, Maputo. Anexo 5 (Undated).

The accessibility of university education and higher education in general to students from outside Maputo continues to be a problem according to University administrators, who are publicly worried about the over-representation of students from the southern provinces in higher education. Factors including an acute shortage of university housing, the collection of formal and informal school fees at secondary schools, and the exodus of Eastern European teachers from pre-university schools may mean that even fewer rural students will be admitted UEM. The acquisition of donor assistance to construct additional student hostels is one step that UEM is taking to alleviate the problem, but this does not really address the secondary school bottleneck issue.

5.4.5 The Issue of Relevance

Curriculum changes that have taken place in the Mozambican education system since Independence have all been intended to make education more relevant to the needs of a developing nation. In the case of Mozambique, the form, content and orientation of higher education was greatly affected by the ideological orientation of the post-colonial government, which espoused an orthodox socialist position. Now that this ideology has been abandoned, education is intended to prepare students for a market-oriented economy and a society where individuals are rewarded for their labor and not for their ideological commitment.

However, the relevance of the curriculum at the tertiary level is still being eroded by the following factors:

1. the unavailability of textbooks;
2. the shortage of well-qualified staff at all the tertiary levels;
3. the inadequacy of laboratory facilities;
4. the unavailability of up-to-date equipment in workshops and laboratories;
5. the lack of funds to conduct research in rural and urban areas that can then be used in classrooms by lecturers and in the workplace by students;

5.4.6 Efficiency Issues

Internal efficiency is concerned with the extent to which the higher education system meets its goals in relation to outcomes and individual or institutional costs. When dealing with the notion of efficiency, it is also important to assess external efficiency concerns, which assess the extent to which higher education is serving the needs of Mozambican society in relation to the overall cost of higher education to the public and the quantity and quality of higher education graduates. No related studies of higher education have been done in Mozambique, and the absence of accurate data on labor market trends makes an analysis of external efficiency difficult.

Some general observations can nevertheless be offered: in order to improve internal efficiency at UEM, it is essential that the faculties be combined so that the University can utilize resources from different faculties to maximize the quantity and quality of graduates produced; there seems to be no rationale for continuing programs that are not popular among students; the five-year structure is evidently not cost-effective; and many faculties do not have enough students, for instance, Science has 39 lecturers for just 153 students. There is a great need to increase the number of students, rationalize the offerings if UEM is to make full use of lecturers and achieve economies of scale.

5.4.7 Costs and Financing of University Education

The University depends very heavily on donor funds for staffing, books, buildings, equipment, vehicles, and vehicles. The largest donors to UEM are Italy, Sweden, the World Bank, the Netherlands, and the British Council.

Government contributions to university education are relatively small, primarily because of the constraints facing the GRM. At the moment, university students only pay a token fee towards education. In 1991 overall revenues received from students were equivalent to approximately 0.7 percent of the total funds furnished by the Government. The distribution of financing of university education among the Government and the international donors for 1990 and 1991 is summarized in Figures 5.9 and 5.10. For the two years, the GRM's portion of the total resources attributed were, respectively, 35 and 19 percent of the total allocation.

Donor support goes disproportionately to the Faculties of Science, Engineering, and Agriculture. Medicine gets only a small quantity of funds from the Ford Foundation and SAREC. Other donors including Italy, Holland, Germany, the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre (Canada), and the British Council – also give small amounts for technical assistance, books, equipment and occasionally staff training in neighboring countries or in their own countries.

5.4.8 Quality and Relevance Concerns

Instructional and learning resources are grossly inadequate at both UEM and ISP. INDE has a library which seems sufficient for its current activities. However, there is an acute shortage of reading and learning materials in Portuguese at both ISP and UEM. Neither operates a bookstore. The ability of staff to produce manuals is compromised by the absence of inexpensive printing facilities in the country. The inadequacy of the libraries has already been described. Consequently, students in the two institutions rely on notes provided by the lecturers. According to some reports, these lecture notes are so outdated that they are beginning to question the quality and

Table 5.9
Resources Attributed to the University (Mt '000,000) 1990

Heading	Government	International Cooperation	Total
Operations			
Remunerations	1518	9313	10831
Others	2345	697	3042
Investments			
Construction	705	2349	3054
Equipment	2280	933	3213
Others	350	76	426
TOTAL	7198	13368	20566

Source: Present and Perspectives" 1991. Maputo, p. 53.

Table 5.10
Resources Attributed to the University (Mt '000,000) 1991

Heading	Government	International Cooperation	Total
Operations			
Remunerations	1761	12727	14448
Others	2533	—	2533
Investments			
Construction	—	4562	4562
Equipment		835	835
Others		—	—
TOTAL	4294	18124	22418

Source: Present and Perspectives 1991. Maputo, p. 53.

The promotion of university faculty from "auxiliary" lecturer to lecturer and senior lecturer was until recently based on the number of years in service, and on the acquisition of a Ph.D. for promotion to professorship. This partly explains why lecturers at UEM, ISRI and ISP have no motivation to conduct research or publish in local and international journals. Other factors limiting the University faculty's participation in the international academic and research community include heavy teaching loads, limited access to scholarly journals and to colleagues from other countries, shortages of equipment and consumables, and widespread "moonlighting" to supplement their University salaries. The research capacity of lecturers is also seriously limited by the small number and inadequacy of both micro- and mini-computers at ISP and UEM. The majority of lecturers at both institutions have no knowledge of computer applications in either basic or applied research. There is equally a shortage of computers for administrative purposes in departments and at the institutional management levels. SAREC and the Ford Foundation provide some funds for research purposes. However, most of the

faculty members need an orientation to writing research proposals and to conducting research if they are going to compete with other institutions in the region.

5.5 Donor Assistance

Historically, Mozambique has received most of its aid from the former Eastern Bloc and the Scandinavian countries. With the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, most of the aid has just petered out, and in some cases Mozambican students have been returned from Eastern European countries. Currently, the major donors in the higher education sub-sector are the World Bank, UNICEF, the Italians, the Swedes, and the Germans.

Most donor agencies at the moment are interested in funding the acquisition of textbooks and equipment, the provision of salaries, and staff housing. Their major goals are to improve access and equity in higher education. Additionally, donors are interested in assisting Mozambique to develop an institutional capacity to do research that addresses the issues of improving the quality of the graduates.

The major forms of donor assistance are:

- Aid for investment projects such as engineering buildings and equipment.
- Aid for recurrent costs which includes the provision of lecturers, training in donor countries, and direct grants to UEM, ISP, INDE, and ISRI. Almost all the major donors are providing funds in this category. There are bilateral agreements with countries such as Cuba, Portugal, Holland, and Italy that are heavily involved in providing expatriate teachers for the sector.

The major concern of donors is the ability of people at UEM and its sister institutions to manage donor funds. However, government sources interviewed are generally contented with the manner in which UEM officials have managed donor funds. They did express concern at the ability of ISP to manage these monies.

5.6 Conclusion

The very difficult financial circumstances in which GRM finds itself necessitate difficult choices. The need for increased investment to expand enrollments and improve instructional quality in primary schools is urgent. This need is highlighted by the increasing public and private sector demand for high-level manpower. In the judgement of the study team, investment in basic education should be given priority, but selective assistance to the University may nevertheless be justified if it expands access for otherwise disadvantaged groups or increases the efficiency with which the University uses its own resources. Some suggestions as to the forms such assistance might take are presented in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 6

ISSUES IN PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

6.1 Education System and Government Policies

6.1.1 Structure of the System

6.1.1.1 Central Administration

The Ministry of Education is responsible for defining educational policies in Mozambique. Some investment projects including school construction originate in the Provinces and are financed from local budgets; others are financed by the Ministry. The employment of teachers and functionaries continues to be determined by central authorities in order to maintain control of expenditures on salaries. Central control over the education system is relatively weak, and much administrative authority is exercised at provincial and district levels.

The Ministry of Education has recently been reorganized. It is at present divided into eight administrative and three educational directorates, as well as two semi-autonomous institutions, as illustrated in Figure 6.1. The three educational directorates are responsible for primary and adult education; secondary education; and vocational/technical education respectively. The eight administrative directorates are responsible for planning, human resources administration, administration and finance, school inspection, evaluation and certification, documentation, juridical affairs, and the administration of the *Caixa Escolar* (a fund to provide textbooks and school materials to poor households). The two semi-autonomous institutions are the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE), which is primarily a research and curriculum development institute; and the Institute for Professional Training (IAP), which is in principle responsible for distance education.

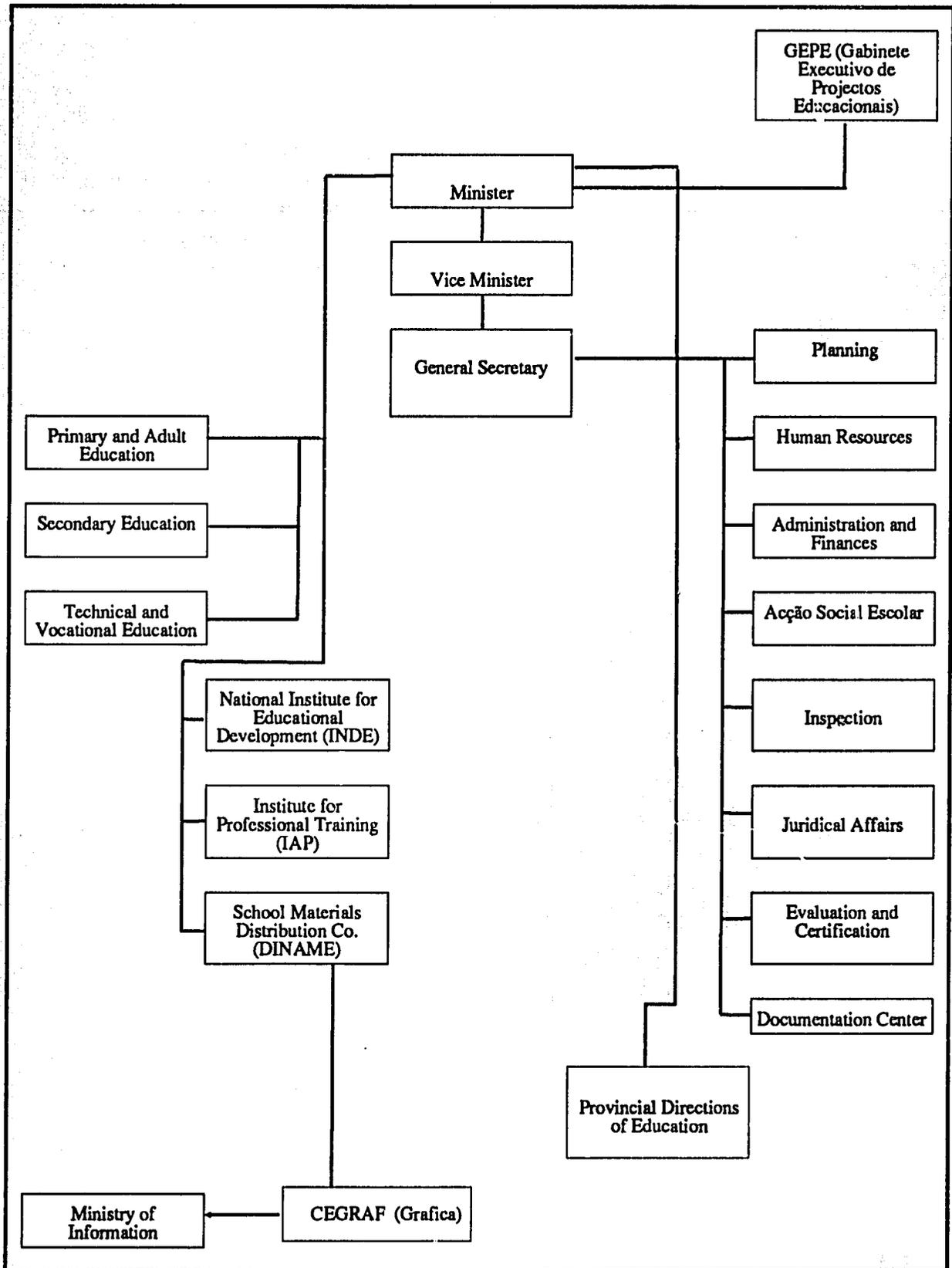
In addition, the Educational Publishing Center (CEGRAF – which is administratively part of the Ministry of Information) produces textbooks and instructional materials, which are distributed by the National School Materials Distribution Agency (DINAME). These are autonomous agencies, which receive some foreign assistance (e.g., from ASDI) but no direct GRM resources. The cost of textbooks distributed by DINAME was subsidized until 1991, but now books are sold at full cost, and subsidies are directed to households through the *Caixa Escolar*.

Other educational institutions include: the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM); the Higher Pedagogical Institute (ISP), which is in charge of training secondary education teachers, and most recently is developing a Masters program for training trainers of primary school teachers; and the Institute for Foreign Relations, which is responsible for training diplomats. All of these institutions are located in Maputo. The higher education institutions enjoy almost complete administrative and budgetary autonomy from the Ministry of Education.

6.1.1.2 Provincial and District Administration

Direct administrative responsibility in the education system is divided between provincial and district authorities. Provincial education authorities are responsible both to the Ministry of Education and to the governor of the province. The provincial director of education serves as a member of the governor's cabinet, but he is appointed by the Ministry of Education. The provincial education budget is fixed centrally, but within the budget there is some discretionary authority for provincial investments. District education officers are directly responsible for the administration of local schools. Primary school principals are appointed by the District Education Director; secondary school principals are appointed at the provincial level.

Figure 6.1
Educational System in Mozambique – Organization and Administration



6.1.2 Educational policies

In the years after Independence the education system sought to increase access to educational services for all Mozambicans, to transform curriculum structure and content, and to create new forms of knowledge, organization and leadership in the educational process.¹

The National Education System Law (NES) was passed in 1983. The NES made school attendance mandatory in the primary grades (EP1 – grades one to five, and EP2 – grades six and seven). Children are supposed to enroll as soon as they reach seven years of age. The original objectives of the NES were (a) universal access to primary education, (b) training of the labor force to achieve a basic education, (c) elimination of illiteracy, and (d) improvements in the quantity and quality of human capital for development.

Less than a decade later, some of the educational priorities of the NES have been revised in a new document produced by the Ministry of Education (MINED). The MINED argues that the combination of the fiscal crisis and the war have made some of the objectives of the NES for educational expansion impossible to achieve in the short run. Priority has therefore shifted to improving the quality of education provided to those children already in school through: a) improving teachers' training and qualifications; b) production and distribution of didactic materials and textbooks; c) capacity building and improvements in administration and educational planning; and d) promoting educational research in areas including textbooks, evaluation of the national education system, bilingual education, evaluation of the relationship between labor markets and educational supply, and educational administration (including management information systems and planning).

A second priority is educational expansion. This is to be achieved through the rehabilitation of schools destroyed by the war, construction of new schools, and improvements in the use of classrooms and allocation of teachers.

A third priority is to cope with the situation of emergency created by the war and economic crisis. In this regard, actions include: the rebuilding of the educational network, and the provision of educational supplies; the definition and implementation of methodologies to work with children affected by the war; new models of pre-service and in-service teacher training programs; and subsidies to poor families for the purchase of textbooks.

Finally, the Ministry of Education has called for renewed efforts in literacy training and adult basic education, and in the development of technical and vocational education in Mozambique.

The extent to which the GRM's "new" priorities are actually reflected in the schools is limited, as has been shown in other chapters. The relatively modest priorities adopted in 1990 may be more realistic under Mozambique's present circumstances than those adopted in 1983, but the war and the straitened fiscal condition of the GRM prevent the achievement of old and new objectives alike. At present, therefore, the key determinants of whether or not policies are implemented are the security situation and the interest of donors. Until the war ends, plans for the rehabilitation and expansion of the school system will remain on hold. Until the fiscal situation of the GRM improves, basically only those activities that coincide with the interest of donors will be implemented.

¹ This section is based primarily on information presented in República Popular de Moçambique, *Sistema Nacional de Educação: Linhas Gerais e Lei Nº 4/83*, page 13; and People's Republic of Mozambique. Ministry of Education, *Education in Mozambique. Problems and Perspectives*, Direcção de Planificação, Maputo, January 1990, page 3.

6.2 Issues in administration and planning

The key administrative issue in the education sector is the shortage of trained administrators at all levels of the system. Almost no school principals have received training prior to assuming their posts, and the qualifications of officials in the Ministry of Education and in provincial and district education departments are often very low.

The administrative weakness of key personnel has repercussions throughout the education system. One of the most significant is the tendency for nearly all decisions to be made by the few highly-qualified officials at or near the top of the administrative hierarchy. This concentration of authority makes the system far less flexible and adaptable than it might otherwise be and hinders the decentralization of administrative and financial authority.

Incumbent administrators at all levels throughout the system are relatively young and so can be expected to remain in their jobs for a considerable length of time. Their lack of professional preparation will continue to undermine the effectiveness and efficiency of the system until they receive suitable training. At present, however, there are virtually no opportunities available for the professional upgrading of educational administrators at any level.

The problems attendant on the employment of poorly qualified administrators are compounded by serious problems in communication and transportation (some of which are attributable to the war), which prevent close articulation across levels of the education system. Officials from the Ministry of Education are able to leave Maputo, but their visits to the field are mainly restricted to provincial capitals and a few districts. Officials in provincial education departments are often unable to visit districts under their jurisdiction because of security or transport problems. District officials in turn face difficulties in their efforts to visit schools.

6.3 Conclusions

One result of these problems is a lack of sufficient information about personnel within the system, and a consequent lack of control over expenditures. It is widely supposed that there are a large number of *professores fantasmas* – individuals who are receiving salaries but who are not actually teaching – but it is virtually impossible to determine how many because of the lack of accurate information. This phenomenon can be traced to several problems related to the management of teachers. For one, after Independence, the Government decided to abandon the colonial bureaucracy regarding registration and other necessary documents for managing the teaching force. With reorganization, the administration of this component has faltered, although efforts are being undertaken to renew the registration of teachers. Another problem is the inability of tracking teachers who transfer between districts.

The destruction of large numbers of schools and classrooms by RENAMO almost certainly means that there are redundant teachers in some districts, while there are severe shortages in others, but a better match between teachers and vacancies is difficult to bring about under present social and economic circumstances. The absence of a school map operation makes planning decisions about the allocation of resources to schools similarly difficult, though MOE does know where the country's schools are, as well as some other related data. Teachers have fled from some areas, while other areas have no schools at all.

Communication and transport problems are also partly to blame for problems in the distribution of textbooks and educational materials; books reportedly sit in warehouses in regional or provincial capitals for lack of means to transport them to districts or schools. Efforts to increase private sector participation in an effort to improve the distribution of books and materials have not been very successful, however. Traders find the permissible level of profit on textbooks too low, and parents

find the prices of textbooks too high. Even when transport is available, therefore, books may fail to reach the schools.

Lack of coordination between the Ministry of Education and other institutions within the educational sector (notably UEM and ISP) produces a competition among institutions for budgetary resources in which the Ministry has recently fared badly. One reason for the Ministry's relative lack of success in fiscal competition is the division of financial responsibility for basic education between the Ministry and the provinces, as contrasted with the unified administrative structures of the higher education institutions. Global budgetary allocations for the education system are determined centrally, but resources are transferred to the provinces in block grants. Discretionary decisions about allocations within the sector are made at the provincial level. Lacking a strong and unified voice at either national or provincial levels, budgetary allocations for basic education have been in relative decline for some time, and this trend is projected to continue.

More than half of the sector's investment expenditure and nearly one-third of its recurrent expenditure is provided by donors, which means that investment decisions and policy decisions must at a minimum be made in consultation with the principal aid agencies. The weakness of the Ministry when confronted by the donors is compounded by the relative lack of professional qualifications and administrative capacity among those responsible for administration and planning on the government side. The consequence is that the donors and their consultants often have better data and sharper analyses of local educational problems than those that are available to the GRM itself. Lack of information combined with the financial power exercised by the donors means that the GRM can resist initiatives proposed from outside or find backing for its own initiatives only with great difficulty. Closer cooperation among the donors can help to reduce the confusion that results from efforts to respond to a multitude of competing priorities. Alternatively, closer cooperation may in fact weaken the GRM's position in its negotiations with bilateral and multilateral aid agencies if the Government does not assume a guiding role in this cooperation.

As elsewhere in the education system, the problems encountered in administration and planning are deeply rooted and not easily soluble. Expanded efforts to provide training for administrators are clearly necessary, and particularly so at provincial, district, and school levels. At the same time, however, removing key personnel for extended periods of training will further weaken an already fragile administrative structure. Strengthening local capacity for in-service training represents one possible approach to the problem, and a proposal for USAID participation in such an activity is discussed further in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 7

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ANALYSES

7.1 Education as an Investment

Economists have long argued that investment in education contributes both to increased individual productivity and to aggregate economic growth. The relationship between education and productivity is especially well established in agriculture, where a number of studies in Africa and elsewhere have shown a positive relationship between years of education and physical measures of farm output.¹ These relationships have been shown to be especially strong in settings where non-traditional crops and farm inputs are being adopted.² The ability to read instructions and to calculate costs and application levels for seeds and fertilizers, it is reasoned, is critically important for the success of agricultural modernization. In the urban economy, the relationship is more difficult to establish empirically because of the uncertain relationship between formal sector wages and individual productivity and because of the difficulty of measuring output in the informal sector. The importance of literacy and numeracy in the performance of most urban jobs is nevertheless well-documented. Educated people are claimed to be better able to acquire and make use of information, to negotiate the complexities of the urban economy, and to recognize and respond to new opportunities.³

Studies of the social rate of return to investments in education conducted in developing countries around the world show an almost invariant pattern of results. The rate of return to investments in human capital is consistently higher than the rate of return to investments in physical capital, and the rate of return to investments in primary education is consistently higher than rates of return to investments in secondary and higher education. This is especially so in the poorest countries, where the rate of return to completing primary school can be extremely high.^{4, 5} These studies have provided strong evidence that appears to support strongly increased public investments in education, and especially in primary education, where students acquire the essential skills of literacy and numeracy. Large returns, it is argued, accrue to society when its citizens are literate and numerate, and formal schooling remains the most cost-effective way of achieving this objective.

Studies of the private rates of return to investments in education in developing countries show a rather different but equally consistent pattern of results. Highly educated people are in short supply, and private returns (i.e., wages) to those who succeed in completing secondary or higher education are consequently large. In developing countries around the world (including Mozambique) most or all of

1 Although the empirical bases of many of these studies, many of which are connected in some way with World Bank research, have subsequently been challenged, the intuitive contribution of education to agricultural productivity demands further attention for research and resources in this area.

2 Lockheed, Marlaine, Dean Jamison, and Lawrence Lau. "Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency: A Survey." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 29 (October 1980): 37-76; and Mook, Peter. "Education and Technical Efficiency in Small-Farm Production." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 29 (July 1981): 723-739.

3 Squire, Lyn. *Employment Policy in Developing Countries: A Survey of Issues and Evidence*. New York: Oxford, 1981.

4 Psacharopoulos, George. "Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications." *Journal of Human Resources* 20 (Fall 1985): 583-604.

5 Again, more recent, challenges to a straight internal rates of return assessment of education sub-sectors have raised the need to consider other factors; for one, to look more at the education sector as an integrated process.

the costs of secondary and higher education are paid by the government rather than by the student. As a result, private rates of return to post-primary education are substantially higher than social rates of return: students capture most of the benefits of schooling, while paying few of the costs.⁶ The situation is no different in Mozambique.

Applying a strict rates of return analysis, the disparity between private and social rates of return to secondary and higher education argues for the adoption of policies aimed at shifting a larger share of the cost of such schooling to those who will receive the benefits (i.e., students and their families). This conclusion is strengthened by other studies that show that students at these levels of the education system are disproportionately drawn from among the wealthiest households, who are least in need of public subsidies. The establishment of selective scholarship and loan programs can help to expand the access of students from poor households to secondary and higher education.⁷

Primary education contributes to economic growth in less direct ways as well. Among the most important of these are the well-established relationships between education and health and between education and fertility.⁸ Educated mothers have been shown to be more likely to immunize their children, and educated individuals are more likely to adopt effective health and sanitation practices. Educated mothers have also been shown to have fewer children than those with little or no education. The consequences of these apparently education-related changes for economic growth are clear. Good health makes a labor force more productive and result in reductions in fertility, lessening the strain on public services (e.g., primary schools) and increasing the quantity of public and private resources that can be invested in each child.

Basic education may also be seen as essential to the exercise of citizenship, and to the establishment and maintenance of democratic institutions. As the war is brought to an end and Mozambique enters an era of multi-party democracy, Mozambican citizens will increasingly be obliged to absorb and evaluate information, to weigh the often difficult political choices that face them and their nation, and to organize and act to protect and advance their own interests in the larger political system. Citizens who lack literacy and other basic skills will be ill-equipped to fulfill their civic obligations. They will simultaneously be handicapped in the political competition for resources and opportunities. Democratic politics may thus compound the economic disadvantages of the poorest and most vulnerable groups if these groups are not assured of access to basic education.

7.2 Investment in Education in Mozambique

The absolute poverty in which the majority of Mozambicans live and the painfully straitened fiscal circumstances of the GRM impose stark choices between short- and long-term goals on public officials and foreign donors alike. On the one hand, it has been suggested that the severity of the economic crisis in Mozambique and the urgency of the population's needs imply a discount rate of 50 percent or more. A discount rate on this order requires a very short time horizon for all public expenditure; the opportunity cost of longer-term investments must be measured in terms of rising rates

6 Psacharopoulos.

7 Jimenez, Emmanuel. *Pricing Policy in the Social Sectors*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

8 Cochrane, Susan H. "The Effects of Education on Fertility and Mortality." Education and Training Department Discussion Paper No. 26. Washington: The World Bank, 1986.

As with education and productivity, the empirical evidence of the relationship between education and health and fertility does not usually address the many complex mechanisms and other qualitative matters that help to explain or qualify these seemingly universal, positive findings. This further understanding of the related issues would be important to maximize the positive effects of the relationships.

of malnutrition and child mortality. Investments that do not pay off almost immediately are effectively wasted. On the other hand, Mozambique will never escape from its present poverty and dependence on foreign assistance without large investments in human capital, public infrastructure, and productive capacity. Many of these investments will not produce short-run returns approaching the implicit discount rate, but they are nevertheless essential to the lasting viability of the Mozambican economy and the well-being of the Mozambican population over the long-term.

As with other investments, the costs of sending children to school are incurred in the present, while the benefits are realized only after the children have completed their schooling and commenced employment, begun raising families and become active members of their local communities. In the case of first-level education, for example, benefits will begin to accrue after five years if the child goes to work immediately on the completion of primary school. If the child continues in school the costs incurred will be increased, while the realization of benefits from the investment will be further postponed. Rate of return analysis translates current costs and future benefits into present values, so that the different options can be compared.

There are no estimates of the rate of return to primary education in Mozambique. Estimates from other African countries in the 1950s and 1960s, however, (when stocks of human capital elsewhere were similar to present stocks in Mozambique) show rates approaching and often exceeding 100 percent. Rates of return to higher levels of education are almost invariably much lower. Discount rates were assumed to be far less than 50 percent in these analyses (typically 10 percent), but given historically low rates of investment in human capital, high rates of illiteracy among adults, and continuing shortages of minimally qualified manpower in Mozambique it is not unreasonable to suppose that investments in basic education might yield positive returns, even under present economic conditions, assuming that the quality of this instruction is adequate.

A related issue is whether resources should be invested in expanding access to the education system or in improving the quality of instruction for children already enrolled in school. Research on this question is scarce and equivocal in Africa and elsewhere (Solomon, 1986; Muskin, 1991), but logic and such evidence as is available suggest that the rate of return to investments in increased quality may, under some circumstances, be at least as large as the returns to additional years of schooling. Quality and quantity are complements; if one or the other falls below a minimal standard, virtually no amount of the other will produce student learning. In the Mozambican education system, standards of educational provision in many schools have fallen so far that this point may almost have been reached. Restoring the quality of instruction in these schools is thus critically important, even at the cost of not providing school places for children not yet enrolled, as the GRM has acknowledged in its most recent policy statements.

In conditions of extreme scarcity such as those prevailing in Mozambique, where nearly half of all children never attend primary school, the equity implications of investment in instructional quality must be faced squarely. Investments in teacher training and the provision of textbooks have costs that must be calculated in terms of the number of new school places not provided. There is no apparent logic or benefit, though, to providing a basically useless education to more children. Other policies can reduce some of the negative consequences for access and equity by giving priority in the allocation of public resources to the education of previously under-represented groups (rural children, girls), and by establishing conditions in which those parents who are able to pay for the education of their children are encouraged to do so.

7.3 Macroeconomic context

By the World Bank's reckoning, Mozambique is the poorest country in the world, by a considerable margin.⁹ Per capita GDP in 1990 was estimated at approximately US\$80. Two-thirds of the population are believed to live in absolute poverty, without the means to maintain minimum nutritional standards. The economy expanded by nearly five percent per year between 1987 and 1989, but in 1990 the rate of growth fell to 1.5 percent. The IMF reports that the economy grew at only about one percent in 1991, but hopes that it will resume growing at more than four percent per year in 1992, an unlikely expectation given the devastating drought currently affecting the country. Thus, the recovery remains in question, and the lasting effects of the continuing war and economic collapse in the early 1980s mean that living standards remain below those prevailing in 1980. (See Table 7.1) Even if growth were to continue at five percent per year, Mozambique would remain dependent on very large flows of concessional foreign assistance for years to come. Foreign aid now comprises fully two-thirds of measured GDP, and this figure will at best decline slowly over a very long period.

Mozambique is now in the middle of a radical change in the orientation of its political economy. Past reliance on nationalization, central planning, and socialist redistribution is giving way to free markets, increasing social differentiation, and growing integration into the world economy. Active cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank has taken the place of alliance with the socialist nations of Eastern Europe. There is movement toward a multi-party democracy after a long period of one party rule. The difficulties inherent in these transitions are compounded by the persistence of rural insurgency, which has led to continuing declines in agricultural production, to the destruction of rural infrastructure including schools, and to the displacement and destitution of huge numbers of people.

The dramatic decline in the Mozambican economy that occurred in the early 1980s has been reversed under the structural adjustment program (ERP) adopted by the GRM. The economy has resumed growing since 1987, when the ERP was inaugurated. As indicated above, it is likely, however, that much if not all of this growth is attributable to increased aid flows. It is not yet clear whether the ERP has begun to establish the conditions for long-term growth in the productive capacity of the national economy.

The precariousness of Mozambique in trying to escape from its present economic predicament is evident in the implicit conflict between the GRM's two long-term objectives: the achievement of fiscal stability and the alleviation of absolute poverty. The former is to be achieved through the continuation of restrictive fiscal and monetary policies, rooted in an effort to keep expenditures in line with available resources. The latter will require the maintenance or expansion of public expenditures on social services, including basic education, primary health care, and food subsidies.

These two goals cannot be achieved simultaneously without very large continuing flows of foreign assistance. As a percentage of GDP, public sector revenues have grown by nearly 50 percent since 1987, as tax rates have been increased and enforcement strengthened. Public sector expenditures have increased even more rapidly, however; before the inclusion of grants from foreign donors, the GRM's budget deficit amounted to almost 28 percent of GDP in 1991. Opportunities for further tax increases or other revenue enhancements are few, as are strategies for additional cuts in public expenditures. Indeed, the attainment of GRM objectives of eradicating absolute poverty and increasing

⁹ The discussion that follows is primarily based on the GRM's "Strategy and Program for Economic and Social Development, 1992-1994" dated October 1991; and on the "Policy Framework Paper" dated June 1991 prepared by the GRM in collaboration with the IMF and the World Bank.

Table 7.1
Basic Macroeconomic Indicators, 1987 – 1990

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Real Growth Rates (%)							
GDP	4.6	5.5	5.3	1.5	4.5	5.0	5.0
GDP per capita	2.4	2.9	2.7	-1.1	1.9	2.4	2.4
Consumption per capita	0.3	0.9	3.2	-3.5	1.4	2.0	2.1
Debt Service 1/							
Debt service (US \$m)	532.2	494.9	484.4	509.3	544.0	515.5	515.1
w/o interest	148.1	116.7	169.3	165.2	189.7	181.5	185.5
Debt service XGS (%)	227.5	190.6	178.4	169.8	174.5	150.0	131.4
Debt service GDP (%)	36.7	39.8	37.3	35.4	42.0	40.8	38.4
Gross Investment							
As % of GDP 2/	24.0	33.4	35.5	37.1	41.0	42.7	42.0
Real growth rate (%)	16.5	7.3	5.0	1.9	4.0	4.1	4.6
Ratios to GDP (%) 3/							
Domestic savings	-12.0	-16.5	-16.6	-11.8	-15.8	-17.8	-17.3
National savings	-23.8	-19.5	-23.4	-17.3	-24.8	-26.7	-25.9
Government revenues	16.2	19.9	23.4	22.3	23.6	23.3	23.4
Government expenditures	37.5	45.2	49.0	51.8	51.4	50.8	50.0
Budget Deficit before grants	21.1	25.3	25.5	29.5	27.8	27.5	26.6
after grants	11.8	11.4	9.0	12.6	5.0	4.2	2.7
Exports (goods and NFS, US\$)							
Nominal Growth rate (%)	18.8	6.7	6.2	15.1	10.6	13.8	16.8
Exports/GDP (%)	12.1	15.1	15.4	15.9	19.6	22.9	25.2
Imports (goods and NFS, US\$)							
Nominal Growth rate (%)	15.1	15.6	8.3	6.8	5.8	6.7	7.6
Imports/GDP (%)	48.2	65.0	67.5	64.9	76.4	83.3	84.4
Current Account Deficit 4/	-693	-657	-763	-784	-852	-876	-912
Current account/GDP (%)							
before grants	-47.8	-52.9	-58.9	-54.4	-65.8	-69.4	-67.4
after grants	-26.8	-22.6	-29.0	-23.3	-25.2	-25.0	-24.9
Current account/XGS (%) 5/	-253.2	-253.2	-280.9	-261.4	-273.2	-254.9	-232.4
Gross International reserves							
(months of imports)	2.6	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.8	4.0	3.9
Real Effective Exchange Rate 6/							
(average 1980 = 100)	74.0	75.4	70.8	71.4	63.2	—	—
Inflation (annual average, %)	163.3	50.1	40.0	44.0	30.0	25.0	14.0

Source: "Policy Framework Paper, GRM and World Bank. 1991.

Notes:

- 1/ Scheduled debt service.
- 2/ The 1990 increase in GDP ratio reflects mainly coverage changes.
- 3/ Due to inadequacies in the national accounts data, estimates on investment and savings are actually distorted. The increase in ratios to GDP reflects the effect of major exchange rate adjustments on the external component of investment relative to a less faster increase in domestic inflation and therefore GDP. In addition, investment figures include a significant proportion of recurrent expenditures.
- 4/ Before grants, in millions of US dollars.
- 5/ Current account deficit before grants as a proportion of goods and services.
- 6/ End of period. For 1991 the figure refers to April.

the coverage and quality of basic public services will imply significantly larger public expenditure. Donors will have to underwrite a large share of GRM expenditure for many years to come if public services are to be maintained and the attendant budget deficits are to be supported.

Even if all of the optimistic assumptions that underlie the GRM's Policy Framework Paper (including the maintenance of present high levels of donor assistance) are realized, an annual external financing gap of approximately US\$50 million will persist to the end of the decade. The gap is projected to rise to at least US\$300 million around the year 2000 (because of the maturation of already rescheduled debt), and to remain at this level well into the next century. There is no plausible way in which external deficits of this magnitude can be covered from local resources in the foreseeable future; exports are growing, but from a very low base, and imports cannot be significantly reduced from their present levels. Investments in education, or any other sector, in Mozambique must therefore be premised on the assumption of long-term commitments by donors and creditors.

7.4 The Labor Market in Mozambique

Most of the available information on the labor market in Mozambique is dated.¹⁰ The data presented below mostly apply to 1989.

The potentially active workforce (ages 15 to 59) is estimated to be 6.1 million persons, of which about 50 percent are figured to be economically active in fact. The formal private sector, composed of firms registered by MINTRA, employs approximately 200,000 workers, while public administration accounts for another 100,000. These totals suggest a wage earning sector of about ten percent of the economically active population. It can be assumed that the remaining 90 percent are occupied in agriculture, in the informal urban and rural sectors, or are unemployed.

Within the formal private sector, the manufacturing segment is the sector's biggest employer, accounting for about 30 percent of total employment. Manufacturing is followed by commerce (22 percent), agriculture (14 percent), and construction (11.5 percent). The manufacturing segment is dominated by the foods and beverages, textiles, and metal/machinery industries, which together employ over 70 percent of all manufacturing workers.

The formal private sector grew substantially between 1987 and 1989, as total employment in the sector increased by more than 20 percent. During this same period, however, both the manufacturing and the social services segments suffered substantial decreases in the number of people employed. The textile and garment industries were particularly hard hit, as were the metal/machine and paper industries.

The formal private sector is primarily made up of very small enterprises. Of the reporting firms 75 percent employ fewer than ten workers, and 92 percent employ fewer than 50 employees. The predominance of small firms is most pronounced in the commercial area, and is least evident in the field of electricity, gas and water. It should be noted that although small firms greatly outnumber large ones, the latter group is responsible for most formal sector employment opportunities. Of those employed in the formal private sector 51 percent work in firms with more than 1,000 workers, and 67 percent work in firms with more than 500 workers.

¹⁰ The discussion below is based on a report (apparently sponsored by ASDI) by Luzeta Adorna in 1990. This, in turn, draws from three sources: (1) requests for university and medium level graduates submitted annually by the ministries and state secretariats to the National Planning Commission (CNP); (2) the *Relação Nominal* which is prepared each year by MINTRA based on annual reports submitted by firms in the formal private sector; and (3) the annual survey of Maputo households conducted by MINTRA.

The formal private workforce is not equally distributed by either province or gender. Maputo City (44 percent) and Maputo Province (15 percent) account for the biggest shares of the workforce. Sofala has 14 percent, while Zambezia and Nampula (the two most populous provinces in Mozambique) have eight and seven percent each. Males dominate the workforce in all provinces and in all economic areas. Women represent less than 13 percent of those employed.

In terms of occupational categories, the sector as a whole is composed of managers (5.5 percent), technicians (2.5 percent), administrative and service workers (34.2 percent) and production workers (55.0). The scarcity of technicians is noteworthy. This scarcity is particularly acute in the manufacturing sector. Utilities and banks and insurance, on the other hand, are relatively better endowed with technicians.

About 60 percent of the technical and managerial positions in the formal private sector are filled with individuals with at least a ninth grade education. No more than 11 percent of the production, service, or administrative workers have completed the sixth grade, however. Illiteracy does not seem to be a problem in the formal private sector. Only one percent of the sector's workforce is officially illiterate.

The data above refer to employed workers. The very limited data on unemployed workers suggest that office workers and metal workers dominate this segment. Of those registering as unemployed, 40 percent are women. In 1989 there were 64,000 registered job seekers and only 5,000 registered vacancies in all occupations, a ratio of almost 13:1. The highest concentration of vacancies is in Maputo Province, followed by Gaza and Sofala.

National data on the public sector's labor force are very sketchy. An analysis of the requests submitted to CNP by the ministries and state secretariates reveals, however, that there is a high demand for technical graduates of all specialties. Those specialties that are most requested are in the fields of general mechanics, auto mechanics, industrial electronics, economics and statistics, and accountancy. There appears to be an excess of graduates with respect to public sector requests in the specialties of electricity, hydraulics, sanitation, and agriculture. The total number of requests by the ministries for middle level technicians has been falling since 1983. At present, however, the demand reported by CNP is still at least 75 percent greater than the supply. Some differing perspectives on this issue are presented in Chapter 3.

Data for Maputo City and its suburbs reveal that 52 percent of city's working age population were active in the labor force. The active population included 80 percent of males and only 28 percent of females. Approximately 11 percent of those active are unemployed. However, if those who are potentially active (i.e., those who would like to work but not actively seeking a job) are considered, the unemployment rate reaches 23 percent. Not surprisingly, most of the unemployed are less than 24 years old and have not completed four years of schooling.

Almost two-thirds of the labor force in Maputo are involved in tertiary activities, while about one-fourth are engaged in the secondary sector. The formal sector accounts for about 56 percent of the known total employment in the city. About two-thirds of the formal sector employees work in public administration.

The adult illiteracy rate in Maputo is about 17 percent, and another 59 percent of the population have not gone beyond the fourth grade. Only 5.5 percent have gone beyond the sixth grade. On the other hand, 93 percent of the country's total university graduates are in Maputo. As far as those in technical and managerial positions are concerned, 57.3 percent have not completed the ninth grade.

7.5 Public Expenditures on Education

The reliability and comparability across time of Mozambican economic and financial data are very much in question. With more than half of all public expenditures funded by external agencies, with significant and variable portions of national territory and economic activity beyond the knowledge and control of the government, and with dramatic changes over time in accounting standards and practices, estimates of economic aggregates including public expenditures are subject to an exceptionally high level of uncertainty. The data presented below should be interpreted in this light, with great caution. They probably provide a reasonably accurate illustration of long-term trends in public expenditure, but year-to-year comparisons may have little meaning.

According to the best available data, between 1980 and 1987 real per capita public expenditures on education in Mozambique were reduced by nearly 50 percent, falling by an average of seven percent per year.¹¹ (See Table 7.2) Public investment in education was reduced almost to zero in this period, with consequences that are now visible in the schools. Since 1987 there has been a substantial increase in public educational investment, but per capita levels of recurrent expenditure remain far below their 1980 levels.

Table 7.2
Public Expenditures on Education, 1980 – 1990

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Per capita expenditure:											
Recurrent	205	231	235	209	183	122	142	103	114	136	132
Investment	32	24	11	17	11	7	7	27	55	63	82
Total	237	255	246	226	194	129	149	130	169	199	214
Education share in GRM expenditure(%)	12	11	11	10	11	11	10	6	8	9	11
Education expenditure as % of GDP	3.7	4.1	4.2	4.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.9	4.8	5.0

^a In constant 1980 *meticais*.

Source: World Bank. Unpublished data.

The share of public education expenditures in total GRM expenditure declined sharply between 1980 and 1987, from 17.9 percent to 9.9 percent, with the steepest drop occurring between 1982 and 1985. The share of recurrent public expenditure allocated to the education system had recovered to 16.0 percent by 1990. This share is comparable to those allocated to education by governments in other low-income countries, though it is relatively low by regional standards. Both Botswana and Zimbabwe allocated more than 20 percent of public expenditures to their education system in 1990.

¹¹ The discussion that follows is primarily based on data presented in the World Bank's forthcoming Social Sectors Public Expenditure Review, and on projections prepared by the Ministry of Education.

A rather different pattern is observed with respect to educational expenditures as a percentage of GDP, rising substantially in the early 1980s and maintaining absolute levels despite a contracting economy. They fell back sharply between 1984 and 1987, however. In the years since 1987 educational expenditures have increased steadily, to the point where they accounted for approximately five percent of GDP in 1990. This figure is also comparable to the average percentage in the least developed countries, but relatively low by the standards of other countries in southern Africa.

The distribution of public expenditures on education by level is shown in Table 7.3. From its own revenues, the GRM allocates approximately 42 percent of all expenditures to primary education, of which more than 80 percent go to first level schools (EP1). Approximately 14 percent of GRM expenditures go to higher education, with 90 percent allocated to UEM and the balance to ISP. A slightly larger share (15 percent) of expenditures is allocated to support technical schools. General secondary (ESG) and pre-university (EPU) schools together receive approximately five percent of GRM expenditures, while teacher training institutions (CFPP) receive approximately two percent. The balance of GRM expenditure is divided between early childhood and adult education programs.

Table 7.3
Distribution of Public Expenditures by Level, 1990
(Mts 000,000)

	GRM Expenditure		Foreign Assistance	
	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital
EP1	19,012	553	2,566	1,123
EP2	3,931	0	1,211	226
ESG	2,347	0	739	244
EPU	736	0	321	212
CFPP/IMP	1,267	0	1,391	0
ETP	2,867	5,762	1,199	3,040
Ed/Adultos	822	78	165	985
Lares	1,067	0	1,504	0
UEM	3,961	2,922	10,009	3,698
ISP	594	80	0	0
Admin	9,450	162	6,811	3,698
TOTAL	46,064	9,627	25,916	12,886

Source: World Bank. Unpublished data.

The very large role played by foreign assistance in the education sector means that the distribution of total expenditures on education by level looks very different from the distribution of GRM expenditures. External assistance accounts for 36 percent of recurrent expenditure in the sector and for more than half (57 percent) of investment expenditure, which amounts to 41 percent of educational expenditure in Mozambique.

More than one-third of external aid to the education sector goes to the UEM, where it accounts for more than two-thirds of all recurrent expenditures (mostly in the form of expatriate faculty).

salaries). An additional 11 percent goes to support technical education. Approximately 13 percent of foreign expenditures on education are allocated to primary schools, with smaller shares assigned to secondary education, early childhood programs, teacher training, and adult education. As a result, the share of *total* public expenditure allocated to primary schools is reduced to 30 percent, while the share of *total* public expenditure allocated to higher education is increased to 27 percent. Per pupil expenditures are more than 200 times larger at UEM than they are in first-level primary schools. (See Table 7.4)

Table 7.4
Unit Costs by Level As A Multiple
of Costs in Primary Education

EP1	1.0
EP2	2.9
ESG	9.7
EPU	22.8
ETP	42.7
UEM	200+ (est.)

7.6 Other Expenditures on Education

Not all expenditures on education come from the GRM and foreign donors. Parents and students in public primary schools pay small matriculation fees (including *Ação Social*), and boarding students in secondary schools pay charges to defray the costs of food and lodging. Students at UEM also pay matriculation fees, and they are supposed to pay tuition fees as well. These vary with family income: most students receive full or partial scholarships, but approximately ten percent pay full tuition.

Households may incur other educational costs as well. These include the costs of books and materials, the costs of transportation to and from school, and boarding expenses for students attending post-primary schools outside their own communities. In addition, urban parents (at least in Maputo and Beira) are increasingly called upon to make payments to teachers or school directors in order to obtain school places for their children. Anecdotal evidence suggests that these payments range from 30,000 to 150,000 *meticals* per year, depending on the school and the state of the market. There are reports that payments are also being solicited in return for private tuition, examination passes, and school leaving certificates. The exploitation of public institutions to obtain private rents has a variety of corrosive effects, which are discussed further in Chapter 9.

The number of private schools is now relatively small at all levels, but it seems set to increase rapidly. On the one hand, the relatively low quality of instruction in public schools has fostered demand for high-cost, high-quality schooling in Maputo, and perhaps in other urban areas as well. On the other hand, intense demand for post-primary school places has led to the establishment of low-cost, low-quality schools for children excluded from the public system in urban areas throughout the country. Both these trends may be expected to continue, and should be encouraged.

In addition, the renewed participation of the Church in Mozambican society should also expand the supply of non-public educational institutions. Seminaries are being reopened in several provinces, and a Catholic University will open in Beira in 1994. Other private sector organizations now play very

limited roles in education and training, and interviews with representatives from employers' organizations provide little reason to hope that their participation will expand significantly in the near future.

Communities also participate in the financing of education, primarily through the construction of primary school classrooms and the provision of school "furniture" (i.e., log benches, so that children are not obliged to sit on the floor). The current extent of community contributions is impossible to judge, but members of the Sector Assessment Team observed community-built classrooms in primary schools in both urban and rural areas, and in a settlement of *deslocados* as well. The value of such contributions is hard to overestimate; every effort should be made to encourage the participation of communities in the support of local schools.

7.7 Conclusion

The crucial problem in the Mozambican education system is an absolute lack of resources. Large quantities of funds are needed for a variety of purposes: rebuilding schools that have been destroyed in the war, improving teachers' salaries, producing and distributing textbooks and instructional materials, and so on. It should be noted that funds expended for these purposes will in the first instance serve only to maintain or restore the system as it exists now. Efforts to expand enrollments or improve instructional quality will require far larger quantities of resources. It is not immediately obvious where these resources can be obtained.

In Mozambique, against the odds (and with massive donor support), the GRM has begun to reverse the downward cycle that undermined the education system in the 1980s. The share of public expenditure allocated to education has increased steadily in the past four years, and per capita education spending has risen substantially from its low point in 1987. These trends may be reaching their limits, however, given equally urgent demands for resources from other sectors and the strict caps on educational expenditures imposed by the ESRP, and with per capita spending remaining well below the levels obtained in 1980.

The combination of a small and badly damaged economic base, currently low levels of educational access and quality, and the fiscal constraints imposed on the GRM in the short- and medium-term by recovery and adjustment mean that growth by itself cannot be counted on to generate sufficient resources for the expansion and improvement of the education system. Financial projections prepared by the World Bank for the forthcoming *Social Sectors Public Expenditure Review* suggest a shortfall of approximately 50 percent in the resources needed to achieve the GRM's educational targets.¹² Alternative sources of funds will clearly have to be identified and exploited if GRM efforts to enhance access and instructional quality are to be successful.

One way to increase the quantity of resources available for the education system is to increase the efficiency with which current resources are used. Opportunities to do this are few in Mozambique, and the quantity of resources that can be generated through increased efficiency is likely to be small.

12 "If Government educational policy is to continue to promote an expansion of primary level admissions (to 86 percent by the end of the decade), and a program to increase the number of university graduates up to a minimum level required to run the public sector, an average of some 17 percent of overall government resources (25.8 percent of recurrent and eight percent of investment) will be required for the period 1991-1995. In the latest approved budget (1991), Government has committed about 12 percent of its resources to the education sector, that is 18.4 percent of recurrent and 5.9 percent of capital expenditures. If this share of resources remains constant for the next five years, the education program will have a recurrent financing deficit of 6.9 percent in 1992, climbing to 8.2 percent in 1995. Over the same period, the investment gap will increase from 2.6 to 4.3 percent." (Draft dated 17 January, 1992, p. 14)

Public sector salaries including those for teachers have been reduced about as far as they can be, given the evidence of frequent teachers' strikes over the past two years. Similarly, the number of teachers who can be prevailed upon to teach additional shifts without a raise in pay is probably small. Expenditures on books, materials, and maintenance need to be increased rather than decreased.

Nevertheless, there may be some opportunities for efficiency gains in the education system. Reducing rates of grade repetition would allow students to move through the system more quickly, and so allow additional students to enroll in school. Adoption of low-cost instructional alternatives including multi-grade teaching and programmed teaching/programmed learning could over time produce additional savings. Closer control over personnel including more careful assignment of teachers to schools and the elimination of *professores fantasmas* could increase the number of teachers in classrooms without increasing the GRM's salary bill. Consolidation and rationalization of tertiary education programs at UEM and ISP could also result in increased efficiency in the use of resources. Many of these alternatives may prove to be politically or administratively costly, but the scarcity of resources in the education system means that all deserve to be explored.

A second way to generate additional resources is to increase the participation of communities, households, and private sector organizations in the financing of education. The quantity of new resources that may be available from these sources is hard to estimate. On the one hand, the absolute poverty of most Mozambicans and the destitution and destruction brought about by the war suggest that efforts to acquire new educational resources from parents and communities are doomed to fail. On the other hand, the de facto privatization of public education observed in Maputo and Beira, and the construction of classrooms by parents in communities around the country, suggests that the demand for schooling is sufficiently strong that the amounts that can be provided by parents and communities may be larger than might initially be supposed. An investigation of policy reforms aimed at increasing community and private participation in the governance and financing of the education system should be a priority for the GRM and for donors.

A third potential source of new revenues for the educational system is foreign aid. As with the possibilities discussed above, however, it is not clear how much scope there is for expanding the role of foreign assistance in financing the education system. Foreign assistance already accounted for 41 percent of all educational expenditure in 1990 (including 36 percent of recurrent expenditure), and it is not clear that it would be prudent or possible to increase foreign participation much further. Guidelines and options for further donor participation in the education sector are discussed below, in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 8

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO THE EDUCATION SECTOR

8.1 Introduction

A large number of bilateral and multilateral donors currently contribute to the education sector in Mozambique. In 1990, for example, ten different countries contributed a combined total of over US\$14 million to MINED through bilateral agreements, while multilateral organizations, including the World Bank, gave approximately US\$9 million. MINED also received financing of nearly US\$2 million in 1990 from 25 international NGOs (see Carrilho, 1991). If the total education sector is considered, as opposed to just MINED, about 41 percent of total expenditure is contributed by donors. Seven of the most important of these donors were visited by the Sector Assessment Team, and the pages that follow briefly describe the programs they are currently developing and implementing. Other donors to the field of education in Mozambique are listed at the end of the chapter.

8.2 The World Bank

The World Bank has implemented two education projects in Mozambique and is in the process of introducing a third. Also, approximately one-fifth of the US\$300 million that the Bank has allocated to projects in other fields is for training purposes, which means that the Bank's total commitment to education goes beyond what it officially provides for the sector.

The Bank's first education project (WB1) has a total estimated cost of US\$17.9 million, with US\$15.9 financed by an IDA credit. The objectives of the project are: (1) to improve the quality and efficiency of primary education in Maputo by renovating and improving primary school facilities, training school managers and principals, and providing pupils with essential school supplies; (2) to strengthen the quality and relevance of training for accountants and office managers at the Commercial Institute of Maputo, and for engineers and economists at UEM; and (3) to upgrade financial management and planning capacities at MINED. To date the project has been primarily limited to its school-renovation component. So far, 12 of the 24 schools covered by the project have been inaugurated.

The Bank's second project in education (WB2) is designed to run from 1991 to 1997. It is expected to involve total disbursements of US\$67.9 million, with the total provided by IDA to be US\$53.7 million. The project has three main objectives. The first is to improve the quality and efficiency of primary education by (a) upgrading pre- and in-service training of teachers, (b) providing teachers with pedagogical support, (c) introducing distance education for teacher training, (d) testing local language instruction, and (e) rehabilitating and supporting limited expansion of infrastructure in three cities. The second major objective is to improve the quality and efficiency of the university by (a) strengthening the University's management capacity, (b) integrating and strengthening the faculties in the physical sciences, and (c) continuing actions in the fields of economics and engineering. The third principal objective of WB2 involves improving the management of the educational sector by promoting capacity development both at MINED and on the provincial and school levels.

A third Bank project in education (WB3) will focus on policy and capacity-building in five areas and is just now in the process of definition and development. First, it will attempt to strengthen public sector incentives so that career structures are not based exclusively on formal academic qualifications. Second, it will seek to improve the quality and relevance of training at UEM through management and staff development and the promotion of curricular and structural reforms. Third, the project will

attempt to improve secondary school teaching, especially on the pre-university level, in order to insure that students of high quality enter the university. Fourth, it will address technical, vocational and professional training, with particular emphasis to be given to (a) improving the capacity for practical training at vocational training centers and (b) strengthening the effectiveness of the Economics Faculty and the Law Faculty at UEM. Finally, WB3 proposes to upgrade the capacity of the GRM and the MINED to manage technical assistance. It appears from talking with World Bank representatives that the items that the Bank hopes will receive the most attention in the new project are those that pertain to university and pre-university development.

8.3 ASDI

The Swedish Agency for International Development (ASDI) is the bilateral donor giving by far the largest quantity of assistance to the educational sector. Over the next three years (91/92 to 93/94) the agency intends to spend US\$40 million on education in Mozambique, with the total for each year increasing slightly in relation to the year before. (The impact of current budget cuts within the Agency on Mozambican programs in education and other sectors has not yet been determined.) The areas of focus and the approximate amounts (in millions of US dollars) to be spent are as follows: textbooks (US\$5.8); studies and research (US\$2.0); teaching and learning aids (US\$1.2); planning and management (US\$3.0); support for teachers (US\$3.7); rehabilitation of schools and emergency support (US\$5.9); evaluation, follow-up, and auditing (US\$0.4); and institutional support (US\$18.0). This last item involves support for five institutions, as follows: Eduardo Mondlane University (US\$6.4); the Adult Education Center at Manga (US\$1.2); the Industrial Institute in Maputo and the Industrial and Commercial Institute in Beira US(\$7.5); and the Higher Pedagogical Institute – ISP (US\$2.9). In ASDI's proposed budget for 1991/92, the largest single items, in order of spending, are (a) general budget support for UEM, (b) construction at the Industrial and Commercial Institute in Beira, (c) subsidies for school book distribution (through the *Caixa Escolar* program), and (d) emergency support.

8.4 DANIDA

The Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA) also contributes to education in Mozambique. DANIDA plans to spend approximately US\$3 million per year over the next three years (1991/92 - 1994/95). About US\$600,000 per year will be donated to the Law Faculty at UEM to pay for three expatriate professors and a Danish librarian, to buy books for the library, to promote seminars on research methods, to rehabilitate the building, and to support two students who are studying for Ph.D. degrees in, respectively, Great Britain and the U.S.A. Most of DANIDA's funding, however, goes to technical schools and vocational training centers. They are spending US\$1.6 million per year on four basic-level technical schools, in a project that involves eight technical assistants, as well as the funding of student textbook purchases in the disciplines of Math and Portuguese. DANIDA also provides US\$600,000 per year to the Water Training Center (*CFP de Aguas*) in Maputo, as part of a project being carried out in conjunction with the Swiss national donor agency. They also allocate US\$500,000 per year to the *Centro de Formação Agrária* in the form of technical assistance. Because of DANIDA's involvement in the vocational/technical area, they are actively participating in efforts to develop a master plan that covers both formal technical schools and nonformal vocational centers. They intend to condition future assistance in the area on the formulation and implementation of a plan that provides the basis for meaningful policy guidelines.

8.5 FINNIDA

The Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA) supports three educational projects in Mozambique, in the fields of exercise book production, agricultural training, and forestry training.

The exercise book project involves support for the rehabilitation of the Beira Exercise Book Factory, so that it can produce 18 to 24 million exercise books per year. FINNIDA's support for this project includes technical assistance; training for the technical and managerial staff; and machinery, equipment and raw materials. The project was supposed to conclude in 1991, but still continues. FINNIDA plans to spend about US\$2 million on it in 1992.

Since 1990 FINNIDA has supported the agricultural training institutes in Boane and Umbeluzi. For the Boane Institute, present support consists of technical assistance (seven expatriate teachers) and the construction of classrooms and houses for teachers. At the Umbeluzi Institute, FINNIDA is providing technical assistance (one expatriate teacher at present, four more to be recruited during 1992) and is supporting physical renovation. FINNIDA has allocated a total of about US\$8 million for this two-school project for the period 1990-1993.

Finally, FINNIDA supports forestry training at the Chimoio College of Forestry, located in Manica province. It provides technical assistance, materials and equipment, and funds for improving the physical infrastructure. The project is designed to extend from 1989 to 1996, and FINNIDA is currently supporting it with US\$1 million per year.

8.6 Italian Cooperation

Assistance to education in Mozambique from Italy through the *Cooperazione Italiano* (CI) is currently directed at both secondary and tertiary levels. There are also plans to support the Ministry of Labor in its efforts to promote and coordinate vocational training centers (CFPs).

The University project involves contracting approximately 15 expatriate professors to work in the Faculties of Agronomy and Architecture. It also involves promoting research, by creating a 100 hectare experimental center at the Faculty of Agronomy and by developing a research center to provide external services at the Faculty of Architecture. CI intends to allocate approximately US\$10 million over the next three years for its UEM support.

The secondary school project is now entering its second phase. In the first phase, the Italians built 21 secondary school science laboratories in six Mozambican provinces, and also trained teachers in laboratory use. They now intend to create a Center of Didactic Methods in Maputo to extend training in laboratory techniques to teachers throughout the country. The training will be short-term, and teachers will be provided with room and board while in the course. CI intends to spend about US\$2 million on this project over the next three years; they are counting on MINED to make a comparable contribution.

The Ministry of Labor project is not as yet fully defined. It builds on support that the Italian Government has given to individual CFPs in the past. The proposed approach is now to focus not on specific centers but rather to support capacity-building within the Ministry of Labor. In this respect, CI plans to (a) upgrade the managerial level of Ministry personnel, (b) train specialists in the areas of employment and vocational training, (c) provide pre-service and in-service training to CFP monitors, and (d) develop distance programs for the training of CFP teachers and administrators. The Italians expect to spend between US\$3 and US\$4 million on this project over the next three years.

8.7 Dutch Assistance

Dutch assistance considers education, health and agriculture to be its key areas of priority. Its most important educational commitment is to higher education at UEM. It works in conjunction with three universities in Holland — Groningen, Delft, and Utrecht — in providing UEM with 25 technical assistance experts, and in donating materials and equipment. The focus of their university work is in the fields of science. The amount budgeted for this project is approximately US\$3.5 million. There

are also additional funds available that are not in the yearly budget. The Dutch would like to expand their involvement on the university level, and are considering participation in the World Bank's Capacity Building Project. They are particularly interested in contributing to the construction of new housing for professors, as they consider that housing constitutes an important mechanism for encouraging professors to remain at the university.

A second area in which the Dutch are involved in concerns middle- and high-level technical training, along with various forms of on-the-job training, as part of their support for the reconstruction and management of the Beira harbor. The Dutch focus within the harbor project is on the development and administration of the port sub-sector.

The Dutch are also spending about US\$1.7 million between 1992 and 1994 on the Medical Maintenance Center in Maputo, which trains hospital workers. They have not been pleased with the program so far. The program is isolated, and the graduates are not utilized effectively because there is no support system for them when they return to the field. Thus, the focus of the Medical Center project has switched from the Center's building and course offerings to its management capacity. The Dutch want to make sure that graduates receive pay, materials and a budget allocation.

Dutch assistance would like to support primary level education and they are currently exploring possibilities. They are interested in teacher training, and they plan to concentrate whatever support they give within a single province. The choice of what province to focus on will take into account the quality of the local government, the priorities of the central government, and, in order to avoid overlap, whether or not other donor agencies are already involved.

8.8 UNICEF

Many of UNICEF's activities touch on different aspects of education. Within the education sector per se, UNICEF is emphasizing the development of self-sustaining systems that will also have multiplier effects. The organization's 1990-95 program is of a decentralized nature designed to allow for the participation of provincial and local authorities and communities in planning and implementation. The program pursues four basic strategies: (1) research and evaluation of existing and proposed pilot experiences to acquire educational methodologies for introducing new curricular content, (2) administrative capacity-building on the national, provincial and local levels, (3) development of teaching methodologies to attend to the psychological and social rehabilitation of war-affected children and primary school teachers, and (4) development of community education and mobilization projects. Within this framework, three specific UNICEF-assisted programs are being developed, for training and upgrading primary school teachers, for strengthening school-community linkages, and for promoting adult education in local languages.

The program Training and Upgrading Primary School Teachers has been functioning since 1985. Over the 1990/95 period the project proposes: a) to finalize the development of a new and more practically-oriented curriculum for primary school teachers; b) to provide in-service training to approximately 13,000 teachers through short courses offered at teacher training centers and through distance education; c) to upgrade facilities at six selected teacher training centers across the country; and d) to improve health education through a latrine-demonstration project. UNICEF plans to assist this program over six years (1990-95) by providing US\$2.25 million from general resources and another US\$300,000 from supplementary funds. Its yearly allotment is approximately US\$450,000.

The School-Community Linkages program has also been functioning since 1985. For the 1990/95 period it proposes: a) to develop a school-community linkages model for three or four provinces; b) to construct and rehabilitate classrooms; and c) to train teachers to promote change by

linking theory and practice. UNICEF has budgeted a total US\$2.24 million to this project, which represents an expenditure of close to US\$600,000 per year.

The Adult Education program plans to introduce private projects for women in local languages, and to integrate educational materials in both local languages and in Portuguese. The program proposes to train approximately 10,000 women, and to prepare at least ten manuals on community education topics. This program will receive from UNICEF a six-year allotment of US\$600,000, or about US\$100,000 per year.

8.9 Other Donors

A number of other donors support education in Mozambique. The list that follows includes most of the bilateral and multilateral donors, and stipulates for each its level of funding to MINED in 1990. The data are from Carrilho (1991).

Bilateral Cooperation	Amount for 1990 (in US\$000)
1. NORAD	1,715
2. NORWAY	500
3. GREAT BRITAIN	350
4. FRANCE	200
Multilateral Cooperation	
1. British Commonwealth	100
2. UNDP/UNESCO	200
3. WFP (World Food Program)	5,000
4. UNFPA (U.N. Fund for Population Activities)	200

Carrilho (1990) also identifies 22 different international non-governmental organizations operating in the education sector in Mozambique, attributing to these groups a total expenditure in 1990 of about US\$1,480,000.

8.10 Implications for USAID

Donors in the education sector often noted the absence of coordination among themselves, and regarded this as a serious problem, in part attributable to a lack of initiative on the part of MINED. There is, however, a donor group that is working on the development of a Master Plan in the area of vocational/technical education. The group includes DANIDA, FINNIDA, and ASDI; they would welcome the participation of USAID should USAID be interested in work in this area. Several donors emphasized the importance of program rather than project support in the education sector. It is widely recognized that the project approach has not worked well, and has tended to overstretch the capacity of administrators in MINED to supervise multiple discrete activities.

CHAPTER 9

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS AND OPTIONS FOR DONOR ASSISTANCE

In this chapter we present a summary of the principal findings of the Education Sector Assessment, and a variety of options for further donor assistance to the education sector in Mozambique. In the first section of the chapter we discuss seven main themes that run through the preceding chapters. In the second section we conduct a discussion of the main constraints to the effectiveness of foreign assistance to Mozambique, identify several possibilities for new projects in the education sector, and note different areas in which policy dialogue between donors and the GRM might prove fruitful. Both findings and options are intended to approximate a priority order.

9.1 Principal Findings

1. The war has had devastating effects on the Mozambican education system. Estimates of the numbers of displaced people within the country range from two to four million in a total population of sixteen million. An additional one million Mozambicans are refugees in neighboring countries. More than 3,100 primary schools have been destroyed by RENAMO, affecting more than 800,000 students. With its effects exacerbated by drought and an onerous foreign debt burden, the war has left Mozambique virtually destitute, with over 60 percent of GDP accounted for by foreign aid. Improvement in the education system will therefore depend to a very large extent on continued foreign assistance to the sector; the case for additional foreign assistance is compelling.

2. Access to the education system is severely restricted at all levels. Barely one-third of the relevant age cohort are enrolled in primary schools, and enrollments in upper secondary and university education are very small. The aspirations of the GRM to achieve universal primary education have recently been scaled back, but even the current goal of 86 percent enrollment is probably unrealistic in all but the long-term. Expanding access to basic education is therefore of primordial importance, in order to provide the country with an educated citizenry and workforce, to enhance equity in the allocation of public resources, and to increase the pool of candidates qualified for secondary and higher education. Insofar as possible, the GRM should call upon community and private resources to help finance this expansion, in order to minimize its own recurrent cost commitments.

3. Despite restricted access, the quality of instruction is very low at all levels of the education system, by any standard. Many primary schools lack even the most basic materials, including blackboards, and are entirely unusable when it rains. Some secondary schools lack furniture, and students are obliged to sit on the floor. Most lack usable laboratories and libraries. Equipment in vocational schools is often obsolete or out of commission for lack of spare parts or consumable materials. The university has difficulty in recruiting qualified students and lacks essential equipment, current books and periodicals, and consumables for such laboratories as do exist. Improvements in the quality of education are therefore urgently needed at all levels. Donors are already playing a large role in financing such improvements, but there is ample need for further donor contributions.

4. Teachers and administrators in the basic education system are often poorly qualified, and opportunities for in-service training are almost entirely lacking. Most teachers in primary schools have completed only six years of schooling, plus one year of teacher training. Most administrators at school, district, and provincial levels have no specialized training for the posts they occupy. Upgrading the qualifications of teachers and administrators and preparing them to deal with expanded enrollments through increased efficiency and the use of new instructional technologies may be one way to avert an explicit choice between expanded access and improved instructional quality.

5. The GRM has recently granted raises for all categories of teachers. In November 1991, teachers in the lowest salary category (Category E, which comprises the vast majority of primary school teachers) were paid slightly more than US\$30 per month; those in the highest category (nearly all in higher education) were paid about US\$200 per month. Salaries already represent a very high proportion of public spending on education, and the GRM's straitened fiscal circumstances therefore virtually ensure that salaries will not increase much further in real terms in the near future. At the same time, however, public sector salaries are too low to prevent many urban teachers from supplementing their incomes with second jobs and *explicação*, among other things. University lecturers with saleable skills (e.g., in economics) have simply left the teaching profession. Maintaining the integrity and viability of educational institutions and improving instructional quality while restraining the overall teachers' wage bill will almost certainly require the implementation of new instructional technologies that allow significantly larger class sizes, especially in urban schools.

6. The administrative structures of the education system are intact, though many incumbent administrators have received no specialized training for the positions they hold. Provincial and district education agencies remain operational, and provide instruments for the decentralization of resources and responsibilities with the end of the war. Current problems with communication, transportation, and banking systems present difficulties for educational administrators that training cannot solve, but improvements in these areas can also be expected when the war ends.

7. The education policy framework defined by the GRM is in most respects appropriate to the requirements of the education system; the very severe problems noted in this report are attributable primarily to the scarcity of resources and much less to mistaken policies. The main exception in this regard is a steady diminution in the share of local and donor educational resources going to basic education, and a corresponding increase in the share going to tertiary institutions. The establishment of a Council chaired by the Minister of Education may help to reverse this trend. A second exception is the maintenance of GRM regulations on the establishment of private schools, which place needless obstacles in the way of expanded private participation in the education system.

9.2 Options for Donor Assistance

As noted elsewhere in this report, the main problems of the Mozambican education system are attributable to an absolute lack of resources. A priority for prospective donors to the sector should therefore be the identification of mechanisms to get resources into the system and into schools as directly and efficiently as possible. This may involve both a direct insertion of funds into school-level activities, thus by-passing the centralized bureaucratic structure, or efforts to improve the efficiency of this structure, both reforming its systems and building the capacity of its personnel.

In this section we discuss the sustainability of initiatives undertaken with donor resources, the GRM's capacity to absorb additional budgetary support, some possibilities for projects in the education sector, and some of the policy conditions that might be placed on general budgetary support to the GRM by donors.

9.2.1 Sustainability

As a basic proposition, the provision of general budgetary support to the GRM should look toward a time when the Government will be able to assume responsibility for the additional expenditures that such support makes possible. If new resources are used to fund the production and distribution of textbooks, for example, the levels of production and distribution achieved with foreign assistance should be able to be sustained with domestic resources over time, in the expectation that external budget support will eventually be withdrawn. In the case of Mozambique, however, these reasonable expectations may not be justified over the foreseeable future. A very small productive base,

the lasting effects of the war, and a massive debt mean that Mozambique will most likely remain dependent on large flows of concessional foreign assistance for many years.

This is true in the education sector as elsewhere in the economy. Donors already provide 41 percent of all educational expenditures in Mozambique, including 36 percent of recurrent expenditures. It is difficult to imagine how the GRM will be able to increase its own educational expenditures out of domestic resources to replace these quantities of foreign assistance in the short- or medium-term. New commitments of general budgetary support to the GRM must therefore be effectively open-ended.

9.2.2 Absorptive Capacity

In spite of the tremendous needs of the education sector for additional resources, the capacity of the GRM to absorb additional donor assistance appears to be low. Chronic shortages of qualified personnel throughout the GRM continue to pose difficulties in managing and accounting for counterpart funds, which has created dissatisfaction on the part of some donors. Implementation rates on internal and external investment projects are relatively low, with disbursements occurring at about 60 percent of programmed levels. Problems in communications, distribution, and banking systems (caused in part by the war) mean that resources including textbooks, instructional materials, and even teachers' salaries are often delayed or prevented from reaching local schools.

Providing additional budgetary support to the GRM will not by itself resolve the administrative and financial problems of the education sector, or any other sector; indeed, it may make some of them worse. Agreement with the GRM on conditionalities governing the disbursement and use of new resources would therefore be essential to the effectiveness of new donor resources in achieving GRM policy objectives. So could direct capacity-building efforts to help the Ministry improve its financial and administrative performance.

9.2.3 Projects in the Education Sector

The extremely difficult economic circumstances prevailing in Mozambique have two main implications for foreign assistance to the education sector. First, the poverty of the country and its citizens means that the most important problems facing the sector are attributable in the first instance to an absolute lack of resources to pay salaries, to repair schools, to provide books, and so on, and only to a lesser extent to inefficiency in the use of available resources. One priority for assistance should therefore be to devise ways to get additional resources into the system as simply and directly as possible. Second, the constraints imposed on the Government by poverty and structural adjustment mean that insofar as possible assistance should not require new and unsustainable recurrent expenditures. In the short- and medium-term, aid should therefore aim to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of existing institutions, rather than to expand capacity or to build new institutions.

An additional consideration for foreign assistance is the particularly sharp conflict between short- and long-term development strategies that Mozambique faces. (See additional discussion in Chapter 8.) It has been suggested that absolute poverty and economic crisis together mean that the real discount rate in the country may be as high as 50 percent. Insofar as this is true it requires that donors adopt a very short time horizon for returns on the resources that they provide. In the education sector, it has been argued that this should imply a focus on the secondary and tertiary levels of the education system, in order to get highly qualified people into the economy as quickly as possible. Improvements in managerial capacity and increases in the supply of skilled workers may yield large short-term returns by increasing the efficiency with which available resources are managed and exploited.

At least two countervailing arguments can be proposed, though, in favor of investment in primary education. First, absorptive capacity at higher levels of the system is limited, because of bottlenecks and quality deficiencies in the supply of candidates, limited instructional capacity in

existing institutions, and high opportunity costs for students. It is thus not certain that short-term investments in secondary and higher education will produce the desired increase in the availability of urgently needed skills. Improvements in the quality and coverage of basic education is thus a prerequisite to efforts to increase the supply of highly-qualified personnel.

Second, as discussed in Chapter 8, an educated population is essential to the long-term development of Mozambique. Improvements in the capacity of the public sector will no doubt increase the efficiency with which public and donor resources are used in the short-term, but if these improvements are accomplished at the expense of increases in the quality and coverage of basic education (a very real risk), it is doubtful that the Mozambican people will ever build the kinds of economic and civic capacities essential to the sustained development of their country. Investments in high-level "capacity-building" may, if not carefully planned and implemented, strengthen the state at the expense of the society, increasing further the advantages of the relatively well-off at the expense of the poor, and benefitting Maputo at the expense of the rest of the country. Any such efforts, it is proposed, should be secondary to direct investments in basic education hardware, technology and school-level personnel. These expenditures will provide a crucial complement to any centralized education initiatives in order to diffuse power, build local capacity, and encourage local and private initiatives within the education delivery system. They would thus be, in many respects, more consistent with the kinds of economic and political changes that USAID and other donors are trying to encourage in Mozambique.

In this section we present a number of project options for additional donor assistance to the education sector in Mozambique. Strategies for intervention in various parts and at various levels of the sector are identified, but on balance the members of the Sector Assessment Team believe that investments in basic education should be assigned priority in the development of an assistance strategy for education in Mozambique.

9.2.3.1 Matching Grants to Communities

As noted at several points in this report, the overwhelming need in the Mozambican education system is to get additional resources into the system, and especially at the local level. A related need is to build administrative capacity at local and school levels to make it possible for communities to assume greater administrative and financial responsibility for their schools. Donors could contribute to both of these ends by providing funds to be disbursed to communities (and possibly to NGOs) on a matching basis for the execution of projects in local schools. Such activities might include the provision of matching grants for school construction or school expansion; the establishment of a revolving fund to support the acquisition of books, materials, and equipment by communities, parents' organizations, or proprietors of private schools; and the organization of training in educational administration and financial management for administrators at provincial, district, and school levels.

The explicit purpose of such a project would be to provide discretionary resources to local administrators to fund activities viewed as priorities in their own communities. Insofar as this purpose is accepted, funds should be distributed to local authorities with as few administrative strings as possible. The main responsibility for donors and MINED would be the establishment and implementation of procedures for financial control, to ensure that project funds were used fairly and honestly. Discretion in the solicitation, identification, and selection of projects could be left in large part to the provincial authorities, though the Ministry might want to retain some role in order to determine how local projects contribute to the achievement of GRM goals (e.g., gender and regional equity). Such a project could be begun on a pilot basis in one or two of the most populous provinces, under the joint administration of central and provincial education authorities. A project now underway

in Xai-Xai under UNICEF sponsorship may provide a useful model for future donor efforts along these lines.

Whatever expansion and improvement is to occur in the education system over the coming decade will necessarily depend to a very large extent on increased participation by communities and NGOs in the construction, maintenance, and financing of schools and school activities. Donors can play a critical role in expanding and strengthening this participation, and in building the local administrative capacity to assist communities to define and achieve their own goals.

9.2.3.2 In-Service Teacher Training

Most of the teachers in the basic education system are quite young, and most have received relatively little pre-service training before assuming their posts. They will likely remain in the education system for many years to come. If the quality of instruction in primary schools is to be improved significantly, therefore, the knowledge and skills of teachers now in the schools will have to be upgraded through in-service training.

Opportunities for in-service training are at present almost non-existent, and GRM and donor commitments to activities in this area are minimal. Providing training for trainers, developing curricula and materials for in-service programs, and strengthening the institutions where in-service training might be offered are thus activities in which donors to the sector could make a valuable and distinct contribution to improving the quality of basic education in Mozambique.

A project in this field should include three main components. The first would entail the provision of technical assistance and financial support to develop the in-service training capacity of provincial teacher training institutions, including especially the *Institutos Médios Pedagógicos* (IMPs) and the *Centros de Formação de Maestros de Primária y Secundária* (CFMPSs). Priority should be on those centers located in rural and, especially, northern provinces. Activities under this component might be conducted under contract with a local or foreign university or consortium of universities. Activities would include the training of local trainers, the development of curricula and materials, and the organization and implementation of training programs for practicing teachers in existing teacher training institutions.

The second component would take place simultaneously with the first. It would comprise training for members of faculty and staff in institutions involved both in the provision of in-service training and in the training of in-service trainers. The aim would be to establish local capacity to sustain national in-service programs when technical assistance is eventually withdrawn. Such institutions include the CFMPSs, INDE, and ISP. Training at various levels might be provided by institutions within the country (e.g., INDE, ISP), with or without foreign technical assistance; in regional institutions with appropriate programs (e.g., the Institute of Development Management in Swaziland); or in universities of countries involved in providing technical assistance.

A third component might entail the distribution of professional books to EP1 and EP2 teachers, either in association with or independently of their participation in in-service programs. Books to be distributed should include some that deal with the principles of pedagogy and learning in general, and some that would be useful as sources of subject matter and/or reference material in their specific disciplines. The content and presentation of these would have to be relatively basic.

9.2.3.3 Training of Provincial, District, and School Administrators

There is an urgent need for in-service training for local educational administrators and school principals, almost none of whom receive any specialized preparation before assuming their positions. As in the case of teachers, many of these administrators are quite young and can be expected to remain

in the education system for a long time. Short in-service courses for them on education leadership, management and administration techniques, basic principles of accounting, school-community relations, and the collection and use of statistical data could do much to improve the performance of Mozambican schools. Such training would be especially important and valuable in association with the effort described above to increase the administrative and financial discretion of local level administrators through the provision of funds for matching grants. Coordinating this regional capacity-building with central authorities should also yield benefits in the overall management of the national education system.

9.2.3.4 Low-Cost Instructional Technologies

Low levels of enrollment at all levels of the education system combined with the bleak fiscal condition and prospects of the GRM mean that very large numbers of children will continue to be excluded from school due to lack of places for many years to come. The only truly viable way to increase the numbers of children in school given the inability to raise expenditures is to reduce the per pupil cost. A variety of low-cost instructional technologies might be tried. Examples include multi-grade teaching (combining two or more grades in one classroom with one teacher) and programmed teaching/programmed learning strategies. Donors might therefore work with the GRM to assess the possibilities for adopting one or more of these technologies in Mozambican schools, in order to provide access to schooling to a larger number of children. Experimentation with the implementation of alternative instructional technologies might be accompanied by efforts to expand participation by parents and communities in education governance and financing.

9.2.3.5 Replacement of Nationalized Properties

After a decade of often strained relations and communication between the GRM and a variety of private agencies, including the Church, the Government is now moving to adopt less restrictive policies with respect to the private and non-governmental sectors. One result of this rapprochement between the Church and the Government is negotiations over the return of Church properties nationalized at the time of Independence. Many of these properties are now in use as public schools. In Manica, for example, nine of the eleven EP2 schools now in operation formerly belonged to the Church; virtually all of the CFMPSSs throughout the country are housed in former Church properties. Donors could facilitate the transfer of these properties back to the private sector and help to ensure the continuing functioning of the basic education system by either building or funding replacements for nationalized properties returned to their previous owners. Such funding could provide especially valuable assistance by ensuring the continued functioning of CFMPSSs because of the crucial role these institutions can play in the provision of pre-service and in-service training.

9.2.3.6 Strengthening the Faculty of Agriculture at UEM

The Faculty of Agriculture is seeking to develop research and teaching capacity in: (i) agricultural extension for peasant and commercial farming; (ii) food security; (iii) rural development and land policy issues; (iv) farming systems research; (v) environmental management; and (vi) training of extension workers and farm managers in conjunction with the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry. These objectives fit well with on-going efforts to strengthen the agricultural sector and to build local capacity, particularly in rural areas. At present, however, the Faculty of Agriculture has a very limited capacity to extend its work beyond Maputo, in large part because of the war but also because of a lack of coordination with existing extension activities in the Ministry of Agriculture and elsewhere.

Donors could provide assistance to the Faculty of Agriculture in its efforts to strengthen its programs in the areas of rural development and agricultural extension through (i) support for already

existing linkages with U.S. and other foreign universities to encourage staff development; (ii) the provision of books for the library and training; for library personnel; (iii) the supply of equipment and vehicles to expand the Faculty's activities in rural areas of the country; and (iv) through the provision of installation allowances (e.g., for books, journal subscriptions, conference travel, etc.) for staff returning to Mozambique from training abroad, in order to facilitate their retention by the Faculty.

Efforts to expand the participation of the Faculty of Agriculture in extension and rural development efforts will only be realized on the basis of much closer cooperation between the Faculty, the Ministry of Agriculture, and other organizations involved in the sector. More extensive support to the Faculty should be predicated on the success of efforts by the Faculty to establish such cooperation.

9.2.3.7 Housing for Female Students

To improve the access of women to tertiary education, donors could consider providing funds for the construction of housing for female students at UEM, ISP, INDE, and ISRI.

9.2.3.8 Nonformal Basic Education

With the deterioration of the Mozambican economy and the war, a great number of children have dropped out of school, and many have never attended at all. Donors could assist in efforts to provide these children with basic literacy skills through the development of pilot instructional programs in functional literacy and community education for children and youth between the ages of 10 and 15. Such programs should be located in rural areas, where the educational deficit is greatest. The objective would be to provide children with skills equivalent to the completion of EP1 through nonformal means. Pilot projects would last three years, with the first year to be used for establishing contacts with the communities, developing instructional materials with strong regional content, training literacy training teachers, and establishing an instructional system. Instruction will take place in the last two years. The project could be administered through ISP or INDE, with financial support from donors and the GRM and technical assistance from the U.S. or other donor countries. For these and other innovative projects in nonformal education to succeed, donors would have to work with the GRM to ensure the differentiation of adult education learning requirements from schooling requirements for purposes of certification. The participation of a NGO or a foreign university might also be fruitful.

9.2.4 Conditionalties and policy reform

The GRM has recently undertaken a dramatic change of direction in education policies, as in other realms. The present policy environment corresponds in most important respects to USAID goals for the education sector. There are nevertheless several policy issues in the Mozambican education system to which conditionalities on the disbursement of general budgetary support might be addressed.

9.2.4.1 Priority for Basic Education

The GRM has declared that priority in the distribution of educational resources should be accorded to basic education, but the Government's own budget projections show that the share of resources going to primary and secondary education is expected to decrease over the next decade, while the share going to higher education should increase. Donors to the sector might therefore work with the GRM to develop financial, organizational, and political strategies aimed at reducing the share of public resources allocated to higher education and freeing additional resources for basic education. Donors would correspondingly need to reorient and coordinate their own assistance priorities, which at present skew the GRM's education expenditures away from basic toward tertiary education.

9.2.4.2 Private Participation in the Education System

Another set of policy issues that needs to be addressed in the Mozambican education system concerns the nature of private participation in the system. There are two main dimensions to this matter. On the one hand, a new GRM openness to the expanded private provision of educational opportunities at the level of policy continues to be handicapped at the level of practice by excessively strict regulations on schools outside the public system. These impose standards on private schools with respect to space, teachers' qualifications, sanitary facilities and so on that few public schools in the country could begin to meet.

These regulations have two main consequences. First, and most obviously, they needlessly restrict the supply of private school places available to children excluded from public schools. Imposing impossible conditions on the prospective managers of private schools is as effective in preventing such schools from opening as an outright ban. Second, the imposition and selective enforcement of such regulations establishes a "market" for licenses and exemptions that works to the detriment of students and teachers by discouraging proprietors from adopting a long-term perspective with respect to their investments. Permanently faced with the threat of being closed down (and perhaps with the obligation to share their profits with their regulators), proprietors seek to obtain their returns in the shortest possible time, after which point they have little incentive to ensure the adequate functioning of their schools. The result in one such school in Maputo, are described in Chapter 5, was the sudden closing of the school and disappearance of the owner.

On the other hand, public schools in Maputo and Beira (and perhaps elsewhere) are increasingly being de facto "privatized" by those who work in them. Scarce school places are reportedly routinely auctioned off to those who are able and willing to pay for them, and other education benefits (examination passes, completion certificates) are increasingly offered for sale as well. (See the related discussion in Chapter 3.)

The exploitation of public institutions for private "rents" has at least three pernicious consequences. First, it contributes to an increasingly pervasive climate of corruption, which over time undermines the legitimacy of the state and the potential effectiveness of all public institutions. In the education system, the availability of examination passes and diplomas for sale calls into question the meaning of all education credentials, which are the main determinant of income and status differentials in the country. Second, it gives privileged access to nominally public services to those with the means to pay for them, thus contributing to the construction and perpetuation of increasingly large and durable inequalities based on economic status. Third, it diverts resources that could in principle be dedicated to public purposes into private pockets. In the education system, for example, increasing the official fees that are now charged for matriculation in public schools would reduce the extent of the "market" for private rents, and simultaneously increase the revenues available to the government to expand access or improve quality. Because nearly two-thirds of all Mozambicans live in absolute poverty, however, such a policy would have to be accompanied by tuition waivers for poor children.

One very useful role for donors to the education sector would therefore be to work with the GRM to develop more effective and less damaging policies with respect to private participation in the education system.

9.2.4.3 Education of Females

Despite some progress in the years since independence, girls remain significantly under-represented at every level of the education system. The reasons why this is so are not presently understood well. Donors might therefore usefully work with the GRM both to conduct research

investigating the causes of low enrollment rates among girls and to design policies that would help to reduce gender disparities in enrollments.

9.2.4.4 Pre-Service and In-Service Training

Teacher training institutions in Mozambique currently devote nearly all of their resources to pre-service training, and virtually none to in-service training. Strict limitations on government expenditures and the relative youth of the current teaching force mean that jobs for new teachers are not likely to be plentiful in the near future. Consequently, a shift of policies and resources toward in-service training seems advised. A project to expand in-service training capacity for primary school teachers and administrators is described in the above section. Policy changes that might accompany such a project include the establishment of rewards and incentives for teachers who participate in in-service programs, and the reconsideration of present trends toward longer and higher-cost pre-service training programs, including the five-year *licenciatura* course at ISP.

9.2.5 Summary

As has been noted elsewhere in this report, there is much to be done in the Mozambican education system. Resources of all kinds are in short supply, and assistance of any kind can be put to immediate and profitable use. At the same time, however, donors must be cautious that the aid that they provide neither overburdens the limited administrative capacity of the GRM nor imposes an unsustainable recurrent cost burden on the public budget. Together these considerations mean that in fact the kinds of assistance that can usefully be provided may be rather limited, at least in the short run.

In this chapter we have presented a very limited set of ideas for additional donor support to the educational sector. In our view, the most useful assistance will be direct financial support, especially support that goes as directly as possible to communities and schools. The provision of general budgetary support accompanied by conditionalities directed toward the expansion or improvement of basic education, or the establishment of a fund to provide matching grants to communities for local educational projects are therefore attractive options. The latter has the additional advantage of shifting some control over resources out of Maputo and down to the community level.

For this to be effective and politically palatable, however, attention must also be paid to the centralized structures of the national education system. Efforts to streamline systems and build capacity within MINED will serve as critical long-term complements and support to any locally-based interventions. Both as regards direct financial assistance to schools, local administration and communities, and support to the centralized national education authority, it will be critical that there be as little increase in recurrent costs as possible. In-service training for teachers and administrators in primary schools satisfies this criterion, as does support to the Faculty of Agriculture at the UEM.

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APPENDIX

Portuguese Summary

APÊNDICE

Sumário em Português

AGRADECIMENTOS

A Avaliação do Sector de Educação que se segue foi solicitada pela USAID-Moçambique, visando proporcionar uma base para o estudo do possível envolvimento da Missão no sector de educação. A avaliação foi levada a cabo por uma Equipe contratada pelo projecto "Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems", sediado na "Florida State University" e financiado pela USAID.

Nós, os membros da Equipe de Avaliação do Sector de Educação, gostaríamos de manifestar o nosso agradecimento às várias pessoas que nos auxiliaram no nosso trabalho em Moçambique. Dentro da Missão da USAID, especiais agradecimentos são dirigidos à Sr. Luisa Capelão, que se empenhou com extraordinária energia e paciência, quer ajudando a marcar as várias reuniões em Maputo, quer explicando à equipe aspectos do sistema educacional moçambicano, que de outro modo teríamos entendido mal. Estamos também gratos ao Sr. Jack Miller pelo apoio e acompanhamento proporcionados em todas as fases do nosso trabalho.

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K. Peter Dzvimbo
David N. Plank (Responsável pelo grupo)
Carlos Alberto Torres
Robert E. Verhine

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SUMÁRIO EXECUTIVO

Pelos cálculos do Banco Mundial, Moçambique é o país mais pobre do mundo, com um PNB per capita de aproximadamente 80 USD. Cerca de dois terços da população vive em absoluta miséria, incapaz de satisfazer as necessidades nutricionais básicas.

A pobreza do país reflecte-se no sistema educacional. Apenas cerca de um terço das crianças em idade escolar primária tem acesso à escola. As percentagens de crianças em níveis mais elevados do sistema educacional são ainda menores. Somente 3000 estudantes frequentam a Universidade, numa população de 16 milhões de habitantes.

A despeito destes níveis de ingresso muito baixos, os padrões dos gastos, das infraestruturas físicas, da qualidade do ensino e do sucesso escolar são extremamente baixos. Nas escolas primárias, muitos dos professores frequentaram apenas seis anos de escola primária e um ano de formação profissional. Muitas escolas não podem funcionar quando chove, e os estudantes sentam-se muitas vezes no chão. Livros e materiais didáticos são escassos. Os directores não têm qualquer formação especializada.

As condições são similares nas instituições de nível secundário e superior. Os professores possuem apenas as qualificações mínimas, os livros são escassos, e os laboratórios e bibliotecas são inteiramente inadequados, quando porventura existem. O nível de exigência é baixo, e as instituições de ensino superior têm dificuldades em recrutar estudantes habilitados.

Estes problemas são parcialmente atribuídos à guerra, que teve um impacto devastador no sistema educacional moçambicano. Entre 1983 e 1989, 3100 escolas primárias foram dadas como destruídas pela RENAMO, afectando 800000 estudantes e 12500 professores. Contudo, as dificuldades são também causadas pelos problemas administrativos dentro do sector de educação, incluindo a falta, em todos os níveis do sistema, de directores formados e as vigorosas disputas pelos recursos entre as várias instituições.

Em consequência destes problemas e das limitadas circunstâncias fiscais do governo, a planificação da educação e a formulação de políticas estão sujeitas a uma grande influência dos doadores estrangeiros, incluindo especialmente o Banco Mundial. O apoio dos doadores soma já mais de 40% dos gastos educacionais totais.

Apesar de tudo isto, o sistema educacional continua a funcionar. Os professores estão nas suas salas de aula, os directores de escola nos seus gabinetes, os directores provinciais e distritais estão a par do funcionamento das escolas sob a sua responsabilidade, e os pais fazem tremendos sacrifícios para matricular as suas crianças. Os problemas do sistema devem-se a uma falta de recursos, e não a uma falta de esforços ou de dedicação.

A assistência ao sector deve tomar em conta estas circunstâncias muito difíceis. A ajuda deve ser proporcionada de forma a encaminhar os recursos para as escolas tão eficiente e directamente quando possível. Tal poderá ser alcançado se se evitarem os canais administrativos normais, pesadamente centralizados no Ministério da Educação, quando proporcionado o apoio material e financeiro às escolas. Preferivelmente, uma maior eficiência poderá ser alcançada pelo engajamento dos doadores, pelo menos até a um certo grau, em actividades que visem elevar a capacidade administrativa do Ministério e a sua capacidade de gerir o sector. Tanto quanto possível, nenhuma acção levada a cabo se devem adicionar ao cargo administrativo já suportado pelo Ministério da Educação ou aos gastos correntes suportados pelo governo.

Um meio de se alcançar uma transferência de fundos eficiente e directa para a educação seria através da ajuda sob a forma de "não-projecto", acompanhada duma apropriada política de condições e de um programa de ajuda técnica dirigida. Como estratégia complementar, um programa de contrapartida poderia ser estabelecido para financiar as iniciativas locais e privadas no sistema educacional básico.

Uma outra necessidade transparente no sistema de educação é a da formação em exercício de professores e directores presentemente afectos às escolas. Nenhum treino em exercício está neste momento a ser oferecido, quer pelo governo quer pelos doadores, e um projecto nesta área poderia trazer bons resultados.

Estas e outras opções adicionais para o apoio da USAID ao sector são discutidas duma forma mais completa no último capítulo deste relatório.

CAPÍTULO 1

1.8 Resumo

Os problemas do sistema de educação primária em Moçambique são demasiados para serem listados, e só serão resolvidos a longo prazo. Contudo, apesar da seriedade dos mesmos, o sistema funciona.

Directores de escola, em moral baixa, e professores expressaram todo o tipo de queixa. Mas visitas não anunciadas às escolas também revelaram que os professores estavam a leccionar, que um grande número de estudantes estava a atender as aulas, que os pais pacientemente esperavam pela confirmação de que os seus filhos haviam sido matriculados, e que os inspectores de escola e funcionários do governo, particularmente nas províncias e a nível de escola, estavam em condições de fornecer imediatamente e por escrito informação estatística substantiva, se para tal solicitados.

A seguinte narrativa oferece dois exemplos de quão vibrante é o sistema de educação primária de Moçambique. Quando membros do grupo estacionaram o carro perto de um restaurante, para tomar o almoço, meia dúzia de crianças bastante novas, muitas delas descalças e esfarrapadas, aproximaram-se, dizendo os seus nomes. Elas disputavam a incumbência de velar pelo carro, na esperança de mais tarde obterem uma gorjeta. Depois do almoço, as crianças vieram receber as suas gorjetas. Interrogada sobre o que iria fazer com o dinheiro - menos de 25 centavos do dólar americano - uma das crianças respondeu: "Vou comprar uma caneta para a escola". Para um grupo de pesquisadores a tentar formular ideias sobre o sistema de educação primária, a resposta foi gratificante.

Ao visitarmos uma escola EP2 em Sinapura, na província da Zambézia, constatámos que o gabinete do director, o único com grades de segurança nas janelas e um fecho de segurança na porta, continha não apenas a mobiliário normal, quadros de dirigentes e outros apetrechos, mas também uma série de máquinas de escrever e uma máquina de reprodução de ceras, isto tudo colocado no chão ou apoiado nos braços das cadeiras. O director desculpou-se pela desarrumação, mas explicou que o vandalismo e o crime abundavam na área, o que o obrigava a ter de guardar tudo o que fosse de valor no seu próprio gabinete. Na escola, nenhum aluno ou professor dispunha duma carteira ou cadeira onde se pudesse sentar. Havia sido todas elas furtadas das salas de aulas, de portas partidas, talvez para serem usadas como lenha.

Num tal contexto, o motto do director, visível na parede, era paradoxal: " Não há problema sem solução. Não há solução sem defeitos. Não há defeitos que não possam ser corrigidos". Este optimismo pode ser parte daquilo que mantém este sistema em funcionamento.

Não obstante o facto de o sistema estar a funcionar, um certo número de questões críticas exige soluções imediatas. O acesso ao sistema é continuamente limitado, desfavorecendo particularmente as crianças pobres das zonas rurais, e, em algumas áreas, também as raparigas. A qualidade do ensino oferecido é seriamente colocada em risco pela falta de materiais escolares e de livros; pelos jovens professores precariamente instruídos e treinados; pelos inadequados edifícios escolares (muitos deles sem água canalizada e sem casas de banho); pelo calendário escolar bastante reduzido, com menos de três horas e meia de aula por dia; e pelas salas de aula superlotadas de crianças de diferentes idades, habilidades e talentos. Além disso, mais de uma década de guerra civil deixou sérias cicatrizes emocionais, psicológicas e cognitivas nas crianças e jovens moçambicanos. Finalmente, professores não qualificados, tradicionalmente autoritários e com pouco domínio da matéria compõem estes problemas.

Somando-se à incapacidade do sistema de educação primária de oferecer lugares a todas as crianças em idade escolar, a pobreza absoluta em que dois terços da população de Moçambique vive torna os custos da educação insuportáveis para muitos pais. Esforços particulares da parte dos directores de escolas e professores no sentido de suplementarem os seus salários levaram, na prática, a uma "privatização" do ensino público, mediante a qual, os escassos lugares disponíveis são conseguidos na base da capacidade de pagamento. A eficiência escolar é outra questão importante. Dois terços das crianças repetem uma certa classe. Em algumas províncias, menos de 5% dos alunos que transitam têm acesso à classe seguinte. Portanto, há uma contradição entre o objectivo do governo de providenciar uma educação para todos e a realidade de um sistema relativamente pequeno e altamente selectivo. As vagas nas escolas são escassas e altos os custos "privados" de acesso. Como resultado, o modo de funcionamento do sistema comporta uma forte inclinação para a classe alta e urbana, estando em grande contradição com as proclamadas aspirações do governo de uma educação básica amplamente abrangente.

Estes são alguns dos problemas que bloqueiam o desenvolvimento, a qualidade e a eficiência do ensino primário em Moçambique. Sugestões para um melhoramento serão feitas no capítulo 9.

CAPÍTULO 2

2.1.4 Implicações para a USAID

Deve ficar claro dos conteúdos deste capítulo que o ensino secundário em Moçambique sofre duma série de problemas fundamentais. A formação (principalmente em exercício) de professores e directores escolares, o suplemento em livros e outros materiais didácticos e a manutenção das infraestruturas físicas são áreas críticas. Bibliotecas e laboratórios precisam de ser construídos, renovados e/ou equipados; a autonomia financeira e de responsabilidade para as escolas deve ser promovida; ligações escola/pais/comunidade devem ser criadas; e programas para a orientação vocacional devem ser implementados. Se por um lado estas e outras acções similares provavelmente serão financiadas (pelo menos parcialmente) para os programas pré-universitários, através do Banco Mundial, há correntemente muito pouco envolvimento dos doadores nos níveis secundários mais baixos (ou em geral). Um ensino secundário efectivo requiere um sistema de ensino primário sólido, e os investimentos no primeiro não devem suplantarem aqueles no último, até que as necessidades educacionais básicas do país sejam alcançadas. Esta questão e as suas implicações para a assistência da USAID são discutidas no capítulo 9.

CAPÍTULO 3

3.9 Implicações para a USAID

Como foi acima notado, a educação formal técnica é dispendiosa, em toda a parte. Em Moçambique parece ser particularmente o caso, especialmente se os custos de oportunidade são adicionados aos gastos reais. As escolas são internamente muito ineficientes e não parecem estar confrontadas com uma grande exigência na formação dos seus graduados. Se a educação vocacional/técnica é amiúde uma área atractiva de investimento, dada a perspectiva de um rápido retorno, há pouca evidência de que tal se aplique ao sistema agora vigente em Moçambique. A este respeito, deve notar-se que vários doadores que estão já a contribuir na área não parecem estar particularmente satisfeitos com os resultados obtidos. Portanto, no presente momento, a participação da USAID na educação formal vocacional/técnica em Moçambique não é recomendada. É importante notar, contudo, que esta situação se poderá alterar no futuro, e a USAID deveria estar a par dos novos desenvolvimentos. Em particular, deveria procurar promover pesquisas sobre as relações de mercado escola/trabalho e observar como progridem as propostas de desenvolvimento dum plano principal mestre para a área e as propostas da criação de um Conselho Nacional de Formação e dum Fundo Nacional de Formação. Adicionalmente, o USAID poderia manter-se atento a qualquer oportunidade de fortalecer ou formalizar o elo de ligação da instrução técnico-académica, tanto ao nível secundário como primário.

CAPÍTULO 4

4.2.8 Problemas e perspectivas

Deve ser evidente a partir da discussão acima que são muitos os problemas que atormentam a rede dos CFP's em Moçambique. O levantamento de 1988/89 feito pelo DIFAP reportou que as dificuldades mais comuns que os centros enfrentavam eram, pela sua ordem de importância, (1) a falta de equipamento e ferramenta, (2) a falta de transporte para os professores e estudantes, (3) a falta de professores e de estudantes, (4) um orçamento insuficiente e (5) a falta de livros e de materiais didáticos. Um documento recentemente produzido na DIFAP sustenta que a situação é agora de anarquia, sem controlo central ou supervisão sobre a multiplicidade de cursos não formais oferecidos. O documento nota que não há padrões de qualidade e que os centros estão a preparar gente para os mesmos empregos de maneiras inteiramente diferentes. Também nota que muitos dos CFP's têm pouco contacto com as realidades do mercado de trabalho e que muitos dos currícula adoptados são cópias de versões europeias. Como soluções para estes problemas, o documento recomenda que o DIFAP conduza estudos de mercado de trabalho, desenvolva formas alternativas de financiamento, desenvolva um sistema de formação de professores e monitores, estabeleça e reforce os padrões de qualidade de formação, crie um sistema de orientação para os empresários privados que queiram estabelecer centros, e que envolva os empregadores e as uniões de trabalhadores no processo de determinação dos conteúdos dos currícula e na obtenção de fundos.

À luz da última sugestão mencionada, o grupo dialogou com o director do IDIL (Instituto para o Desenvolvimento da Indústria Local) e com o vice-presidente da Associação das Indústrias, acerca da possibilidade do envolvimento das entidades empregadoras na formação vocacional. Ambos se mostraram bastante cépticos sobre a viabilidade de tal proposta. Notaram que as firmas enfrentavam correntemente circunstâncias económicas muito difíceis. A economia é fraca, os impostos corporativos são muito elevados e a força de trabalho é muito barata (constituindo apenas 3% do custo de produção). Sob estas condições, sustentaram, as firmas não têm quaisquer incentivos para investir na formação e provavelmente não desejariam ajudar a financiar os centros do tipo CFP's. Eles concordaram, contudo, em como os empregadores deveriam prontamente participar no desenvolvimento dos currícula dos cursos relevantes, caso a oportunidade para tal se lhes oferecesse.

4.2.9 Implicações para a USAID

A longa lista de problemas com que se confrontam os CFP's em Moçambique sugere a existência de amplas oportunidades para contribuições de doadores. Como foi notado, um certo número de organizações internacionais já deu assistência aos CFP's em muitas partes do país, embora neste momento essa ajuda não seja tão grande como antes o foi, em parte porque o DIFAP, a agência coordenadora, está num estado de transição e parece não ter nem a capacidade nem o poder para libertar e gerir fundos com eficiência.

Há contudo várias razões pelas quais o USAID não deveria destinar recursos aos CFP's, no presente momento. Primeiro, visto que os centros estão dispersos e são diversos, qualquer envolvimento tenderia a ser fragmentado e parcial em natureza. Segundo, até que o plano mestre para a educação técnica e formal seja produzido, o sistema dos CFP's irá provavelmente permanecer pobremente articulado, tanto com a política governamental como com as necessidades do mercado de trabalho, o que significa que os investimentos nesta área não são susceptíveis de produzir retornos aceitáveis. Terceiro, tal como estão agora estruturados, os CFP's não são custo eficientes, e portanto, de novo, os retornos seriam baixos. Finalmente, a eficácia da formação depende grandemente do nível

de escolaridade que os participantes possuem. Uma boa quantidade de pesquisa aponta em como a educação básica promove a formação desenvolvendo a capacidade de aprender. Parece, portanto, que dada a corrente situação precária do sistema de ensino primário em Moçambique, o USAID deveria ser prudente e colocar as suas prioridades na educação básica, deixando a possibilidade do investimento na formação vocacional não formal para uma posterior reavaliação.

CAPÍTULO 5

5.6 Conclusão

As circunstâncias financeiras bastante difíceis em que o GRM se encontra obriga a escolhas difíceis. A necessidade dum aumento do investimento para expandir o acesso e melhorar a qualidade do ensino nas escolas primárias é urgente. Esta necessidade transparece na crescente procura, nos sectores público e privado, de força de trabalho de alto nível. No julgamento do grupo de trabalho, deveria dar-se prioridade ao investimento na educação básica. Contudo, uma assistência selectiva à Universidade poderá também ser justificada, se ela leva a expandir o acesso a outros grupos, de outra maneira em desvantagem, ou se resulta num aumento da eficiência com a qual a Universidade usa os seus próprios recursos. Algumas sugestões sobre as formas que tal assistência poderia tomar são apresentadas no capítulo 9.

CAPÍTULO 6

6.3 Conclusão

Um resultado destes problemas é a falta de informação suficiente acerca do pessoal dentro do sistema, e uma conseqüente falta de controle sobre os gastos. Crê-se amplamente na existência de um grande número de "professores fantasmas" a receber salários do orçamento da educação, mas é virtualmente impossível determinar quantos são, devido à falta de informação exacta. Este fenómeno pode ser ligado a vários problemas relacionados com a gestão de professores. Com efeito, depois da independência, o governo resolveu abandonar a burocracia colonial com respeito ao registo e outros documentos necessários para a gestão da força docente. Com a reorganização, ainda assim faltou a administração desta componente, apesar de esforços estarem agora a ser empreendidos para se reiniciar o registo de professores. Um outro problema é a incapacidade de seguir a trajectória dos professores que se transferem para as outras províncias.

A destruição de um grande número de escolas e de salas de aulas pela Renamo certamente significa que há professores em excesso em alguns distritos e severas faltas noutras, mas uma melhor combinação entre professores e vagas é difícil de se conseguir nas presentes circunstâncias sociais e económicas. A ausência de um mapa de operações torna a planificação de decisões acerca da distribuição de recursos pelas escolas igualmente difícil, muito embora o MOE saiba da localização das escolas do país, e esteja da posse de outros dados relacionados. Professores há que fugiram de algumas áreas. Por outro lado, noutras áreas não há absolutamente nenhuma escola.

Os problemas de comunicação e transporte são em parte de apontar pelos problemas na distribuição de livros escolares e materiais didácticos; os livros permanecem em armazens em capitais regionais ou provinciais, por falta de meios para transportá-los para os distritos ou escolas. Entretanto, os esforços para aumentar a participação do sector privado, numa tentativa de melhorar a distribuição, não foram inteiramente bem sucedidos. Os comerciantes consideram demasiado baixa a margem de lucro permitida para os livros escolares, enquanto que os pais consideram demasiado altos os preços dos livros. Portanto, mesmo quando se dispõe de transporte, os livros podem não chegar às escolas.

A falta de coordenação entre o Ministério da Educação e as outras instituições dentro do sector educacional (com realce para a UEM e o ISP) tem produzido uma competição entre as instituições na angariação de recursos orçamentais, sendo de notar que o Ministério foi recentemente mal sucedido. Uma razão para a relativa falta de sucesso do Ministério na competição fiscal é a divisão da responsabilidade pela educação básica entre o Ministério e as Províncias, contrastando com as estruturas administrativas unificadas das instituições de educação superior. As distribuições orçamentais globais para o sistema de educação são determinadas centralmente, mas os recursos são transferidos para as Províncias em grandes blocos. As decisões concernentes à distribuição mais discriminada dentro do sector são feitas a nível da Província. Em resultado da falta duma voz forte e unificada tanto ao nível nacional como provincial, as quotas orçamentais para a educação básica têm estado, de algum tempo a esta parte, em relativo declínio, e esta tendência está projectada a continuar.

Mais de metade dos gastos em investimento e aproximadamente um terço dos gastos correntes são cobertos pelos doadores, o que significa que as decisões sobre os investimentos e as decisões de política devem, no mínimo, ser feitas em consulta com as principais agências de ajuda. A fraqueza do Ministério, quando confrontada com os doadores, revela-se na relativa falta de qualificação profissional e de capacidade administrativa entre aqueles responsáveis pela administração e planificação do lado do governo. A conseqüência é os doadores e os seus consultores terem muitas

vezes melhores dados e análises mais apuradas dos problemas educacionais locais do que aqueles de que o próprio GRM dispõe. A falta de informação, combinada com o poder financeiro exercido pelos doadores significa que o GRM só muito dificilmente poderá resistir às iniciativas propostas de fora, ou encontrar apoio para as suas próprias iniciativas. Uma cooperação mais estreita dos doadores entre si pode ajudar a reduzir a confusão que resulta dos esforços para responder a uma multiplicidade de prioridades competitivas. Mas, alternativamente, uma maior cooperação pode, na verdade, debilitar a posição do GRM nas suas negociações com as agências de ajuda bilaterais e multilaterais, se o Governo não desempenhar um papel de liderança nessa cooperação.

Como em todo o lado, no sistema de educação, os problemas encontrados na administração e planificação estão profundamente enraizados e não são facilmente solucionáveis. Uma ampliação de esforços para proporcionar uma formação aos directores é claramente necessária, e isso particularmente ao nível provincial, distrital e ao nível das escolas. Mas, ao mesmo tempo, a remoção de pessoal chave por extensos períodos de treino pode enfraquecer ainda mais a estrutura administrativa, já per si frágil. O reforço da capacidade local para a formação em exercício representa uma possível abordagem do problema, e a proposta para a participação da USAID numa tal actividade é também discutida no capítulo 9.

CAPÍTULO 7

7.7 Financiamento do Melhoramento Educacional

O problema crucial no sistema de educação de Moçambique é o da absoluta falta de recursos. Largas quantidades de fundos são necessárias para uma variedade de propósitos: reconstrução de escolas que foram destruídas durante a guerra, melhoramento dos salários dos professores, produção e distribuição de livros e de materiais didácticos, etc.. Deve notar-se que os fundos gastos para estes propósitos servirão, em primeiro lugar, somente para manter ou restaurar o sistema tal como ele actualmente existe. Esforços para expandir o nível dos ingressos ou para melhorar a qualidade do ensino requererão ainda maiores quantidades de recursos. Não é imediatamente óbvio de onde esses recursos poderão ser obtidos.

Em Moçambique (e com o apoio massivo dos doadores), o GRM começou a inverter o ciclo decrescente que minou o sistema educacional nos anos 80. A quota de gastos públicos destinados à educação aumentou continuamente nos últimos quatro anos, e os gastos educacionais per capita aumentaram substancialmente, com referência ao seu ponto mais baixo, registado em 1987. Contudo, estas tendências podem estar a atingir os seus limites, dando igualmente lugar a necessidades urgentes de recursos de outros sectores. Note-se também que os gastos educacionais, rigorosamente controlados pelo PRE, e os gastos per capita permanecem muito abaixo dos níveis obtidos em 1980.

A combinação de uma pequena e gravemente danificada base económica com os correntes baixos níveis de acesso e qualidade educacionais e com as limitações fiscais impostas ao GRM a curto e longo prazos pela recuperação e ajustamento significam, em conjunto, que o crescimento por si não pode gerar recursos suficientes para a expansão e melhoramento do sistema educacional. Projecções financeiras preparadas pelo Banco Mundial para o próximo "Social Sectors Public Expenditures Review" sugerem uma lacuna de aproximadamente 50% nos recursos necessários para se atingirem os objectivos educacionais do GRM.* Fontes alternativas de fundos certamente que terão de ser identificadas e exploradas, se são para coroar de êxito os esforços do GRM para elevar o nível de acessos e a qualidade instrucionais.

* "Se a política educacional do Governo é a de continuar a promover uma expansão do nível de admissões no ensino primário (a.é 86% pelo fim da década) e promover um programa para elevar o número de graduados universitários até ao nível mínimo requerido para pôr o sector público a funcionar, uma média de cerca de 17% de todos os recursos do governo (sendo 25.8% correntes e 8% de investimento) serão necessários para o período de 1991-1995. No último orçamento aprovado (1991), o Governo destinou cerca de 12% dos seus recursos para o sector de educação, sendo 18.4% correntes e 5.9% de gastos de capital. Se esta divisão de recursos permanece constante nos próximos cinco anos, então o programa educacional terá um déficite nos financiamentos correntes de 6.9% em 1992, subindo para 8.2% em 1995. No mesmo período, a lacuna no investimento aumentará de 2.6% para 4.3% " (Esboço datado de 17 de Janeiro de 1992, pág.14)

Uma forma de se elevar a quantidade dos recursos disponíveis para o sistema de educação é aumentando a eficiência com que os recursos actuais são usados. Oportunidades para tal são poucas em Moçambique, e a quantidade de recursos que podem ser gerados através de um aumento da eficiência é provavelmente pequena. Os salários no sector público, incluindo os dos professores já foram reduzidos tanto quanto se podia, para tal testemunhando as frequentes greves de professores nos últimos dois anos. Similarmente, o número de professores que podem ser persuadidos a leccionar turnos adicionais sem aumentos salariais é provavelmente pequeno. As despesas em livros, materiais, e manutenção devem ser elevadas e não diminuídas.

Contudo, poderá haver algumas oportunidades para ganhos de eficiência no sistema educacional. Uma redução da taxa de reprovações faria com que os estudantes se movessem mais rapidamente através do sistema, permitindo assim o acesso de mais estudantes à escola. A adopção de alternativas de ensino de baixo custo, incluindo a concentração de alunos de várias classes numa única sala de aulas e o ensino programado/aprendizagem programada poderia, com o tempo, produzir poupanças adicionais. Um maior controle sobre o pessoal, incluindo uma mais cuidadosa afectação de professores às escolas e a eliminação de "professores fantasmas", poderia aumentar o número de professores nas salas de aulas, sem que isso significasse para o GRM um aumento do gasto total em salários. A consolidação e implementação racionada de programas de educação superior na UEM e no ISF poderia também resultar num aumento da eficiência na utilização dos recursos. Muitas destas alternativas podem mostrar-se política e administrativamente difíceis, mas a escassez de recursos no sistema educacional significa que todas elas merecem ser exploradas.

Uma segunda forma de gerar recursos adicionais é a elevação da participação das comunidades, famílias, e de organizações do sector privado no financiamento da educação. A quantidade dos novos recursos que podem provir destas fontes é difícil de estimar. Por um lado, a pobreza absoluta da maioria dos moçambicanos e a indigência e destruição trazidas pela guerra sugerem que os esforços no sentido de se angariarem novos recursos educacionais dos pais e comunidades estão destinados a falhar. Mas, por outro lado, a privatização "de facto" da educação pública, observada em Maputo e Beira, e a construção pelo país fora de salas de aulas pelos pais e comunidades, sugere que a procura de escolaridade é tão grande que as quantidades obtíveis dos pais e comunidades podem ser maiores do que se pode inicialmente supor. A pesquisa de reformas de política com vista a elevar a participação comunitária e privada na governação e financiamento do sistema de educação deveria ser uma prioridade para o GRM e para os doadores.

Uma terceira fonte potencial de novas receitas para o sistema educacional é a ajuda estrangeira. Contudo, tal como com as possibilidades acima discutidas, não está claro quanto espaço mais existirá para a expansão do papel da assistência externa no financiamento do sistema educacional. A assistência externa já contribuiu com 41% de todas as despesas educacionais em 1990 (incluindo 36% de despesas correntes), e não está clara a conveniência ou a possibilidade duma maior elevação da participação estrangeira. Linhas gerais e opções para uma prossequente participação dos doadores no sector de educação são discutidas mais adiante, no capítulo 9.

CAPÍTULO 8

8.10 Implicações para a USAID

Os doadores do sector de educação notaram muitas vezes a ausência de coordenação entre si, e encaram o facto como um sério problema, em parte atribuível à falta de iniciativa da parte do MINED. Há, contudo, um grupo de doadores que está a trabalhar no desenvolvimento de um plano mestre para a área da educação vocacional/técnica. O grupo inclui a DANIDA, FINNIDA, e a ASDI, e apreciaria a participação da USAID, caso esta estivesse interessada em trabalhar nesta área. Vários doadores sublinharam a importância, no sector de educação, da ajuda aos programas em lugar da ajuda aos projectos. É amplamente reconhecido que a abordagem do tipo projecto não funcionou adequadamente, e que tendeu a exceder a capacidade dos directores no MINED de supervisionar as actividades multi-facetadas.

CAPÍTULO 9

PRINCIPAIS CONSTATAÇÕES E OPÇÕES PARA A AJUDA DOS DOADORES

Neste capítulo apresentamos o sumário das principais constatações resultantes da Avaliação do Sector de Educação e uma variedade de opções para uma prosseguinte assistência dos doadores ao sector de educação em Moçambique. Na primeira secção do capítulo discutimos sete temas principais, que figuram nos capítulos precedentes. No segundo capítulo conduzimos uma discussão das principais limitações à eficiência da assistência estrangeira a Moçambique, identificamos várias possibilidades de novos projectos no sector de educação, e assinalamos várias áreas nas quais uma política de diálogo entre os doadores e o GRM poderá ser frutuosa. Tentamos abordar tanto as constatações quanto as opções pela sua ordem de prioridade.

9.1 PRINCIPAIS CONSTATAÇÕES

a. A guerra tem tido efeitos devastadores no sistema de educação de Moçambique. Estimativas do número de deslocados de guerra no país variam entre dois e quatro milhões, num país com uma população total de dezasseis milhões de habitantes. Um outro milhão adicional de moçambicanos está refugiado em países vizinhos. Mais de 800 000 escolas primárias foram destruídas pela RENAMO, afectando mais de 800 000 estudantes. Com efeitos exacerbados pela seca e pelo peso oneroso da dívida, a guerra deixou Moçambique extremamente indigente, com mais de 60% do PNB proporcionado pela ajuda externa. Um melhoramento no sistema de educação vai por conseguinte depender em larga escala da continuação da ajuda externa ao sector; o argumento para uma ajuda estrangeira adicional é portanto forte.

b. O acesso ao sistema educacional é, em todos os níveis, severamente restritivo. Somente cerca de um terço das crianças em idade escolar primária frequentam a escola, e é muito reduzido o número de ingressos nos níveis secundários mais elevados e no nível universitário. As aspirações do GRM de atingir uma educação primária para todos foram recentemente reduzidas, mas mesmo o actual objectivo de 86% de ingressos é provavelmente irrealístico, se não a longo prazo. A expansão do acesso à educação básica é de primordial importância. Isto por forma a prover o país de cidadãos instruídos e de força de trabalho, e também como meio de melhorar a igualdade na distribuição dos recursos públicos e de elevar o número de candidatos qualificados para a educação secundária e superior. Tanto quanto possível, o GRM deve valer-se dos recursos das comunidades e de privados para ajudar a financiar a sua expansão, de maneira a minimizar a seus próprios compromissos relativos aos gastos correntes.

c. Apesar do acesso restrito, a qualidade da educação é muito baixa, qualquer que seja o padrão de comparação adoptado. Muitas escolas primárias não dispõem sequer dos materiais didácticos mais básicos, incluindo quadros, e ficam inteiramente fora de uso quando chove. Algumas escolas secundárias carecem de mobiliário, e os estudantes são obrigados a sentar-se no chão. Muitas delas carecem de laboratórios e de bibliotecas utilizáveis. O equipamento nas escolas vocacionais é muitas vezes obsoleto ou está fora de serviço por falta de sobressalentes ou de consumíveis. A Universidade tem dificuldades em recrutar estudantes qualificados e tem falta de equipamento essencial, de livros actualizados e de periódicos, assim como de consumíveis para os laboratórios, quando estes existem. Melhoramentos na qualidade da educação são portanto urgentemente necessários em todos os níveis.

Os doadores estão já a desempenhar um grande papel em financiar tais melhoramentos, mas há uma ampla necessidade de mais contribuições.

d. Os professores e directores no sistema de educação básico são muitas vezes mal qualificados, e as oportunidades para uma formação em exercício são praticamente inexistentes. Muitos dos professores do ensino primário tiveram apenas seis anos de escolaridade e um ano de formação como professores. Muitos dos directores a nível de escola, distrito e província não têm formação especializada para os postos que ocupam. Elevar as qualificações dos professores e directores e prepará-los para lidar com um volume maior de ingressos, através de um aumento da eficiência e da utilização de novas tecnologias de ensino, pode ser um meio de se evitar uma escolha explícita entre uma expansão do volume de ingressos e uma qualidade de ensino melhorada.

e. O GRM concedeu recentemente aumentos para todas as categorias de professores. Em Novembro de 1991, os professores na categoria salarial mais baixa (Letra E, que abrange a vasta maioria de professores primários) auferiam pouco mais de 30 USD por mês; aqueles na categoria mais elevada (quase todos na educação superior) auferiam cerca de 200 USD por mês. Os salários só por si já representam uma grande porção dos gastos públicos em educação, e as difíceis circunstâncias fiscais do GRM indicam que os salários não conhecerão, no futuro próximo, qualquer outro aumento em termos reais. Ainda assim, os salários do sector público continuam a ser muito baixos para evitar que muitos dos professores urbanos tentem suplementar os seus rendimentos com um segundo emprego e com explicações, entre outras actividades. Os professores universitários com habilidades procuradas (p.e. em economia) simplesmente abandonaram a profissão da docência. Manter a integridade e a viabilidade das instituições educacionais e elevar a qualidade do ensino, enquanto contendo ao mesmo tempo o montante total de salários, irá quase certamente requerer a implementação de novas tecnologias instrucionais, que permitam maiores turmas, especialmente nas escolas urbanas.

f. As estruturas administrativas do sistema de educação estão intactas, apesar de muitos dos directores titulares não terem recebido nenhuma formação especializada para as posições que ocupam. As direcções provinciais e distritais de educação permanecem operacionais, e representam, com o fim da guerra, a possibilidade de uma descentralização de recursos e de responsabilidades. Os problemas actuais com as comunicações, transportes e sistemas bancários representam dificuldades para os directores do sistema de educação, que o treino não irá resolver, mas melhoramentos nestas áreas podem também ser esperados, uma vez finda a guerra.

g. A política educacional definida pelo GRM adequa-se em muitos aspectos às necessidades do sistema educacional; Os problemas muito graves apresentados neste relatório devem ser primariamente atribuídos à escassez de recursos e não a erros de política. A principal excepção a este respeito é a contínua diminuição da porção dos recursos educacionais locais e doados destinados à educação básica, e um correspondente aumento da porção destinada às instituições superiores. O estabelecimento de um Conselho de Reitores, dirigido pelo Ministro da Educação, pode ajudar a inverter esta tendência. Uma segunda excepção é a manutenção de regulamentos rigorosos do GRM para o estabelecimento de escolas privadas, o que coloca obstáculos desnecessários a uma participação privada mais ampla no sistema educacional.

9.2 OPÇÕES PARA A AJUDA DOS DOADORES

Como foi notado em várias partes deste relatório, os principais problemas do sistema de educação moçambicano devem ser atribuídos à falta absoluta de recursos. A prioridade para os potenciais doadores do sector deveria ser, portanto, a identificação de mecanismos de canalização de recursos para o sistema e para as escolas tão directa e eficientemente quanto possível. Tal poderia envolver tanto a inserção directa de fundos em actividades a nível de escola, portanto contornando a

estrutura burocrática institucional, bem como esforços para melhorar a eficiência desta estrutura. Os dois processos permitiriam que se alcançasse uma reforma dos métodos da instituição e um melhoramento das capacidades do seu pessoal.

Nesta secção discutimos a sustentabilidade das iniciativas levadas a cabo com os recursos dos doadores, a capacidade do GRM de absorver um apoio orçamental adicional, algumas possibilidades de projectos no sector de educação, e as condições que deveriam ser impostas pelos doadores na concessão geral de apoio orçamental ao GRM.

9.2.1 Sustentabilidade

Como uma proposição geral, diga-se que a concessão de apoio orçamental geral ao GRM deveria ser relegada para uma altura em que o Governo fosse capaz de responder aos gastos adicionais que um tal apoio traria. Se, por exemplo, novos recursos são usados para financiar a produção e a distribuição de livros, então, dada a possibilidade de o apoio orçamental externo poder vir a cessar, os níveis de produção e distribuição atingidos com esse apoio deveriam poder ser mantidos no tempo, usando apenas os recursos domésticos. No caso de Moçambique, contudo, estas expectativas, de outro modo razoáveis, podem não ser justificadas. Com efeito, a base productiva muito pequena, os duradouros efeitos da guerra, e uma dívida massiva, significam que Moçambique permanecerá dependente de largas correntes de ajuda estrangeira por muitos anos.

Isto é tão verdade no sector de educação tanto quanto o é em toda a parte do sector económico. Os doadores já concedem 41% de todos os gastos educacionais em Moçambique, incluindo 36% dos gastos correntes. É difícil imaginar como é que o GRM irá ser capaz, a curto ou a médio prazo, de elevar o seu próprio orçamento educacional a partir dos recursos domésticos, para substituir esta grande assistência estrangeira. Portanto, os novos compromissos de apoio orçamental geral ao GRM devem efectivamente ter este facto em conta.

9.2.2 Capacidade de Absorção

Apesar das tremendas necessidades do sector de educação em recursos adicionais, a capacidade do GRM de absorver uma ajuda adicional dos doadores parece ser baixa. Falta crónica de pessoal qualificado no GRM continuam a criar dificuldades na gestão e prestação de contas dos fundos da contra-parte, o que já criou insatisfação da parte de alguns doadores. Contudo, as exigências da USAID em termos de prestação de contas aparentemente asseguram uma gestão satisfatória dos fundos de contra-parte dos EUA. As taxas de implementação em projectos de investimentos internos e externos são relativamente baixas, com um desembolso ocorrendo a cerca de 60% dos níveis programados. Os problemas de comunicações, distribuição e de sistemas bancários (causados em parte pela guerra) levam a que os recursos, incluindo os livros, materiais diácticos, e mesmo os salários dos professores sejam muitas vezes retardados ou mesmo impedidos de chegar às escolas das localidades.

A disponibilização de apoio orçamental adicional ao GRM não irá por si só resolver os problemas administrativos e financeiros do sector de educação, ou de qualquer outro sector; de facto pode até piorar alguns deles. Acordos com o GRM sobre as condições a governar a libertação e a utilização de novos recursos são portanto essenciais para a utilização eficiente dos novos recursos dos doadores. Para tal contribuiriam também os esforços dirigidos à de formação de capacidades, pois ajudariam o Ministério a melhorar o seu desempenho em matérias financeiras e administrativas.

9.2.3 Projectos no Sector de Educação

As circunstâncias económicas extremamente difíceis que prevalecem em Moçambique têm duas implicações principais para a ajuda estrangeira ao sector de educação. Primeiro, a pobreza do país e dos seus cidadãos significa que os problemas mais importantes que o sector enfrenta devem ser

atribuídos fundamentalmente a uma absoluta falta de recursos para pagar os salários, reparar as escolas, obter livros, etc., e apenas em pequena escala à ineficiência na utilização dos recursos disponíveis. Uma prioridade na ajuda deveria ser, portanto, encontrar meios de atribuir os recursos adicionais às escolas da forma mais simples e directa possível. Segundo, as limitações impostas ao Governo pela pobreza e ajustamento estrutural indicam que a ajuda não deveria exigir novos e insustentáveis gastos correntes. Portanto, a curto e médio prazo a ajuda deveria ser destinada a melhorar a eficiência das instituições existentes, e não a expandir a sua capacidade ou a construir novas instituições.

Uma consideração adicional para a ajuda estrangeira é o conflito particularmente agudo entre as estratégias de desenvolvimento a curto e a longo prazo a que Moçambique está sujeito (veja a discussão adicional no capítulo 8).

Tem sido insinuado que a taxa de desconto real no país poderá ser tão elevada como 50%. Tomando tal como verdadeiro, então, em princípio, os doadores devem adoptar um horizonte temporal muito curto para os retornos nos recursos que proporcionem. Foi argumentado que para o sector de educação tal deveria implicar uma concentração de atenções nos níveis secundário e terciário do sistema de educação, com vista à obtenção para a economia de pessoal altamente qualificado tão depressa quanto possível. Melhoramentos na capacidade de gestão e um aumento do número de trabalhadores habilitados podem conduzir a retornos a curto prazo, pois garantem a elevação da eficiência com que os recursos disponíveis são geridos e explorados.

Contudo, pelo menos dois argumentos podem ser apresentados, em favor do investimento na educação primária. Primeiro, a capacidade de absorção em níveis altos do sistema é limitada, devido aos "engarrafamentos" e deficiências de qualidade no fornecimento de candidatos, à limitada capacidade de ensino das instituições existentes, e aos altos custos de oportunidade para os estudantes. Não é portanto seguro que os investimentos de curto prazo na educação secundária e superior iriam produzir a desejada abundância das capacidades urgentemente necessárias. Melhoramentos na qualidade e alcance da educação básica são portanto um pré-requisito para os esforços no sentido de se elevar o suprimento em pessoal altamente qualificado.

Segundo, tal como foi discutido no Capítulo 8, uma população instruída é necessária para o desenvolvimento a longo prazo de Moçambique. A elevação da capacidade do sector público irá, sem dúvida, melhorar a curto prazo a eficiência com que os recursos públicos e dos doadores são usados, mas se estes melhoramentos são alcançados a expensas da elevação da qualidade e alcance da educação básica (um risco muito real), então é duvidoso que o povo de Moçambique possa vir a construir o tipo de capacidades económicas e cívicas essenciais para o desenvolvimento contínuo do seu país. Os investimentos na formação de capacidades de alto nível podem, se não forem planificados e implementados cuidadosamente, fortificar o estado em detrimento da sociedade, elevando ainda mais as vantagens dos bem-posicionados a expensas dos mais pobres e beneficiando Maputo a expensas do resto do País. Portanto, qualquer esforço nesse sentido deve ser secundário aos investimentos directos na estrutura da educação básica, e no nível escolar do seu pessoal. Tais investimentos irão proporcionar um complemento muito importante a qualquer iniciativa centralizada do sector de educação com vista a disseminar o poder, construir uma capacidade local, e a encorajar as iniciativas locais e privadas dentro do sistema de educação. Elas seriam, portanto, em muitos aspectos consistentes com os tipos de mudanças económicas e políticas que a USAID tem estado a encorajar Moçambique a levar a cabo.

Nesta secção apresentámos um número de opções de projectos para a ajuda adicional dos doadores ao sector de educação em Moçambique. Estratégias para a intervenção em várias partes e a vários níveis do sector são identificadas, mas na essência os membros do grupo defendem, no

desenvolvimento duma estratégia de ajuda à educação em Moçambique, uma prioridade de investimentos na educação básica.

9.2.3.1 Contrapartida ("Matching grants") para as comunidades

Como é observado em vários pontos deste relatório, a necessidade dominante no sistema educacional moçambicano é a da obtenção de recursos adicionais para o sector, especialmente para o nível local. Uma necessidade relacionada é a da construção de capacidade administrativa a nível local e de escola, para tornar possível que as comunidades assumam pelas suas escolas uma maior responsabilidade administrativa e financeira. Os doadores poderão contribuir para os dois fins, proporcionando fundos a serem libertados para as comunidades (e possivelmente para as ONG's) numa base de contrapartida para a execução de projectos nas escolas locais. Tais actividades poderão incluir a disponibilização de contrapartida para a construção e expansão de escolas; o estabelecimento dum fundo de maneo para ajudar na aquisição de livros, materiais didácticos e equipamento pelas comunidades, organizações dos pais, ou pelos proprietários das escolas privadas; e a organização duma formação em administração educacional e gestão financeira para os directores aos níveis provincial, distrital e de escola.

O objectivo explícito de tal projecto seria o de proporcionar recursos discriminados aos directores locais, para ajudar a financiar as actividades tidas como prioritárias nas suas comunidades. Os fundos seriam encaminhados para as localidades com o mínimo possível de trâmites administrativos. A principal responsabilidade dos doadores e do MINED seria o estabelecimento e a implementação de procedimentos para o controlo financeiro, por forma a assegurar uma utilização justa e honesta dos fundos dos projectos. A discriminação na solicitação, identificação e selecção de projectos poderiam ser deixadas, em larga escala, às autoridades provinciais, conquanto o Ministério possa contudo reter algum papel, concretamente para determinar em quanto contribuem os projectos locais para o alcance dos objectivos do GRM (p.e. igualdade de sexo e regionais). Um tal projecto poderia ser iniciado numa base piloto em uma ou duas das províncias mais populosas, sob a administração conjunta das autoridades central e provincial de educação. Um projecto em curso no Xai-Xai e financiado pelo UNICEF poderá servir de um modelo útil para os esforços futuros dos doadores nesta direcção.

Quaisquer que sejam a expansão e o melhoramento a ocorrer no sistema educacional ao longo da próxima década, dependerão em larga escala da participação ampla das comunidades e ONG's na construção, manutenção e financiamento das escolas e das actividades escolares. Os doadores podem desempenhar um papel muito importante na expansão e fortalecimento desta participação e na construção da capacidade administrativa local, visando ajudar as comunidades na definição e concretização dos seus objectivos.

9.2.3.2 A formação em exercício de professores

Muitos dos professores na educação básica são bastante jovens, e vários deles receberam pouca formação antes de assumirem os seus postos. Eles irão provavelmente permanecer no sistema de educação por muitos anos. Se se pretende elevar significativamente a qualidade do ensino nas escolas primárias, então os conhecimentos e habilidades dos professores actuais deverão ser elevados, através da formação em exercício.

As oportunidades para uma formação em exercício são presentemente quase inexistentes, e os compromissos do GRM e dos doadores para estas actividades são mínimos. Proporcionar um treino aos instructores, desenvolver os curricula e materiais para os programas de formação em exercício são portanto actividades em que os doadores do sector podem fazer contribuições valiosas para o melhoramento da qualidade da educação básica em Moçambique.

Um projecto nesta área deve incluir três componentes principais. A primeira comportaria o fornecimento de assistência técnica e de ajuda financeira para o desenvolvimento da capacidade das instituições provinciais de formação de professores nesta área. Tais instituições incluiriam em especial os Institutos Médios Pedagógicos (IMP's) e os Centros de Formação de Professores Primários e Secundários (CFMPS's). A prioridade deveria ser para aqueles centros localizados nas províncias rurais, e especialmente do norte. As actividades sob esta componente poderão ser realizadas sob contrato com uma universidade americana ou com um consórcio de universidades. Elas incluiriam a formação de instrutores locais, o desenvolvimento de curricula e materiais, e a organização e implementação de programas de formação para os professores praticantes, nas instituições de formação existentes.

A segunda componente teria lugar ao mesmo tempo que a primeira. Ela compreenderia o treino de docentes de faculdades e de pessoal técnico em instituições envolvidas tanto na formação em exercício como na formação dos instrutores para a formação em exercício. O fim seria o de estabelecer uma capacidade local para a continuação dos programas nacionais de formação em exercício, quando a ajuda técnica fosse (eventualmente) retirada. Tais instituições incluem os CFMPS's, o INDE e o ISP. O treino aos vários níveis deveria ser proporcionado por instituições dentro do país (p.e., o INDE e o ISP), com ou sem a ajuda técnica dos EUA; em instituições regionais com programas apropriados (p.e., o "Institute of Development Management" na Suazilândia); ou nas universidades americanas envolvidas em proporcionar ajuda técnica.

A terceira componente acarretaria a distribuição de livros profissionais aos professores do EP1 e EP2, quer ou não em associação com a sua participação nos programas de formação em exercício. Os livros a serem distribuídos incluiriam alguns sobre os princípios de pedagogia e aprendizagem em geral, e alguns que fossem úteis como textos básicos ou como material de referência nas suas disciplinas específicas. Os conteúdos e a apresentação destes teria de ser relativamente básico.

9.2.3.3 Formação de Directores Provinciais, Distritais e de Escola

Há uma necessidade urgente de formação em exercício dirigida aos directores do sector de educação, uma vez que praticamente nenhum deles recebeu uma preparação especializada antes de assumir o seu cargo. Tal como no caso dos professores, muitos destes directores são muito jovens, e pode portanto esperar-se que ainda permaneçam no sistema de educação por muito tempo. Cursos de formação em exercício de pouca duração, nas áreas de direcção educacional, gestão e técnicas de administração, princípios básicos de contas, relações escola-comunidade, e colecção e utilização de dados estatísticos, poderiam contribuir bastante para o melhoramento do rendimento das escolas moçambicanas. Uma tal formação seria especialmente importante e valiosa em associação com o esforço descrito acima, visando elevar o discernimento administrativo e financeiro dos directores a nível local através da disponibilização de fundos de contrapartida. A coordenação desta formação de capacidade regional com as autoridades centrais certamente que traria benefícios na gestão global do sistema nacional de educação.

9.2.3.4 Tecnologias Educacionais de Baixo custo

Os baixos níveis de ingresso em todos os níveis do sistema educacional, combinados com a desanimadora condição fiscal e com as projecções do GRM apontam em como um largo número de crianças continuará, por muitos anos, a não ter acesso à escola, por falta de lugares. Face à impossibilidade de se elevarem as despesas, a única forma verdadeiramente viável de se aumentar o número de crianças na escola é através da redução do custo por aluno. Uma variedade de tecnologias de ensino de baixo custo podem ser tentadas. Os exemplos incluem o ensino multi-classe (a combinação de duas ou mais classes numa mesma sala, com um mesmo professor) e as estratégias do

ensino programado/aprendizagem programada. Os doadores deveriam portanto trabalhar com o GRM para avaliar as possibilidades da adopção em escolas moçambicanas duma ou mais destas tecnologias. As experimentações da implementação de tecnologias alternativas de ensino deveriam ser acompanhadas de esforços para expandir a participação dos pais e comunidades na administração e financiamento educacionais do tipo descrito no capítulo que se segue.

9.2.3.5 Substituição das Propriedades Nacionalizadas

Depois de uma década de relações e comunicação muitas vezes tensas entre o GRM e uma variedade de instituições privadas, incluindo a Igreja, o Governo está agora a adoptar políticas menos restritivas com respeito aos sectores privado e não-governamentais. Um resultado da reaproximação entre a Igreja e o Governo são as negociações sobre a devolução das propriedades da Igreja, nacionalizadas por ocasião da Independência. Muitas destas propriedades estão actualmente a ser utilizadas como escolas públicas. Em Manica, por exemplo, nove das onze escolas EP2 em operação pertenceram anteriormente à Igreja; praticamente todos os CFMP's pelo País fora funcionam em propriedades outrora da Igreja. Os doadores poderiam facilitar a transferência destas propriedades de volta para o sector privado, ajudando a assegurar a continuidade do funcionamento do sistema educacional básico, tanto construindo como financiando a substituição das propriedades nacionalizadas, agora devolvidas aos seus anteriores donos. Um tal financiamento iria proporcionar uma ajuda particularmente valiosa, dado o papel crucial que estas instituições podem desempenhar na oferta de formação pré-serviço e de formação em exercício.

9.2.3.6 Fortalecimento da Faculdade de Agronomia da UEM

A Faculdade de Agronomia procura desenvolver a capacidade de investigação e ensino em (i) extensão agrícola para camponeses e agricultores comerciais; (ii) segurança alimentar; (iii) desenvolvimento rural e política agrícola; (iv) investigação de sistemas agrícolas; (v) gestão ambiental; e (vi) treinamento de extensionistas e de gestores agrícolas em coordenação com o Ministério da Agricultura e Florestas. Estes objectivos ajustam-se bem aos esforços em curso para fortalecer o sector agrícola e contruir uma capacidade local, particularmente nas zonas rurais. No presente momento, contudo, a Faculdade de Agronomia tem uma capacidade muito limitada para estender o seu trabalho para além de Maputo, em grande parte devido à guerra, mas também devido à falta de coordenação com as actividades de extensão existentes no Ministério da Agricultura e noutros sítios.

A USAID poderia proporcionar ajuda à Faculdade de Agronomia nos seus esforços para fortalecer os seus programas nas áreas do desenvolvimento rural e extensão agrícola, através de (i) apoio das já existentes ligações com as universidades dos EUA, no sentido de encorajar o desenvolvimento do corpo docente; (ii) fornecimento de livros para a biblioteca e treino para o pessoal da biblioteca; (iii) fornecimento de equipamento e viaturas para a expansão das actividades da Faculdade em áreas rurais do país; e (iv) através de subsídios de instalação (p.e. para livros, assinaturas de periódicos, deslocações a conferências, etc.) para os docentes que retomam da sua formação nos EUA, de forma a facilitar a sua retenção na Faculdade.

Os esforços para a expansão da participação da Faculdade de Agronomia em actividades de extensão e de desenvolvimento rural devem ser realizados na base duma cooperação mais estreita entre a Faculdade, o Ministério da Agricultura e outras organizações envolvidas no sector. A concessão de mais apoio à Faculdade deveria ser ponderada na base do sucesso dos esforços pela Faculdade no estabelecimento duma tal cooperação.

9.2.3.7 Alojamento para os estudantes do sexo feminino

Para elevar o acesso das mulheres à educação superior, os doadores devem tomar em consideração a disponibilização de fundos para a construção de residências estudantis para os estudantes do sexo feminino na UEM, ISP, INDE e ISRI.

9.2.3.8 Educação Básica não Formal

Com a deterioração da economia Moçambicana e com a guerra, um grande número de crianças abandonou a escola, e várias nunca sequer chegaram a frequentá-la. Os doadores podem apoiar os esforços para a alfabetização destas crianças, através do desenvolvimento de programas de ensino pilotos em alfabetização funcional e através da educação comunitária para as crianças e jovens com as idades compreendidas entre os dez e os quinze anos. Tais programas decorreriam em zonas rurais, onde o défice educacional é maior. O objectivo seria o de dotar as crianças de capacidades equivalentes à conclusão do EP1, através dum caminho não formal. Os projectos pilotos teriam a duração de três anos, sendo o primeiro ano usado para o estabelecimento de contactos com as comunidades, desenvolvimento de materiais didácticos com um forte conteúdo regional, treinamento de alfabetizadores e estabelecimento dum sistema de ensino. A instrução teria lugar nos últimos dois anos. O projecto poderia ser administrado através do ISP ou do INDE, com o apoio financeiro dos doadores e do GRM e com a ajuda técnica dos EUA ou de terceiros países. Para que este e outros projectos inovativos em educação não-formal sejam bem sucedidos, os doadores teriam de trabalhar com o GRM para assegurar a diferenciação entre os requisitos da aprendizagem para adultos, por um lado, dos requisitos escolares para fins de obtenção de certificado, por outro lado. A participação dum ONG ou dum Universidade dos EUA poderia ser igualmente útil.

9.2.4. Condições e reformas políticas

O Governo levou a cabo recentemente mudanças dramáticas de direcção nas políticas educacionais, bem como em outros domínios. O presente ambiente político corresponde, nos aspectos mais importantes, aos objectivos da USAID para o sector de educação. Há contudo alguns aspectos no sistema educacional moçambicano para os quais se torna necessário abordar o estabelecimento de certas condições para a libertação do apoio orçamental geral.

9.2.4.1 Prioridade para a educação Básica

O GRM declarou que a prioridade na distribuição dos recursos educacionais devia ser para a educação básica, mas as suas próprias projecções orçamentais mostram que se espera um decréscimo ao longo da próxima década da porção de recursos encaminhados para a educação primária e secundária, enquanto que deverá crescer a porção destinada à educação superior. Os doadores do sector deveriam portanto trabalhar com o GRM no desenvolvimento de estratégias financeiras, organizacionais e políticas, visando reduzir a porção dos recursos públicos atribuídos à educação superior e libertando recursos adicionais para a educação básica. Os doadores precisariam, por sua vez, de reorientar e coordenar as suas próprias prioridades na assistência, visto que elas tendem, neste momento, a deslocar as despesas educacionais do GRM da educação básica para a educação superior.

9.2.4.2 Participação Privada no Sistema Educacional

Uma outra série de questões de política que necessitam de ser abordadas, no sistema educacional moçambicano, refere-se à natureza da participação privada no sistema. Há duas dimensões principais para esta questão. Por um lado, uma nova abertura ao nível de política do GRM à participação privada no proporcionamento de oportunidades educacionais continua a conhecer obstáculos ao nível prático, devido aos regulamentos excessivamente rigorosos para as escolas fora do sistema público. Estes

incluem padrões para as escolas privadas no respeitante ao espaço, qualificações dos professores, instalações sanitárias, etc., que apenas poucas escolas públicas do país satisfazem.

Estes regulamentos têm duas consequências principais. Primeiro, e mais obviamente, eles restringem desnecessariamente a oferta de lugares nas escolas privadas, que seriam disponíveis para as crianças excluídas das escolas públicas. A imposição de condições impossíveis aos potenciais proprietários de escolas privadas resulta ser tão impeditiva para a abertura dessas escolas quanto uma proibição completa. Segundo, as obrigações constantes de tais regulamentos estabelecem um "mercado" para licenças e exenções que funciona em detrimento dos estudantes e professores, pois desencoraja a adopção pelos proprietários de uma perspectiva de longo prazo com respeito aos seus investimentos. Permanentemente confrontados com a ameaça de verem os seus estabelecimentos encerrados (e talvez com a obrigação de repartirem os seus lucros com os seus reguladores), os proprietários procuram obter os seus retornos no mais curto espaço de tempo possível, ponto a partir do qual têm muito pouco incentivo para assegurar um funcionamento adequado das suas escolas. Os resultados numa a dessas escolas, em Maputo, são descritos no Capítulo 5.

Por outro lado, as escolas privadas em Maputo e Beira (e provavelmente por toda a parte) estão cada vez mais a ser de facto "privatizadas" por aqueles que lá trabalham. Os escassos lugares são rotinamente "leiloados" àqueles que podem e desejam pagar por eles, e, da mesma forma, os outros benefícios educacionais (passagens nos exames, certificados de conclusão) são postos à venda com maior frequência (Veja a discussão relacionada no capítulo 3).

A exploração das instituições públicas para fins privados tem pelo menos três consequências perniciosas. Primeiro, contribui para um crescente clima de corrupção, que com o decorrer do tempo mina a legitimidade do estado e a efectividade potencial de todas as instituições públicas. A existência no sistema educacional da venda de passagens aos exames e de diplomas coloca em questão o significado de todas as credenciais académicas, que devem afinal ser determinantes na diferenciação do rendimento e do status no país. Segundo, privilegia o acesso aos serviços públicos nominais daqueles que dispõem de meios para por eles pagar, contribuindo portanto para a construção e perpetuação de cada vez maiores e duradoiras desigualdades baseadas no status económico. Terceiro, desvia para os bolsos privados recursos que poderiam, em princípio, ser dedicados a propósitos públicos.

No sistema educacional, por exemplo um aumento das taxas actualmente cobradas para a matrícula nas escolas públicas reduziria a dimensão do "mercado para fins privados", e simultaneamente, elevaria as receitas disponíveis para o governo expandir o acesso ou melhorar a qualidade. Contudo, como cerca de dois terços de todos os moçambicanos vivem na pobreza absoluta, uma tal política teria de ser acompanhada da isenção de propinas para as crianças pobres.

Um papel muito útil para os doadores do sector da educação seria, portanto, o de trabalhar com o GRM no desenvolvimento de políticas mais eficazes e menos prejudiciais com respeito à participação privada no sistema educacional.

9.2.4.3 Educação das mulheres

Apesar de alguns progressos ao longo dos anos desde a Independência, as raparigas continuam significativamente sub-representadas em todos os níveis do sistema educacional. As razões pelas quais isto acontece não são ainda bem compreendidas. Os doadores poderiam, portanto, trabalhar de forma útil com o GRM tanto na condução de investigações sobre as causas das baixas taxas de ingresso entre as raparigas, como na concepção de novas políticas que pudessem ajudar a reduzir as disparidades de sexo nos ingressos.

9.2.4.4 Formação Pré-serviço e Formação em Exercício

Presentemente, as instituições de formação de professores em Moçambique dedicam quase todos os seus recursos à formação pré-serviço, e virtualmente nenhum à formação em exercício. As limitações rigorosas nas despesas governamentais e a relativa juventude do actual corpo docente significam em conjunto que provavelmente não serão abundantes, no futuro próximo, os empregos para novos professores. Consequentemente, uma mudança de políticas e um encaminhamento de recursos em direcção à formação em exercício parecem ser aconselháveis. Um projecto para a expansão da capacidade da formação em exercício de professores e directores de escolas primárias é descrito na secção precedente. As mudanças de política a acompanhar um tal projecto incluem o estabelecimento de prémios e incentivos para aqueles professores que participem nos programas de formação em exercício, e a reconsideração das tendências actuais para programas de pré-serviço longos e de alto custo, incluindo o curso de licenciatura de cinco anos no ISP.

9.2.5 SUMÁRIO

Como foi notado em várias partes deste relatório, há muito que fazer no sistema educacional de Moçambique. Os recursos são escassos, e qualquer ajuda pode ser posta em uso imediato e de forma rentável. Ao mesmo tempo, contudo, os doadores devem ser cautelosos, para que a ajuda que eles proporcionem não exceda a limitada capacidade administrativa do GRM e nem imponha no orçamento público uma quantidade insustentável de gastos correntes. Em conjunto, estas considerações significam que de facto os tipos de ajuda que podem ser utilmente proporcionados podem ser limitados, pelo menos nos tempos mais próximos.

Neste capítulo apresentámos uma série muito limitada de ideias para o apoio adicional dos doadores ao sector da educação. A nosso ver, a ajuda mais útil será o apoio financeiro directo, especialmente o apoio que vá tão directamente quanto possível para as comunidades e escolas. O fornecimento de apoio orçamental geral acompanhado de uma política de condições, visando a expansão ou o melhoramento da educação básica, e o estabelecimento de um fundo de contrapartida para os projectos educacionais locais, levados a cabo pelas comunidades, são portanto opções atractivas. A última tem a vantagem adicional de deslocar algum controle sobre os recursos para fora de Maputo e descer ao nível da comunidade.

Contudo, para que tal seja realizável e politicamente aceitável, devem também prestar-se atenções às estruturas centralizadas do sistema nacional de educação. Os esforços a desenvolver no delineamento de sub-sistemas e na construção de capacidades dentro do MINED servirão de complementos críticos de longo prazo e de apoio às intervenções dirigidas para o nível local. Tanto no que diz respeito à assistência financeira directa às escolas, direcções locais e comunidades, como no que diz respeito ao apoio à autoridade educacional nacional centralizada, será crítico que se minimize o aumento nos gastos correntes. A formação em exercício de professores e directores das escolas primárias satisfaz este critério, assim como o satisfaz igualmente o apoio à Faculdade de Agronomia da UEM.