

# **WORKING PAPERS**

## **SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION, POLICY TRANSFER AND BEST-PRACTICE REASONING: THE TRANSFER OF THE SOLIDARITY IN LITERACY PROGRAM FROM BRAZIL TO MOZAMBIQUE**

Michelle Graciela de Morais

February 2005

Working Paper Series No. 406

Institute of Social Studies

**SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION, POLICY TRANSFER  
AND BEST-PRACTICE REASONING:  
THE TRANSFER OF THE SOLIDARITY IN LITERACY  
PROGRAM FROM BRAZIL TO MOZAMBIQUE\***

Michelle Graciela de Morais

February 2005

Working Paper Series No. 406

**Comments are welcome and should be addressed to the author:**

c/o ORPAS - Institute of Social Studies - P.O. Box 29776  
2502LT The Hague - The Netherlands

[workingpapers@iss.nl](mailto:workingpapers@iss.nl)

\* This paper received an ISS MA Research Paper Award for the academic year 2003-2004.

The Institute of Social Studies is Europe's longest-established centre of higher education and research in development studies. Post-graduate teaching programmes range from six-week diploma courses to the PhD programme. Research at ISS is fundamental in the sense of laying a scientific basis for the formulation of appropriate development policies. The academic work of ISS is disseminated in the form of books, journal articles, teaching texts, monographs and working papers. The Working Paper series provides a forum for work in progress which seeks to elicit comments and generate discussion. The series includes the research of staff, PhD participants and visiting fellows, and outstanding research papers by graduate students.

For a list of available Working Papers and how to order, see the last page of this Working Paper.

Some of the latest Working Papers are published full text (or abstract and content page) on the website: [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl) ((Publications / Working Papers Series).

For further information contact:

ORPAS - **Institute of Social Studies** - P.O. Box 29776  
2502LT The Hague - The Netherlands - FAX: +31 70 4260799  
E-mail: **workingpapers@iss.nl**

ISSN 0921-0210

**CONTENTS**

## CONTENTS

### ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1	INTRODUCTION .....	1
2	RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS .	3
3	ANALYTICAL BASIS AND NORMATIVE LANGUAGES .....	6
3.1.	Analytical Basis.....	6
3.2	Normative Languages that Promote and Celebrate this Kind of Initiative .....	8
3.2.1	The Policy Transfer Literature .....	8
3.2.2	South-South Cooperation .....	11
3.2.3	Best Practice Reasoning .....	13
4	THE ‘SOLIDARITY IN LITERACY PROGRAM’ IN BRAZIL.....	16
4.1	How it works .....	16
4.2	The construction of a best-practice image.....	19
5	THE ‘SOLIDARITY IN LITERACY PROGRAM’ IN MOZAMBIQUE .....	22
5.1	The Politics Behind .....	27
5.1.1	Politics in Brazil .....	27
5.1.2	Politics in Mozambique .....	30
5.2	The Reality of a South-South Cooperation for the Transfer of a Best-practice .....	32
5.2.1	Non-incorporation of the past Mozambican experience: lack of ownership.....	32
5.2.2	Teaching literacy in Portuguese: non-context specific transfer.....	35
5.2.3	Literacy materials: non-context specific transfer .....	38
5.2.4	What was not learned: the partnership structure .....	42
5.2.5	What was not learned: teachers’ training. Lack of sustainability.....	43
5.2.6	What Brazil could have learned from Mozambique.....	44
6	CONCLUSIONS .....	44
	REFERENCES .....	47
	APPENDICES .....	51

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAPAS	Association for the Support of the Solidarity in Literacy Program
ABC	Brazilian Agency of Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
ABLE	Adult Basic Literacy and Education
AlfaSol	Solidarity in Literacy Program (in Brazil)
CPLP	Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries
DNAEA	National Directorate for Literacy and Adult Education
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front
G77	Group of 77 Developing Countries
INDE	National Institute for the Development of Education
MEC	Ministry of Education, Brazil
MINED	Ministry of Education, Mozambique
OMM	Organization of Mozambican Women
PASMO	Solidarity in Literacy Program in Mozambique
PRE	Programa de Recuperação Econômica ( <i>Economic Recovery Program</i> )
ProDoc	Project Document
TCDC	Special Unit for Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
UIE	UNESCO Institute of Education
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WIDE	The Web of Information for Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The following lines could have appeared in a newspaper or international organization website in 2001/2002: *In an act of southern solidarity and following the principles that animate South-South cooperation, the government of Brazil has joined Mozambique in its efforts to fight the high Mozambican adult illiteracy rate. After having acquired experience and reached success in coping with illiteracy by means of the Solidarity in Literacy Program (AlfaSol), Brazil is now helping the Mozambican government learn from this success. The Brazilian government is providing Mozambique with half a million dollars and literacy experts in order to implement the AlfaSol Program in various Mozambican provinces. The expectation is to train 250 literacy teachers and establish 240 adult literacy classrooms in the course of 18 months. This is an example that developing countries have plenty to learn from each other and that South-South cooperation can be very fruitful. Since they face similar problems, countries of the South can and should share their solutions, once they are found.*

Indeed, Brazil and Mozambique have cooperated in the literacy field. And, indeed, South-South cooperation has been given the blessings of common sense. The overall feeling is that it must be something positive and worth pursuing. Interestingly, this is not limited to common sense, being also shared by scholars and policymakers. Likewise, this attitude of approval also applies to policy transfers and best-practices.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays it is not difficult to find a number of articles, working papers and books that bring complete recipes on how to carry out a policy transfer or how to design a best-practice policy in a specific field.

In this sense, the bodies of literature and policy discourse on South-South Cooperation, Policy Transfer and Best-practices constitute ‘upper beat normative languages’ that promote, celebrate, and encourage the replication of those experiences.<sup>2</sup> They have the common feature of not making much room for scepticism and political analysis.

*Vis-à-vis* those three ‘normative languages’, the present paper will analyze the above-mentioned experience: the cooperation project for the transfer of the AlfaSol Program from Brazil to Mozambique. Launched in 2001 and already terminated, that

---

<sup>1</sup> The definition of what a policy transfer is will be presented in chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> This expression is being borrowed from Jan Kees van Donge, supervisor to this research paper.

project attempted to implement in Mozambique a literacy program that followed the model of the ‘successful’ Brazilian AlfaSol. It was, therefore, an undertaking where a ‘best-practice’ was transferred through a cooperation between two countries of the South.

Thus, the objective of the paper is to contrast this empirical reality to the ‘normative languages’ of South-South Cooperation, Policy Transfer and Best-practice reasoning. The case is insightful in bringing to light a number of interesting aspects: how the best-practice image of AlfaSol was built; the political factors behind its transfer to Mozambique; the presence/absence of ownership, sustainability, and horizontal relations in this South-South cooperation; how the context-specificities of Mozambique were dealt with; and what Mozambique learned from that policy transfer.

Besides being interesting in itself, the case analysis will allow the following remarks being made: South-South cooperation can face the same problems of North-South cooperation - inequality, lack of ownership and of sustainability; there are many political factors behind a policy transfer, which are important for the understanding of why and how it occurs; a policy transfer may not lead to complete policy learning; cultural, historical, and social differences between the ‘lending’ and ‘borrowing’ countries matter for a policy transfer; and a best-practice is more of a social construct, being more easily qualified as such if in accordance with the dominating discourse.

Chapter 1 will briefly explain how this research came into being, the methodology and data collection methods used, as well as the questions that guide the paper. Although the research ended up being based on a grounded theory methodology – this meaning that the research process departed from the observation of the case and from that derived the analysis of the three normative languages – the paper is structured in an inverted order. In chapter 2, after the paper’s analytical basis is introduced, those normative languages are presented and their questioned assumptions and characteristics are brought to light. Then chapters 3 and 4 describe and simultaneously analyze the case. Such presentation strategy was chosen to help the reader look at the case with the aim of identifying the aspects that are enlightening face to what was previously introduced and questioned in chapter 2.

Not the least, the paper will also bear some relevance for the field of Adult Basic Literacy and Education (ABLE) and will be able to somehow contribute to the international efforts being made within the context of the *UN Literacy Decade (2003-*

2012). The intended contribution to this field does not belong to the theoretical realm, but to its practice. Hopefully, by describing and analyzing the case of AlfaSol in Mozambique, this paper will be able to elucidate some important aspects to be catered for in an adult literacy program in the Mozambican context. Regrettably, the pedagogic dimension of literacy, as well as its impacts on people's lives, will not be addressed, mainly due to space constraints.

It is important to state at this point that the present research paper has a very critical character, both in analyzing the case and in commenting on South-South cooperation, policy transfer and best-practice. On the one hand, this is a result of the author's background in Politics of Alternative Development, and, on the other hand, it is due to the paper's intention to look critically at development practices. It is believed here that skepticism and critical analysis can be useful allies in improving development-related initiatives such as the one examined in this paper.

## **2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS**

One can say that my research journey dates back to the years when I worked for an international organization in Brasilia. There I could perceive that the Brazilian government, mainly since the Cardoso administration, had been establishing a number of cooperation projects with other developing countries. What called my attention was that those projects were mostly aimed at taking to those countries the model of 'successful' Brazilian social programs. This was the case of the *Bolsa Escola* Program, the National Program against HIV/AIDS, and the *Solidarity in Literacy* Program (AlfaSol). At first I was stuck with the questions: How was it possible to implement those social programs in countries with different social, cultural, economic and political realities? How were those differences being dealt with? The issue of cultural sensitivity was hence at the heart of those initial questions.

Later on came the possibility of turning that puzzle into a research proposal. For that it was necessary to select a specific case study and hence choose one of the programs and one of the other countries in which it had been implemented. The option for the AlfaSol Program was fundamentally based on my experience with and interest in adult literacy. The choice of the cooperating country was a little more objective. The selection of Mozambique was basically due to the following reasons:



- a. Among all the Brazilian cooperation agreements for the transfer of AlfaSol to other developing countries, the one with Mozambique is the first in amount of resources. It counted on a budget of US\$ 546,200.00;<sup>3</sup>
- b. Among all partner countries, Mozambique had the highest illiteracy rate prior to the cooperation: 60,5% in 2001;<sup>4</sup>
- c. The execution of the cooperation project had been already finalized, thus allowing for a more comprehensive analysis;
- d. When compared to Brazil, two important differences could be readily identified. First, Mozambique has a recent history of independence, socialization and war. Second, although Portuguese is the official language in the country, there are more than 18 main national languages (INE: 1997, cited in UNDP: 2000). When it comes to a literacy program, this was certainly an important characteristic to take into account.

Once the case was chosen, the initial research questions and hypothesis were engineered. However, those questions were highly criticized, for being too technical and with low or no political content. Indeed, those criticisms were right. During the three weeks of field research in Mozambique I realized how much more that case study could reveal. Specially, I had in the back of my mind all the literature and speeches I had read on Policy Transfer (which was initially intended to be this paper's theoretical framework), on South-South cooperation and on best practices. *Vis-à-vis* those, the case study seemed to have plenty to tell.

Consequently, the research questions were altered in order to incorporate that new perception and to let the empirical data speak for itself. The new and final research questions read as: **‘What does the case study reveal *vis-à-vis* the normative languages of South-South cooperation, Policy Transfer, and Best-practice reasoning? In that case, what was their actual practice?’**

To answer those questions, the case was analyzed in the first place. Hence, the paper makes use of a qualitative methodology based on induction and grounded theory methodology. As explained above, this was the result of the research experience itself. The research design had actually a deductive nature, but the initial

---

<sup>3</sup>Source: Agencia Brasileira de Cooperação (2001), *Programa Alfabetização Solidária em Moçambique*. Cooperação Técnica entre Países em Desenvolvimento: Brasil-Mocambique.

<sup>4</sup> Idem.

hypothesis proved to be of minor relevance face to the wealth of information gotten with the empirical data.

Within such methodology, a case study analysis was carried out with the use of generated data. The data collection methods included a variety of instruments, from unstructured observations to semi-structured interviews. On the Brazilian side, the data was collected by means of electronic questionnaires and phone interviews (see Annex B). Additionally, a three-week research trip to Mozambique was carried out from late July to mid-August 2004. During the field research period, a number of stakeholders and non-stakeholders of the AlfaSol project in Mozambique were interviewed, as detailed in Annex A.

However, the field observation was not limited to the conducted interviews. There was an attempt to take note of every piece of information that might be relevant for the understanding of the Mozambican history and society. In this sense, conversations with taxi drivers, house workers, street vendors, and Mozambican young people were all considered important for the depiction of perceptions.

If on the one hand this allowed the development of a broader analysis, on the other hand the general Mozambican picture was built upon the informants' perceptions (and some were more eloquent than others) and upon the author's own interpretations. Additionally, some bias may have emerged from the fact that all observations were conducted during a three-week visit to only four districts in Southern Mozambique: Maputo, Boane, Matola and Manhiça. This was unfortunately a consequence of resource constraints.

Bearing those limitations in mind, the analysis of the adopted case study does not aim at being representative and generalizable. It rather intends to bring about some considerations that would lead to some new issues being seen in other cases, be it in *post facto* analyses of other concluded projects or in the design of new experiences.

Last but not least, it is important to inform that all the quotes derived from the interviews and from documents, articles and books in Portuguese were freely translated by this paper's author. Thus, if any differential meaning is identified between the originals in Portuguese and the English translation, the author takes complete responsibility for it.

### 3 ANALYTICAL BASIS AND NORMATIVE LANGUAGES

#### 3.1. Analytical Basis

My own professional experience with ‘in-office’ development interventions initially led me to adopt the Policy Transfer literature as the theoretical framework for this research, given that the selected case study qualified as an experience of policy transfer. However, as the data collection and analysis proceeded, the policy transfer literature ended up as one of the normative languages to be analyzed and criticized in this work. Instead, the current paper will address its research questions with the support and analytical inspiration of two main works: Long (2001) and Rap (2003).

In the book ‘Development Sociology: actor perspectives’ Norman Long sets himself the task of demythologizing planned intervention and argues against the linear and cyclical models that have been built about it. As an alternative, he makes the case for a development social actors perspective. Long (2001) points out two aspects of planned intervention that are relevant mentioning here:

1) The idea that ‘what is foreign is better’. He states that ‘the specific terminology used in intervention discourse (...) is coloured by the notion that there is a traffic of presents and gifts which come from the outside and have supreme qualities which cannot be produced within the local situation itself’ (Long 2001: 33).

2) The image of ‘package delivery’ interventions. In this case, he argues that there is an ‘image that intervention consists of the delivery of some kind of material or organizational input or ‘package’ from outside’ (Long 2001: 34). He argues against that ‘cargo’ image of intervention, which promotes development as a series of discontinuities, rather than as a continuous process that builds upon the past.

*Vis-à-vis* that constructed image of planned intervention, Long views it ‘as a “multiple reality” made up of different cultural perceptions and social interests, and constituted by the ongoing social and political struggles that take place between the various social actors involved’ (Long 2001: 30). This comprehensive view of planned intervention is helpful in calling attention to the political dynamics involved in it and leads one to question the apolitical approach adopted by the policy transfer literature, as presented later on in this chapter.

Long’s critique to planned intervention is also very insightful when highlighting that policymakers ‘are not looking for the best way or most efficient alternative for solving a problem’ (Palumbo & Nachmias 1983: 9 quoted in Long: 2001: 32). Hence, when they decide to import or accept solutions from abroad, it may

be that those solutions are not evidently the best, but simply suitable in that particular political context (this applying to developing and developed countries).

Later on Edwin Rap, somehow building on Long's previous work, makes the case for a cultural and constructivist approach to policy-making. He considers that 'the success of a policy is not simply an empirically verifiable and self-evident fact, whose diffusion and standardization is a result of its own impetus (Latour 1987, cited in Rap 2003: 4). He defends this approach by analyzing the case of a 'successful' Mexican irrigation model: the *Irrigation Management Transfer*. Interestingly, he reports that:

In a conversation with a World Bank official (...) I asked why he considered the Mexican case to be a success. He pondered and answered: because nobody denies that it is a success (Rap 2003: 3).

By means of that case study, Rap (2003) comments on the process of election and promotion of a 'best-practice', concluding that such process is socially constructed. He contends that 'the success of a policy is not simply inherent or given at the outset, but arises from the ability to continue recruiting support and so impose a growing coherence on those who argue or oppose such an interpretation' (Rap 2003: 4).

In this framework, he highlights the importance of individual actors and policy networks in building the image of success. He states that they 'act as brokers who mediate the success of the model by promoting it and seeking to extend its scope among a target group of transnational policy makers' (Rap 2003: 6). Accordingly, the role played by the NGO AAPAS in the case under study is understood as conforming that statement.

Therefore, the arguments of the above authors will be taken as an analytical basis upon which the dialogue between the case study and the three normative languages – South-South Cooperation, the Policy Transfer literature and Best-Practice reasoning – will be established. This analytical basis will not strictly serve as a source of concepts, but rather as a guide that indicates relevant issues to look at.

Bearing that analytical basis in mind, the following sections will attempt at exposing some questionable assumptions made by the three selected 'normative languages'. The South-South cooperation literature and discourse in general assume that the cooperation among developing countries is inherently horizontal and virtuous, as opposed to North-South cooperation. The Policy Transfer literature assumes that

policy transfer coincides with policy learning, being by and large an apolitical and culturally insensitive body of literature. And best-practice reasoning encompasses the assumption that a best-practice corresponds to an undertaking that has objectively achieved such status due to admirable policy outcomes resulting from appropriate technical characteristics. Interesting enough, best practice reasoning does not even constitute a body of literature, for the idea of a best-practice in itself has hardly constituted an object of research and debate. It has been taken for granted by most of the analyses that refer to it.

### **3.2 Normative Languages that Promote and Celebrate this Kind of Initiative**

First of all, it is important to clarify the use of the expression ‘normative languages’ in this paper. The word ‘language’ was adopted for being the term that better encapsulates the three sets of literature/reasoning/policy discourse to be analyzed. And the adjective ‘normative’ comes from this paper’s consideration that those ‘languages’ create in the reader/public an attitude of support, implying that South-South Cooperation, Policy Transfer and Best-Practices are mostly positive, and should be consequently promoted.

Despite the adoption of a summarizing expression, it is important not to lose sight of the differences that they guard. Fundamentally, while Policy Transfer is a specific analytical approach within comparative politics, both South-South cooperation and best-practice reasoning have arisen from practice in the fields of Development, International Cooperation, and Public Policy, among others. Additionally, best-practices and the cooperation among developing countries may be found in a ‘symbiotic’ relation, as in the case of the Brazilian foreign policy. On the one hand, the existence of national experiences qualified as best-practices provides the ‘raw material’ for the establishment of cooperation projects with other countries of the South. On the other hand, South-South cooperation initiatives can serve as a ‘testing field’ for the design of new or ‘better’ best-practices.

#### *3.2.1 The Policy Transfer Literature*

In a world of heightened globalization, where many nations share similar problems across many fields, it is becoming more common for policies, programs, innovations, ideologies, or information to spread from one entity to another (Newmark 2002: 152).

Within the literature of comparative politics, that ‘spreading’ process mentioned by Newmark has been studied by a niche of scholarship that since the 1980s has been dedicated to analyze what was termed a ‘policy transfer’. According to the definition given by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 344), policy transfer refers to ‘a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place’. Most scholars who have contributed to the policy transfer literature have adopted that definition.

By analyzing it, one can notice that the policy transfer concept does not take the term ‘policy’ only in the sense of a broad framework of intentions and compromises adopted by policymakers. The concept also includes ‘policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes, and negative lessons’ (Dolowitz & Marsh 2000: 12). Hence, one can say that this expanded definition of a policy transfer fits the specific initiative of taking the model of the Brazilian *Solidarity in Literacy* Program for implementation in Mozambique.

However, the analysis of the AlfaSol case in Mozambique calls attention to three main issues in the current literature on policy transfer. First, that body of literature has been mostly apolitical. In other words, it has not addressed the politics behind a policy transfer or the political dynamics involved in it.

Dolowitz & Marsh (2000: 7) argue that ‘there have been a limited number of attempts to develop a framework to analyze the process of policy transfer’. Indeed, most of the writings in this field either describe a case of policy transfer or make a review of the literature to point out questions that have not been raised. In this sense, Dolowitz and Marsh claim to have worked on developing such a necessary conceptual framework from their first article in 1996 to the one published in 2000. However, even their more elaborated conceptual work – which they call ‘the Dolowitz and Marsh Model’ – has been limited to technical categorizations. The table below indicates the questions addressed by Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) and the answers given to each of them:

In the table below, it is visible that the ‘Dolowitz and Marsh Model’ is mainly concerned about classifying the technical aspects of the different types of policy transfer. Even the distinction between voluntary and coercive transfer is made by means of a continuum where on the one end there is a rational decision to ‘import l’ a

policy, while on the other there is basically direct imposition by an outsider. Thus, no mention to politics, no conceptualization of political variables. This may be to some extent due their conviction that: ‘pluralism tends to downplay structural and economic explanation and over-emphasize intentional and political explanation. This is a plea for a broader approach’ (Dolowitz & Marsh 1996: 356).

**The policy transfer conceptual framework developed by Dolowitz & Marsh (2000)**

<b>Question</b>	<b>Answer</b>
Who is involved in the policy transfer process?	‘Elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs and experts, transnational corporations, think tanks, supra-national governmental and non-governmental institutions and consultants’ (p. 10).
What is transferred?	‘Policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons’ (p. 12).
From where are lessons drawn?	From ‘three levels of governance: the international, the national, and the local’ (p. 12).
What are the different degrees of transfer?	‘Copying, which involves direct and complete transfer; emulation, which involves transfer of the ideas behind the policy or program; combinations, which involve mixtures of several different policies; and inspiration, where policy in another jurisdiction may inspire a policy change, but where the final outcome does not actually draw upon the original’ (p. 13).
Why do actors engage in policy transfer?	Transfer lies ‘along a continuum that runs from lesson-drawing to the direct imposition of a program, policy or institutional arrangement on one political system by another’ (p. 13). This corresponds to the differentiation that Dolowitz and Marsh make between voluntary and coercive transfer.
What factors constrain policy transfer?	‘The more complex a policy or a program is, the harder it will be to transfer’ (Dolowitz & Marsh: 1996, p. 353).

However, the case of AlfaSol in Mozambique is insightful in evidencing the many political factors behind a policy transfer and in indicating how important they are for the understanding of why and how a policy transfer occurs. Chapter 4 will present such evidence at length.

The apolitical nature of the policy transfer literature is also manifest in the model developed by Evans & Davies (1999), according to whom the policy transfer process involves the following stages: ‘recognition of a problem needing attention; searching for potential solutions; contact by agents with ‘elites’ elsewhere; the emergence of a network in which information feeds through; cognition, reception, and the development of a transfer network; cognitive and elite mobilization to provide information on the policy or program; interaction among agents to facilitate exchanges of information; evaluation of the information; policy decisions; processes; and outcomes’ (Evans & Davies: 1999, cited in Newmark 2002: 168). But, as elucidated by this paper’s case study, political factors may bring a great deal of

turbulence to this course of events, so that a policy transfer may end up not being such an organized and step-by-step process.

Secondly, and following from its overwhelmingly technical nature, the Policy Transfer literature does not show an extensive concern with the social, cultural, political and economic differences between the ‘lending’ and the ‘borrowing’ countries. Loosen statements are made such as: ‘It is common to alter policy to suit the needs of the adopting agent. If a policy is not adapted in this manner, policy failure may result’ (Dolowitz: 1998 cited in Newmark 2002: 167-168). Hence, adaptation is taken as a technical step to avoid policy failure, rather than as a measure that manifests concern with context specificities and that values them. Some may say that this concern is not necessarily relevant. Well, it is relevant if one adopts a ‘Politics of Alternative Development’ perspective, as it is done in this paper.

Thirdly, the literature establishes an automatic link between policy transfer and policy learning, as if they were intrinsically linked processes. It is assumed that the institution that is ‘borrowing’ the policy will consequently learn it. Stone (2000) goes even beyond in her argument, seeing policy transfer as actually an outcome of some prior process of policy learning: ‘Transfers of ideas or programmes are underpinned by deeper and prior processes of learning’ (Stone 2000: 9). So, for her, when policy transfer takes place, policy learning has already occurred. However, on the basis of the case study it can be argued that this assumption does not always hold. In the Mozambican case, little of the transferred literacy program was actually learned by the Mozambican institutions.

### *3.2.2 South-South Cooperation*

Most of the literature on Development Cooperation that refers to South-South cooperation mainly addresses issues such as trade, investment, and technology transfer. This is probably an outcome of how development cooperation has been practiced among developing countries. Cooperation in the social field can be said to be recent, dating mainly from the 1990s onward. Hence, while the North-South cooperation rhetoric shifted from aid and assistance to ‘partnership’ and ‘capacity building’, the scope of South-South cooperation went beyond its economic boundaries to also reach the social sphere.

Another aspect of the literature on South-South cooperation is that in many cases it merges with the political discourse that promotes this kind of cooperation.



There are a number of articles in academic journals that are written by members of Southern institutions aimed towards strengthening the cooperation among developing countries. Consequently, those articles acquire more of an advocacy character, such as in the case of Singh (1989) and Pasic (1990). Others, written by scholars, are generally focused on analyzing the challenges faced by South-South cooperation within international politics and its 'development-fostering' potential. This is the case of Saksena (1985), Vrhunec (1990), Sharma (1993), and Sridharan (1998). All of them portray South-South Cooperation as being positive and desirable by nature.

There are very few publications like Mihyo (1992), which analyzes the actual practice of South-South cooperation and what it entails. Myhio exposes five basic assumptions normally made in the analysis of South-South relations. By means of four examples of cooperation between Tanzania and other developing countries, he questions the fifth assumption, namely that 'South-South trade is free of super power politics and perhaps free of exploitation' (Mihyo 1992: 225). His analysis is suggestive in indicating that South-South relations are not immune to any of the dynamics that characterize North-South relations, especially when it comes to power and who benefits the most from cooperation.

Politically, South-South cooperation has been strongly advocated by developing countries' leaders and institutions such as the G-77, the South Center, the South Commission, and the Non-Aligned Movement. It is considered to be a means to promote self-reliance in the South, to strengthen the links among developing countries, and to increase cohesion among them as a way to counterbalance the dominance of the North in international politics. South-South cooperation is also seen as a demonstration that the South can solve its problems by itself, without having to buy the recipes engineered by the North. In this sense, the South Center has just released a publication that states: 'This is a vital step in trying to overcome the intellectual and conceptual dependence *vis-à-vis* the North in which the developing countries have been entrapped. Today, the South faces the challenges of 'intellectual liberation', which has to be undertaken collectively' (South Center: 2004: 12). Note that the discourse is always in terms of 'the South' as opposed to 'the North', thus assuming that there is a homogenous South, with common interests and needs. Politically it may be a useful generalization, for it pools more than a hundred countries to bargain together. But analytically it works as a flawed simplification,

putting in the same basket a range of countries with varied potentialities and problems.

Furthermore, the terms South-South cooperation and horizontal cooperation have been used interchangeably, as opposed to the vertical cooperation between the North and the South. However, this direct and automatic correspondence may not be appropriate. The fact that both cooperating countries are from the South does not mean that power relations cannot exist between them. Again, the expression “developing countries” encompasses a set of countries with different shares of the so-called world balance of power, to use Hans Morgenthau’s terms (Morgenthau: 1978). In fact, adherents to the Realist School of International Relations would tend to assess that the Brazilian actions towards South-South cooperation are intended to assure Brazil’s hegemony within the sub-systems of South America and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP).

Hence, an act of cooperation between two developing countries is not necessarily and inherently horizontal. It can be as vertical as any North-South cooperation. And this verticality can easily arise if one of the two countries enjoys the position of being the bearer of a success story, while the other is expected to learn from that success. In this case, the situation is one of the ordinary teacher/student power relations, to which most professors make reference when explaining the concept of power and vertical differentiation.

But the issue is not only about evaluating the ‘direction’ of South-South cooperation. It is also important to notice that it can fall into the same problems that have been identified in North-South cooperation throughout the years. The issue of ownership is one of them, bringing with it the question of sustainability. This entails the possibility to and willingness by the beneficiary country to make its own version of the policy being transferred through the cooperation initiative and to keep it working after the cooperation is withdrawn.

### *3.2.3 Best Practice Reasoning*

When carrying out the revision of the literature, I got very much stunned with the observation that the great bulk of articles and books that refer to best-practices use the term as a given. It is assumed that it is a broadly known and accepted term and that there is consensus around the objective existence of a ‘best-practice’, judged in terms of outstanding policy results generated by appropriate technical characteristics.

The expression is expected to speak for itself, implying that among all experiences in a certain field there is one or some that are the best. Best-practices are sometimes treated as something that can be engineered, as in the case of the paper ‘User-Charging for Government Services: best practice guidelines and case studies’ (OECD: 1998).

But in line with Rap (2003) arguments, the case of the *Solidarity in Literacy* program indicates that a best-practice is not an objective given but rather a social construct. This construction takes both agency and structure: on the one hand, actors have an important role to play in promoting a certain program; on the other hand, its acceptance as a best-practice depends on how much it fits the dominating discourse in that particular field.

Note that this does not mean that a ‘best-practice’ is not a good program. In this sense, the purpose of this paper is not to evaluate AlfaSol and question its impact, but to bring to light aspects related to its acquisition of a best-practice label, as indicated below.

AlfaSol as a best-practice.

In 2003, UNESCO considered the *Solidarity in Literacy Program* one of the ten most successful literacy experiences in the world (Eboli 2003: 5). Additionally, AlfaSol has been awarded a number of prizes by international organizations, which makes it internationally recognized as a ‘best-practice’. So far, AlfaSol has received the following international awards:

- UNESCO/Brazil Award 1999;
- Award from the UN Association in Brazil (2000);
- International Literacy Award (UNESCO, 2000);
- Comenius Medal 2001 (awarded by UNESCO at the 46<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Education);
- Best Practice Certificate (UN, 2002);

King Sejong Literacy Prize (UNESCO, 2004). On what regards this last prize, the UNESCO website states: ‘These UNESCO prizes are awarded in recognition of particularly effective contributions to the fight against illiteracy, one of UNESCO’s priorities. (...) AlfaSol is honoured for launching a literacy programme aimed at four million illiterate adults, and based on an innovative, simple and cost-effective model. The programme covers both urban and rural populations, encourages the participation

of women and reaches the poorest and most isolated people. AlfaSol succeeded in mobilizing a large number of citizens, contributing to the sense of local ownership of the programme and creating a large group of educators within the country. The model has been successfully exported to other countries' (UNESCO, 2004c). The awarding ceremony of this last prize took place very recently, during the 47<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Education (Geneva, 8-11 September 2004):



Mrs. Aicha Bah-Diahlo, UNESCO Deputy Director-General for Education;

Mrs. Regina Celia Esteves, AlfaSol National Coordinator; and

Mr. Koichiro Matssura, UNESCO Director General,

at the awarding ceremony of the King Sejong Literacy Prize (Geneva, 8 September 2004).<sup>5</sup>

Besides, AlfaSol has been exalted by statements such as the following, by Mr. Adama Ouane, Director of the UNESCO Institute of Education: 'the results achieved by the Solidarity in Literacy Program place it among the five best programs in the world' (*O Estado de São Paulo*, 11 September 2002).<sup>6</sup> Also the World Bank has included AlfaSol amongst the world good practice examples in adult literacy (World Bank: 2004).

*Vis-à-vis* this best-practice image, the following chapter will outline how AlfaSol works in Brazil and critically discuss some of the elements involved in its graduation as a worldwide successful experience.

---

<sup>5</sup>Picture taken by this paper's author.

<sup>6</sup>The UNESCO Institute of Education (UIE) is, among all UNESCO institutes, the one responsible for Literacy and Adult Education.

## 4 THE 'SOLIDARITY IN LITERACY PROGRAM' IN BRAZIL



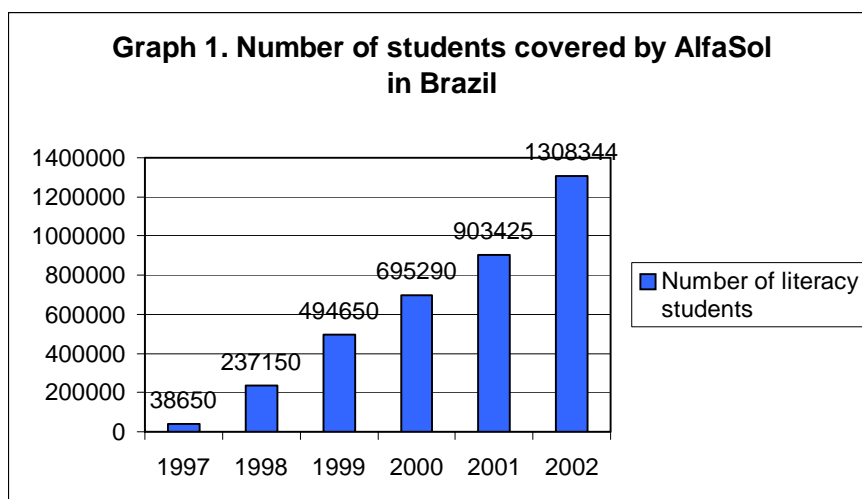
AlfaSol's official logo  
(source: [www.alfabetizacao.org.br](http://www.alfabetizacao.org.br))

### 4.1 How it works

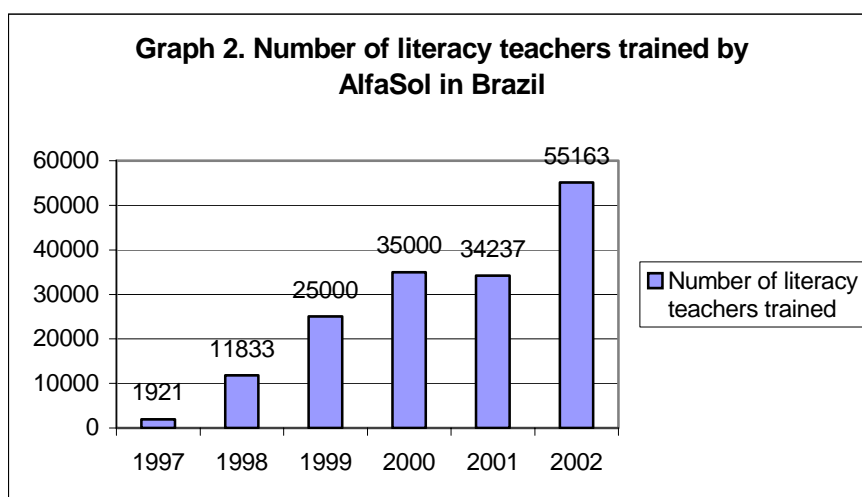
The *Alfabetização Solidária* (Solidarity in Literacy) Program was created in 1997 by the Council of the Comunidade Solidária, a kind of governmental NGO (GONGO) headed by Mrs. Ruth Cardoso, who was at the time the Brazilian First Lady. Then in 1998, the *Association for the Support of the Solidarity in Literacy Program* (AAPAS) was established as an autonomous NGO, being responsible for the management and coordination of AlfaSol (Furlanetti, 2003). The Program's two main objectives are: a) to reduce adult illiteracy rates in Brazil; b) to induce the public provision of Young and Adult Education in the country (AAPAS 2003a: slide 23).

AlfaSol core activities correspond to the provision of a training course to literacy teachers (1 month) and literacy classes to illiterate young and adult citizens (5 months). The teachers are selected from the local community, by the local community, and are paid a monthly allowance during those 6 months. As AAPAS reports, 'the accumulated number of teachers qualified by the Program reached, in the first semester of 2002, 135,431 people' (AAPAS 2002). As for the students, they voluntarily enroll in the literacy course and do not have to pay any fee. They are provided with textbooks and school meals. According to their performance, they are awarded a literacy certificate at the end of the 5 months of classes.

In 1997, the AlfaSol pilot-project covered 38 Brazilian municipalities, namely the ones with the highest adult illiteracy rates according to the 1991 Census (AAPAS 2002: 13). Throughout the years, the Program significantly increased its coverage, being now in 2,010 Brazilian municipalities and having so far attended around 4 million students (AAPAS 2003b). Data from 1997 to 2002 indicate this growth:



Data source: AAPAS (2002: 14-15).



Data source: AAPAS (2002: 18-19).

One of the main features of the Program refers to its partnership structure. The funding, implementation and monitoring are shared by different sorts of partners: municipal governments, State governments, the federal government (through the Ministry of Education), private and state enterprises, other organizations, higher education institutions and ‘solidarity citizens’. The table below describes how the division of responsibilities is:

If one takes into account the figures below on the total number of partners currently involved in AlfaSol, one can have a better idea of how large this partnership network is:

- 135 partner companies, state governments and other institutions;
- 219 partner higher education institutions;
- 2,010 partner municipal governments (AAPAS: 2003b).

### Partners' responsibilities within AlfaSol

Partner	Task
AAPAS	Coordination of all activities and administrative procedures
Ministry of Education (Federal government)	Pays all costs related to: Books and other teaching materials; Support materials; Libraries; Allowance of university professors who coordinate the pedagogic issues of the literacy courses. Those costs correspond to 50% of the total cost per student.
Private and state companies/ State governments/ other institutions	Pay costs related to: The allowance of the class coordinator and the literacy teachers; School meals; Initial trip and trips for monitoring and evaluation, which are supposed to take place on a monthly basis; Training of literacy teachers.
Higher Education Institutions (universities)	Select literacy teachers from the local community; Train the class coordinators and the literacy teachers; Monitor and evaluate the literacy module in a given municipality; Encourage the production of theses and other academic works related to literacy and Young and Adult Education.
Municipal governments	Provide the necessary physical infrastructure; Mobilize citizens to become literacy teachers; Mobilize illiterate citizens to attend the literacy course; Provide for the preparation of the school meal; Provide transportation to literacy teachers;
'Solidarity citizens'	As part of the 'Adopt a Student' campaign, ordinary citizens pay 50% of the total cost per student for literacy courses carried out in large urban areas.

Data source: AAPAS (2003a: slides 5-8).

Another interesting aspect of AlfaSol refers to the involvement of higher education institutions, the training of literacy teachers, and the monitoring and evaluation processes. As indicated in the table above, the actual pedagogic work is not carried out by AAPAS, but by the partner universities. They have methodological autonomy and are supposed to define with the community the 'Pedagogic Program' of the literacy courses. They are the ones responsible for training the teachers to work with AlfaSol's literacy teaching methodology. Hence, university professors travel to the 'adopted municipality, work with the community to select the teachers and coordinators, and train them. After the training, they visit the municipality on a monthly basis, in order to monitor and evaluate the progress of the course (Furlanetti: 2003).<sup>7</sup> Therefore, in a decentralized manner, they carry out most of the field monitoring and evaluation of the Program.

<sup>7</sup>Note that the use of a participatory methodology in selecting the literacy teachers can have side implications in the case that the power relations in the community are marked by patriarchy and strong class inequalities. Since becoming a literacy teacher in the program means obtaining a source of income (and also of political influence in the community, as observed in the Mozambican case), the decision upon what persons to choose may be penetrated by and even perpetuate the existing power relations.

A third dimension (although with a less clear structure) corresponds to AlfaSol's attempt to induce the establishment of or an increase in the supply of Young and Adult Education. In a number of municipalities, the Program encourages and assists municipal governments in structuring their public provision of Young and Adult Education: 'The advisory rendered directly by the Solidarity in Literacy Program allowed to many municipalities the drawing up of projects for the acquisition of resources from government funds to be applied to the expansion of Young and Adult Education and the acquisition of education material' (AAPAS 2002: 21).

Those three features combined make of AlfaSol a peculiar literacy program. But peculiarity does not automatically guarantee success. So one can question: 'what assures that AlfaSol is a successful experience?' The present paper will not give a clear-cut answer to that question, but will indicate in the section below that best-practice labeling is not necessarily a technical selection of 'the best'.

#### **4.2 The construction of a best-practice image**

AlfaSol's 'best-practice' reputation in fact arose at the international level. As listed in chapter 2, the program was awarded a significant number of international prizes and is referred to by some international organizations as a model to be followed. However, as indicated below, there are some important factors around this best-practice image.

First, it is noticeable that most of the prizes and recognitions given to AlfaSol were awarded by the UNESCO Headquarters and Institutes. On this regard, the document entitled *Rewarding Literacy: a review of the UNESCO International Literacy Prizes* (Robinson 2002) provides some very interesting information on UNESCO literacy awards:

- The call for candidatures is sent to national governments (normally the Ministry of Education), which shall select one program and endorse its application. Apart from NGOs in official relationship with UNESCO (which was not the case of AAPAS), programs are only eligible if appointed by the government. Note that 'governments are asked to select and present a single candidate from each country' (p. 8). Hence, a good relation with the central government is of significant importance to be eligible for one of the prizes;
- There are currently five International Literacy Prizes yearly awarded by UNESCO. 'The average number of submissions is 27 per year' (p. 4). Over



35 years, 437 awards have been made of the total 963 candidates. This means that 45.4% of the candidates have received an award (p. 9),<sup>8</sup>

- Among the 195 UNESCO member states, 72 have never submitted a candidate for the International Literacy Prizes (p. 6);
- ‘A combination of content and presentation contributes to the winning package. The content of the work must be of value and of quality in itself, but this is not enough. The presentation, through the summaries and accompanying documents, must also be of high quality’ (p. 25).

All the above leads one to perceive that those prizes do not guarantee that, among all literacy programs in the world, the prize-winners are objectively the best. The process has two main biases: 1) only programs backed by the national government are eligible; 2) the only contact the jury has with the candidate programs is by means of the application materials. As a result, candidates who send well-written summary and presentable information materials on their program are more likely to win the prize. Thus, it may happen that a certain literacy program does not win not because of its features and achievements, but because of the quality of its application.

A second aspect worth mentioning is that AAPAS has performed well the task of a policy entrepreneur and has developed instruments to promote AlfaSol in and outside Brazil. Among them is the organization of the *Literacy Week*, which is a conference yearly held to gather all AlfaSol partners to discuss some literacy-related topic. The Literacy Week is specially a moment of promotion of the Program. Firstly because a number of representatives from the government, the business sector and civil society are invited to participate in it. Second because it is usually held in the week when the *International Literacy Day* is celebrated worldwide, and when a number of Learner’s Weeks are organized in different countries. It thus makes AlfaSol a member of this international ‘movement’ that celebrates and discusses literacy in the first/second week of September.

Importantly, the 2002 Literacy Week included an ‘International Workshop of Good Practices on Young and Adult Literacy and Education’ in partnership with the UNESCO Institute of Education (UIE). The joint organization of the Workshop by AAPAS and the UIE is likely to have strengthened the institutional links between the two organizations.

---

<sup>8</sup>This includes prizes, honorable mentions and verbal recognitions.

Furthermore, AAPAS has promoted AlfaSol by taking it to a number of other developing countries. In November 2000, the Program was for the first time established outside Brazil, by means of a cooperation project between AAPAS, the Brazilian Agency of Cooperation (ABC) and the new independent government of East Timor. Since this pioneer initiative, AlfaSol has been transferred to a number of other developing countries by means of South-South cooperation projects. According to Mrs. Regina Esteves, AlfaSol national coordinator, ‘the awards won by AlfaSol demonstrate that its model can be exported to other countries’.<sup>9</sup> Clear enough, this is the interweaving of best-practice reasoning, policy transfer and South-South cooperation.

#### Countries where AlfaSol has been implemented



Source: Eboli (2003).

Apart from AAPAS agency in promoting the program in and outside Brazil, some structural factors should be also highlighted in the construction of this best-practice image. For instance, it is noticeable that the partnership structure is one of the aspects that are normally mentioned when AlfaSol is referred to as a best-practice. Because of it, UNESCO has called AlfaSol ‘a successful “engineering of alliances”’ (UNESCO 2004a: 45). The valorization of this specific feature – where the State, the private sector and civil society co-finance a mass literacy program – goes hand in

<sup>9</sup>Phone interview conducted on 05 October 2004.

hand with the current dominating discourse on the role of the State. As stated by Wuyts (1995: 3), ‘the underlying argument is that, not only should the state do fewer things, but what it does, it should do in competition with alternative suppliers’. In other words, ‘a drive to roll back the state—to reduce its role in economic management and social welfare’ (Alcantara 1998: 106).

Hence, according to the parameters of this discourse, a nationwide literacy program in which the State has to pay only half the costs and does not have to be responsible for the implementation can be accepted as a best-practice. Funding strategies such as the campaign ‘Adopt a Student’ – where ordinary citizens, with their individual donations, finance the other half of the total cost of one student literacy course – are very much in harmony with the principle that social responsibilities should be born not only by the government but by the three sectors.

This mainstream discourse is likely to have played a role in legitimizing AlfaSol as a best-practice and as a model to be experimented elsewhere. With such legitimacy and label, in 2001 it was taken to Mozambique for implementation. From a foreigner’s point of view, Mozambique would be expected to be a country where that discourse would easily fit, since the country’s governmental spending on education has been for years under pressure. But, as shown below, that ‘partnership discourse’ was not really internalized. The following chapter will be especially dedicated to analyze how this policy transfer from Brazil to Mozambique took place.

## **5 THE ‘SOLIDARITY IN LITERACY PROGRAM’ IN MOZAMBIQUE**

Mozambique has the very singular feature of being a country that has experienced a number of dramatic changes in a very short period of time. In the timeframe of 30 years, Mozambique got its independence from Portugal; became a socialist country; went through a civil war instigated by the South African apartheid regime against the rule of the Frelimo party; had to stand the debt burden and implement a complete structural adjustment programme; achieved peace and re-democratized the political regime. Because all this series of events started in 1975, hence not long ago, most of the Mozambican citizens are a source of oral history,

being able to recall how those changes happened.<sup>10</sup> From the taxi driver to the ministerial bureaucrat, all of them have their own impressions about the “old times” as compared to the ‘new times’. Many are the ones who remember with nostalgia the very post-independence years, the years of President Samora Machel. Nonetheless, ‘Mozambique today is very far from the socialist society foreseen, and Frelimo itself is a very different kind of political organization’ (O’Laughlin 2000: 29).

Hence, it was to a country with such a turbulent past history that the AlfaSol Program was transferred. The Program came from a nation where revolutions have hardly taken place. In Brazil independence from Portugal occurred almost two centuries ago and was not the result of any national armed struggle. It was rather proclaimed by the Portuguese prince himself, heir to the Portuguese throne, who decided to continue his stay in Brazil and become the Brazilian Emperor. Consequently, the Brazilian independence process was a very smooth one, with only some localized armed confrontations with Portuguese resistance. Even the end of the dictatorship that prevailed in the country for some 20 years was made very ‘slow and gradual’, as General Ernesto Geisel had planned it to be. Hence, major regime changes have gone almost unperceived by most of the Brazilian population, since they were never meant to be real structural changes. No attempt at building ‘people’s power’ was ever put in practice in the way it happened in post-independence Mozambique. In this sense, one can wonder whether Brazil should not actually be the one learning from that past Mozambican history.

On the other hand, Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a GDP per capita of US\$195 in the year 2000 (Almanaque Abril: 2003) and an HDI that places it among the ten countries with the lowest HDIs in the world—rank 171 (UNDPb: 2004). This is partly the result of a still very high adult illiteracy rate: 53,5% among those aged 15 and above (UNDPb: 2004).

In contrast, Brazil seems to perform better in those indicators: a GDP per capita of US\$ 2,593, an adult illiteracy rate of 13,6%, and the 72<sup>nd</sup> position in the HDI rank (UNDPb 2004).<sup>11</sup> But not only those figures make Brazil look superior to the Mozambican eyes. It was surprising for me to realize how much influence Brazil has

---

<sup>10</sup>Frelimo stands for ‘Mozambique Liberation Front’. It is to date the party that has ruled Mozambique since its independence from Portugal.

<sup>11</sup>Obviously these indicators can be very misleading and hide Brazil’s high socio-economic inequality, where the richest 10% of the population earns 85 times the income of the poorest 10% (UNDPb: 2004).

recently got on the Mozambican society, mainly on its higher social strata, where decision makers in general come from. At least in Maputo, Brazilian processed food products can be now found in most supermarkets and Brazilian music is played on the radio and in nightclubs. There are three Brazilian soap operas being broadcasted every day in two different Mozambican TV channels, one of them being a subsidiary of a Brazilian channel. As a consequence of this media outreach, it is not uncommon to see Mozambican teenagers dressed just according to the most recent fashion trend in Brazil. As these examples suggest, in the imaginary of the Mozambican higher classes in Maputo, there seems to be an image of a Brazil that is an example to be followed and imitated, mainly on what concerns its capitalist values and practices.<sup>12</sup>

Hence, although Brazil and Mozambique are both poor countries, the fact that the former excels the latter in some aspects leads Mozambique to be more open to accept policy models that are ‘made in Brazil’. And this vision seems to be also shared by some Brazilians, such as Ambassador Celso Amorim, currently Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs: ‘They [*the Africans*] have a lot to learn, as we also do. But we have gone through a longer pathway and hence have a lot to teach them and also to gain’ (Agencia Brasil 2003); ‘It seems that there is a true “thirst” for Brazil on the other side of the Atlantic! (...) Portuguese-speaking countries [*in Africa*] look at Brazil as a source of technical cooperation and service delivery in the field of education and professional training.’ (Amorim 2003).

Thus, it was within such a framework that in the year 2000 a group of representatives of the Mozambican government went on an official visit to Brazil. Among them was Ernesto Muianga, who had been appointed to be the Director of the recently re-established DNAEA (National Directorate for Literacy and Adult Education). As he reported in his interview, they visited a number of Brazilian adult education institutions and were advised by the Brazilian government to also pay a visit to AAPAS and get to know its ‘successful’ literacy program.

After that first contact, AAPAS and DNAEA continued their communications as they looked for the possibility of creating a cooperation project similar to the one already in place in East Timor. With this objective in mind, in the beginning of 2001 representatives of ABC and AAPAS went to Maputo to hold meetings with DNAEA

---

<sup>12</sup>As the research trip was carried out only in the Maputo Province, mainly in Maputo city, it would not be appropriate to extend this affirmation to the other parts of the country.

and other possible stakeholders for the project. They also participated in a national seminar for the discussion of the *Strategy for the Sub-sector of Literacy and Adult Education / Non-formal Education*, which is a policy document that had been recently prepared to establish the general framework for the adult education policy in Mozambique from 2001 to 2005.

But the cooperation process had to be accelerated. In June the Mozambican President would go on an official visit to Brazil and his agenda contemplated a ceremony in which both presidents would sign a cooperation agreement establishing the transfer of AlfaSol to Mozambique. However, in May the cooperation project was still to be designed. Consequently, it had to be drafted during a 1.5-day meeting in Maputo, then finalized by AAPAS, and sent for corrections and adaptations by DNAEA. On this regard Laurindo Nhacune, current DNAEA Coordinator, reported that:

The negotiations started in May. (...) Due to the short time available, it was not possible to better develop the project. Hence the problems that occurred. But they can be justified by the urgency to draft a project that would serve as a basis for the agreement to be signed by both presidents.<sup>13</sup>

The *Complementary Adjustment to the General Agreement of Cooperation in Education for the Implementation of the Solidarity in Literacy Program in Mozambique* was signed by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and President Joaquim Chissano on 20 June 2001. Already on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July (that is, twelve days later), ABC approved the Project Document (ProDoc) entitled *Solidarity in Literacy in Mozambique*, according to which the Brazilian government would provide US\$ 546,200.00 for the implementation of AlfaSol in that country. Although the ProDoc is the main official document of reference for a Brazilian cooperation project, this ProDoc has no more than ten pages, describing very briefly and in general lines how the project was supposed to work.

All this rush characterized not only the conception of the project but also its initial implementation. Already in July a first mission of Brazilian specialists and university professors was organized in order to select and mobilize the Mozambican communities that would be reached by the program. In August another Brazilian

---

<sup>13</sup> Interview held on 26 July 2004

specialist went to select the literacy teachers in three different provinces. In the following month, seven Brazilian university professors arrived in Mozambique to conduct the teachers' training course. Besides the certainly expensive airfares that were paid due to this last minute planning, there were also consequences for the Mozambican government, as reported by Mr. Tembe, DNAEA's staff member:

The cooperation agreement was signed in the middle of the year. This means that the program activities were not foreseen in the planning of the Mozambican Ministry of Education for that year. This had then difficult implications. Arrangements had to be made in order to obtain financial resources for the development of the program (...) once there were costs that had to be paid by Mozambique<sup>13</sup>

Those costs were actually of a considerable amount. In that first moment, DNAEA had to pay for the transportation and accommodation of all selected teachers and representatives of the involved Provincial and District Directorates of Education who went to Matola District for the first teachers' training course.<sup>14</sup> This meant paying for the airfares of those from other provinces and for accommodation and food (from 18 September to 5 October) for all who did not live in the Maputo surroundings.

On this regard, another cost-related issue should be noted. Although all Teacher's Guides and Student's Books were donated by the Brazilian government to Mozambique, at the end they were not really free-of-charge for the Mozambican government. It happened that neither AAPAS nor DNAEA carried out beforehand the custom procedures that are necessary in the case of donation of goods to Mozambique. As a result, when the materials arrived to the port of Maputo, the customs officials classified them as an ordinary import, which consequently led to a substantial import tax being paid by DNAEA.

On top of that, every two or three months there was a mission of Brazilian professors who went to monitor and evaluate the progress of the course in the different provinces. Then, DNAEA should make all the arrangements – and pay the respective costs – for their travel to the districts, for their meetings with the literacy teachers and visits to the classes.

But what about the US\$ 546,200.00 made available by the Brazilian government? Well, that sum was supposed to be spent in the following manner:

---

<sup>13</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>14</sup>Matola is a district close by to Maputo.

### Project budget<sup>15</sup>

Budget category	US\$
1. Tickets from Brazil to Mozambique	116,000
2. <i>Daily allowances for the trips (per diem)</i>	128,100
3. Local coordination	23,000
4. Specialists, professors and technicians	159,600
5. Literacy teachers	8,700
6. Purchase and shipping of literacy materials	60,000
7. Evaluation/ data analysis	10,000
8. Publication	40,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>546,200<sup>16</sup></b>

Two aspects of that budget are noteworthy: 1) almost half of it was spent in the missions of Brazilian personnel to Mozambique (items 1 and 2); 2) the total amount paid in salaries to Brazilian specialists is 18 times higher than what was paid in salaries to the Mozambican literacy teachers (compare items 4 and 5). In this sense, most of the resources provided by the Brazilian government were spent in the missions and payments of consultants, and not in Mozambique itself.

## 5.1 The Politics Behind

Bearing in mind that 1) Brazil has one of the largest accumulated foreign debts in the world and 2) around 16 million Brazilian adults are still illiterate (IBGE, cited in INEP 2003: 6), one can reasonably question: how come the Brazilian government made available half a million dollars for an adult literacy program in Mozambique?<sup>17</sup> The answer can be found in the many political factors that fueled such an endeavor. As explained below, the project fitted the political developments in both Brazil and Mozambique.

### 5.1.1 Politics in Brazil

On the Brazilian side, the transfer of AlfaSol to Mozambique was possible due to the convergence of a number of favorable conditions. First, AAPAS was interested in taking AlfaSol to other countries and consolidating the program's best practice image. It played the role of what Diane Stone calls an 'agent of transfer': 'many agents of transfer are proactive in promoting ideas and ideologically motivated in

<sup>15</sup> Source: ABC, Project Document.

<sup>16</sup> This figure does not correspond to the total sum of the budget items.

<sup>17</sup> According to the last census (2000).



spreading policy transfer' (Stone 2000: 5). AAPAS' agency becomes clear when one observes that, soon after Mozambique, AlfaSol was also transferred to Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, and Guatemala, besides the ongoing negotiations with Angola.

Additionally, AAPAS intentions were in line with the strategic interests of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This can be observed in the following statement by Alexandre Petry when answering about the benefits that this cooperation generated for the Brazilian government<sup>18</sup>:

Before 2000 the Brazilian government had little involvement in cooperating with Mozambique. The Mozambican government had the perception that Brazil used to sign protocols and agreements but did not implement them. Since 2000/2001, with AlfaSol and the Bolsa Escola Program, the relations between Brazil and Mozambique have been strengthened<sup>19</sup>

But why would Brazil be interested in cooperating with Mozambique? The Brazilian approximation to Sub-Saharan Africa dates back to 1973/74, when Brazil initiated a new phase in its foreign policy for the continent (Cervo & Bueno 2002). This political approximation has continued up to the present days and has been often linked to Brazilian commercial and financial interests. 'For Brazil, Africa has represented an alternative option face to the protectionism and commercial barriers created by rich countries to Brazilian exports' (Cervo & Bueno 2002: 449). Besides being a potential market for Brazilian products, African countries have become a target for Brazilian investments. In Southern Africa, the strong political and economic Brazilian interests can be better visualized in the size of the delegation that accompanied President Lula in his visit to Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, and South Africa in October 2003: 10 Ministers, 200 businessmen, and a number of congressmen (Agencia Brasil 2003). In the specific case of Mozambique, the biggest Brazilian mineral-extracting company, Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, has just announced a new investment venture in the country for the reopening of the Moatize coalmines in Tete province.<sup>20</sup>

The Brazilian cooperation with Africa is part of a broader framework of Brazilian technical cooperation with other developing countries. Two elements of this framework are relevant here:

---

<sup>18</sup>Alexandre Petry is staff member of the Brazilian Agency of Cooperation.

<sup>19</sup>Answer to a questionnaire sent in May 2004.

<sup>20</sup>The Mozambican media was publicizing this new Brazilian investment when the field research took place.

1) In cooperating with other developing countries, Brazil mostly assumes that it has plenty to teach to partner countries, as argued by Mr. Nogueira, Brazilian Ambassador to the G-77: ‘Brazil has an important reserve of technical knowledge and solutions that may be **immediately** applied to countries with similar problems’ (Nogueira 2003).<sup>21</sup> This may be true in some cases, but it is important to notice that this assumption tends to influence the relation between Brazil and its cooperating partners, turning it into a sort of ‘teacher/student power relation’.

2) By cooperating with other developing countries, Brazil can strengthen its bilateral relations with them; hence constituting ‘strategic partnerships’ that can be later helpful in getting support to Brazilian proposals in multilateral negotiations, such as in the WTO. Currently, with the creation of the G-20, those ‘strategic partnerships’ are likely to be even more important for Brazil. President Lula did not hesitate to bring up this issue in his visit to Mozambique in November 2003<sup>22</sup>:

(...) it is crucial that developing countries unite and coordinate themselves in the field of international commercial negotiations, such as in the WTO. Only with firm and united international actions we will reach fair and balanced rules for international trade. Also in this field, I believe that Brazil and Mozambique shall act in a more coordinated way (Da Silva: 2003).

Besides this interest in enhancing the bilateral relations with Mozambique, another important political factor should be highlighted: the close relations between AAPAS and the Cardoso administration in Brazil. This assured to AAPAS enough political leverage to obtain funding within the federal government for the cooperation projects with Mozambique and other countries. If it was not for this strong political link, it is doubtful that such funding would have been provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The evidence for this is that, since the beginning of the Lula administration in 2003 and the resulting change of the governing party, AAPAS has not been able to initiate a second project with Mozambique. Besides this long delay, the new project does not indicate AAPAS as the main Brazilian stakeholder for this cooperation, as was the case before. Instead, the agreement to be signed seals a cooperation that is primarily between the Ministries of Education of both countries.

---

<sup>21</sup>Stress added by this paper’s author.

<sup>22</sup>The G-20, also called the G-x, corresponds to the group of developing countries that have gathered to jointly press for the end of agricultural protectionism in developed countries. The group was created under the leadership of Brazil and Argentina at the 2003 WTO Ministerial Meeting in Cancun.

Thus, with a set of favorable political conditions in Brazil at that time, combined with the best-practice label and political strength that AlfaSol enjoyed, there was an enabling environment for the Program to be transferred to other countries.

### 5.1.2 *Politics in Mozambique*

On the Mozambican side, favorable conditions for the adoption of AlfaSol also prevailed. First, in the *Plan of Action for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty*, the Mozambican government had already made the commitment to combat illiteracy, setting the target of a 10% reduction in the country's adult illiteracy rate in four years (Vieira 2003).

Second, one may identify that there was a certain 'policy vacuum' in the literacy field when the members of the Ministry of Education (MINED) first got in contact with the international best practice represented by AlfaSol. This vacuum was mainly created by the dismantling of DNAEA in 1990. DNAEA's extinction has been mainly attributed to the restrictive fiscal policy adopted by the Mozambican government as part of the structural adjustment program accorded with the World Bank and the IMF in 1987 (Lind 2002; Mouzinho 2002). The Directorate was re-established only ten years later, in 2000. As informed by Ernesto Muianga in his interview, this was the same year when he got to know AlfaSol during his visit to Brazil.

In 2001, when it was decided that the cooperation project would be established, DNAEA had only drafted the *Strategy for the Sub-sector of Literacy and Adult Education/ Non-Formal Education 2001-2005*, which is a document that just sets the stage for adult education programmes in Mozambique. As Deborah Nandja described it, the Strategy 'only provides 'entrance gates', it does not define criteria, lines of action'. Interestingly, the Strategy's final document dates of August 2001, when the cooperation project with Brazil had been already signed.

The intention of all this chronological explanation was to indicate that the idea of transferring AlfaSol to Mozambique emerged in a moment when DNAEA was still without a concrete plan of action. The situation was one of a relatively new institution with the task of reaching a significant number of illiterates in four years. Hence, it is quite understandable that there must have been considerable willingness by the Mozambican government to share part of this task.

Actually, the Mozambican Ministry of Education has worked in the past years with the principle of ‘Every program intended to help eradicate illiteracy is welcome’.<sup>23</sup> The evidence for this can be found in the significant number of organizations working with adult literacy in the country. They are of all sorts: from big international NGOs such as ActionAid to missionary groups, from private companies to trade unions. Besides Brazil, a number of foreign governments have provided aid/technical cooperation for literacy programs in the country. According to Deborah Nandja, those include Germany, Sweden, South Africa, Botswana, the US, Cuba, Venezuela, Canada, Belgium, and the Netherlands.<sup>24</sup>

In the case of AlfaSol, this openness was combined with the assumption that the Mozambican past experience or the Mozambican own ideas would not be relevant for the project (as explained in the following section). Actually, by reading an article of Mia Couto, the well-known Mozambican writer, it was apparent that this attitude of accepting what comes from outside is present not only in the education field, but is symptomatic of other development-related areas. In his words:

This is what concerns me: more than encouraging an innovative and creative thought, we are working on what is superficial. Mozambican technicians and specialists are reproducing the others’ language, concerned about pleasing and impressing at ‘workshops’. This is a game of façades. Some of us seem to be well prepared, because we know how to speak this language, the ‘development language’. (...) The problem of the development language is that it only invites us to rethink what others have already thought. We are being consumers and not producers of thought (Couto: 2003).

In a country that showed such a revolutionary and *avant-garde* spirit to break the chains of colonialism and build a socialist society, the words above may sound like a paradox. However, that may have been the result of a combination between the reminiscences of colonial practices with the strong foreign presence that emerged in the country during the civil war years, especially after the introduction of the Economic Recovery Program (PRE) - Mozambique’s Structural Adjustment Program. Marshall (1990: 41) describes the situation as such:

---

<sup>23</sup>Words of João Citóí, staff member of the District Directorate of Education, Matola district (interview held on 29 July 2004).

<sup>24</sup>Interview held on 23 July 2004.

One of the most troubling dimensions of the economic recovery program is Mozambique's dramatic dependency on foreign donors. Control has shifted out of Mozambican hands in an alarming fashion. Economic policy has come to rest very much with the IMF/World Bank, with bilateral donors lining up behind it. UNICEF is more and more playing a preponderant role in social policy. The emergency situation has resulted in a large amount of control passing into the hands of a multiplicity of NGOs and bilateral donors.

Years later, such disposition to adopt foreign solutions is likely to have opened the Mozambican doors to AlfaSol. The following sections will go into the Program implementation in the country, highlighting the issues that have been considered relevant to answer this paper's main questions.

## **5.2 The Reality of a South-South Cooperation for the Transfer of a Best-practice**

At the end of this South-South cooperation project, around 7,000 adults concluded the ten months of PASMO – as AlfaSol is known in Mozambique – and got their literacy certificate. For that, not only US\$ 546,200.00 was spent by the Brazilian government, but also a great deal of efforts and resources had to be mobilized by Mozambique. The eighteen months of program implementation revealed strengths as well as weaknesses. As indicated below, significant aspects in this process were:

1) this experience of South-South cooperation was more of a 'package delivery—it lacked ownership and sustainability.<sup>25</sup> Besides, it was a vertical and one-way cooperation; 2) this policy transfer led only to partial policy learning and was not context specific.

### *5.2.1 Non-incorporation of the past Mozambican experience: lack of ownership*

Frelimo's (...) prime purpose was to create the social integration which colonial rule had failed to achieve. Its foundation was to be universal literacy. A campaign to that end was mounted throughout the country, on the state farms and co-operatives, in towns and villages' (Newitt 1995: 547).

Since independence, both the government and civil society in Mozambique have undertaken a number of initiatives aimed towards reducing the high adult illiteracy rate in the country, which was around 93% in 1975, the year of independence from Portugal (Mouzinho 2002: 130). When one looks at this past

---

<sup>25</sup>The expression 'package delivery' is being borrowed from both Norman Long and Debora Nandja (Eduardo Mondlane University), who referred to the implementation of AlfaSol in Mozambique as a 'closed package' that was delivered to the country.

experience, mainly to the very post-independence years, it is hard not to think that maybe there was much more to be learned from that past than from another country.

Judith Marshall, in her PhD thesis entitled ‘Literacy, Power and Democracy in Mozambique’ and in the article ‘Making Education Revolutionary’, gives a comprehensive account of the literacy activities in those ‘old times’:

A major effort was also made to tackle the question of adult education. The recently created “grupos dinamizadores” or dynamizing groups had been given the task of encouraging literacy activities in the workplace and at the community level. A broad mass movement emerged, involving students, workers, priests, plus a hodgepodge of other volunteers. This burst of energy and enthusiasm resulted in some 500,000 Mozambicans becoming literate (Marshall 1985: 167).

When one looks at this past Mozambican experience in adult literacy, some major issues call attention. For instance, a participatory school system was established during those post-independence years. Referring to this issue, Marshall (1993: 122) mentions that ‘striking is the degree of autonomy in each province, with those immediately involved tackling the fundamental questions from content and methodology to organization and finance, rather than simply executing programmes defined centrally’. This is an interesting topic because most of the interviewees mentioned the participative nature of AlfaSol as being one of its main positive aspects. Hence, it is reasonable to think that it could have been worthwhile to combine the participatory teaching methodology of AlfaSol with the past Mozambican experience of a participatory school system.

Furthermore, when one gets to know the educational history of Mozambique, it seems unlikely that the country would need to import the idea of ‘solidarity in literacy’. Solidarity was a main feature of the literacy practice in post-independence. In the first years, people were voluntarily teaching each other how to read and write. Neighbors and relatives were freely teaching one another, in a mass literacy movement that emerged all over the country. I talked to five people who had been literacy teachers in those times and all of them seemed to have good memories of that experience. Accordingly, Henrique N’Guizare told Marshall in 1985 that:

what we saw was, don’t ask me how, but the truth was that from one day to the next, and through the initiative of individuals, schools for adults began to appear on all sides. There was willingness by anybody with any learning to offer freely to teach literacy. Although there was no uniform methodology, books or programmes, everybody invented words with a certain socio-political content based on the local situation. (...) Based on these they tried to motivate people to learn (Marshall 1993: 123).

Furthermore, Marshall (1993: 120) describes that ‘the learners themselves were active as problem solvers for the literacy centers. The shortages of funds in the district to buy supplies were resolved by the learners. In Angonia, they decided to contribute the equivalent to one day’s payment to literacy. The report indicates that the literacy students themselves administered the fund and no distinctions were made between those paying a little, those paying a lot, and the unemployed who put in nothing. In a rural district, students organized themselves to bring maize to sell at harvest time in order to buy supplies for the literacy classes’. That was clearly the practice of “solidarity in literacy” even before the Brazilian program with that denomination was created.

The literacy efforts of those first years have been positively described by authors who address the post-independence moment: Marshall (1985), Torp (1989), Marshall (1993), Newitt (1995), Hall & Young (1997), Lind (2002), Mouzinho (2002), and Veloso (2002). Although there is certainly a risk of romanticizing those experiences due to the revolutionary moment of liberation and socialization in which they occurred, the statistics for those years have also pointed to a significant progress. Mouzinho (2002: 130) reports that ‘thanks to this concerted effort, in a period of five years it was possible to reduce the quota of illiteracy amongst the adult population by about 21%, decreasing from 93% in 1975 to about 72% in 1980’.

But when the cooperation project between Brazil and Mozambique was designed and implemented, this wealth of experience was not taken into account. The implementation of AlfaSol in Mozambique completely followed the Brazilian model, with no ‘Mozambican flavor’ being added to it. In none of the interviews there was any reference to innovations made to the Program due to Mozambique’s own experience in the literacy field. Apparently the project incurred in the same problem that has been observed and criticized in most North-South cooperation projects: lack of ownership.

Eduardo Mondlane, the first Frelimo President, had already called attention to this issue during the 1960s: ‘We can learn from other cultures, including the European, but we shall graft them directly on to our own. It is for this reason that a certain understanding of our own cultures and our own past is essential’ (Mondlane 1969: 177).

### 5.2.2 *Teaching literacy in Portuguese: non-context specific transfer*

Besides being the official language in Brazil, Portuguese is the language spoken by the great majority of the Brazilian population. However, that is clearly not the case in Mozambique, where there are other 18 main national languages: Changana, Ronga, Makhuwa, Chopi, Tonga, Tshwa, Sena, Ndau, Manyica, Tewe, Nyungwe, Lomwe, Chuwabo, Koti, Makonde, Mwani, Yao, Nyanja (INE: 1997, cited in UNDP: 2000). Nowadays, the official statistics indicate that only 6,5% of the total Mozambican population has Portuguese as the mother tongue (INE 1999, cited in: UNDP 2000).

Consequently, to teach adult literacy in Portuguese in Mozambique means a dual process in most cases: teaching how to speak a second language and how to read and write. Apparently, the Mozambicans have been aware of this fact since the very moment Frelimo decided to institute Portuguese as the official language. For instance, Marshall reports that in the province of Inhambane

The group based in the provincial capital set itself the task of reorganizing the teaching methodology and divided into two groups, one charged with the task of studying how to teach spoken Portuguese and the other with the task of restructuring the method for teaching to read and write (Marshall 1993: 123).

Throughout the years, this Mozambican awareness about the peculiarities of teaching literacy in a multilingual society led to the development of two parallel strategies by the Ministry of Education: 1) the development of literacy programs in Portuguese with a strong component of teaching spoken Portuguese; 2) the experimentation and enhancement of bilingual literacy programs that start by first teaching how to read and write in the mother tongue, and then proceed to teaching in Portuguese.

The first strategy corresponds to the bulk of literacy courses that have been provided by the formal education system. This approach to literacy as also including the teaching of spoken Portuguese can be clearly observed in the adult literacy materials that were developed in 1983 and are still being used. 'The 1983 education reform introduced new and supposedly improved literacy materials, but still in Portuguese. The design of these materials was intended to take into account that literacy classes were being held in a second language, not spoken by the majority of the population' (Colarinho et al. 1984 cited in: Veloso 2002: 81).

In the Mozambican Teacher's Guide there are instructions on how the literacy teacher shall help the student learn to speak Portuguese. The classes are supposed to



be divided into three parts: ‘Let’s Speak’, ‘Let’s Read’ and ‘Let’s Write’. During the first fourteen classes, the section ‘Let’s Speak’ is supposed to take the greater part of the time. From lesson fifteen on, the time shall be equally distributed between the three parts. Hence, the Mozambican material reflects a concern with the fact that part (or the majority) of the students may not be fluent in Portuguese or may not know it at all.

On the other hand, all this dimension of literacy as including the teaching of spoken Portuguese is unsurprisingly absent in the Brazilian materials. The introductory section of the Brazilian Teacher’s Guide brings the following explanation:

Does one learn how to speak by means of literacy?

Illiterate youth and adults **are already competent users of their language**, for in general they are able to competently communicate in everyday situations. However, the classroom can be an opportunity for them to **enlarge** their linguistic resources (Vovio 1998: 7).<sup>26, 27</sup>

This excerpt indicates that the Brazilian materials, as well as the methodology for the literacy classes, assume that students are already Portuguese speakers: they are ‘competent users of their language’. In this sense, the function of the literacy course is to ‘enlarge’ this Portuguese-speaking ability and not to create it.

On what regards the second strategy, the bilingual literacy programs are more incipient and just recently left the status of pilot experiences to become part of the official policy of Adult Education. The *Strategy of the Sub-sector of Literacy and Adult Education / Non-Formal Education* points out the following targets: ‘to develop programs that is specific to teaching in Mozambican languages’ (pp. 11-12); and ‘to elaborate materials for literacy and post-literacy in Mozambican languages’ (p. 14). Accordingly, the *New Curriculum for Literacy and Adult Education* states that ‘with the new curriculum a 4-year model is proposed, which can be monolingual (in Portuguese or in a local language) or bilingual (in a local language and in Portuguese)’ (p. 23).

This was a considerable advancement, bearing in mind that, as recounted by Teresa Veloso, during the entire colonial period as well as in the 70s and 80s it had been forbidden to teach in a Mozambican language. The only activities of this kind

---

<sup>26</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem.*

had been organized by some religious institutions. Then, as the internal debate developed and international organizations started to make pressure, the Mozambican government accepted what had been already theoretically stated and empirically proven: ‘learning Portuguese becomes easier when people have already mastered literacy in their written mother tongue’ (Fuchs & Macavi 1999: 18 and Cabral 1995: 61, cited in: Veloso 2002: 93).

The controversy on including or not the teaching of Mozambican languages in the educational policies went around a number of factors:

- Teaching in the mother tongue is easier and more encouraging;
- The mother tongue is related to people’s identity and should be cultivated;
- Some of the Mozambican language groups are proud of their mother tongue, want to preserve it, and have questioned the teaching in Portuguese;
- Printed school materials in Mozambican languages are scarce or have not been produced yet;
- Portuguese has been viewed by Frelimo as a national unifying factor;
- As a heritage of the colonial times, Portuguese speaking is related to social status;
- The transition to capitalism and the opening of the economy have made it even more necessary that people speak Portuguese to be able to take part in economic activities. Because of that, there are many adults who prefer literacy programs in Portuguese.

Although the debate has been partially settled with the acceptance of bilingual programs by the government, there is still a need to train literacy teachers and teachers’ trainers, and to develop materials for the Mozambican languages and the transition to Portuguese.

Therefore, considering that PASMO consisted of a literacy program that was completely in Portuguese and with no basis for teaching those Mozambican adults who were not Portuguese speakers, the Program can be seen as a drawback in terms of what the Mozambican government had already achieved on the issue of teaching literacy in a multilingual environment.

On top of that, PASMO by definition favoured those students who spoke Portuguese *vis-à-vis* those who did not. Some of the interviewed literacy teachers

reported that Portuguese speakers normally had a better performance in class. At the end of the day, this may contribute to reinforce the social differences between those citizens who speak Portuguese and those who do not, besides making harder for the latter to realize their right to literacy.

### *5.2.3 Literacy materials: non-context specific transfer*

Among the main bottlenecks in organizing literacy programs in Mozambique are the lack of qualified teachers and the insufficiency and inadequacy of teaching materials. In this regard, the transfer of AlfaSol to Mozambique only partly and temporarily helped solving those bottlenecks. The cooperation with Brazil did include the provision of teachers' training courses and literacy books. However, the overall opinion of those interviewed was that these processes were not adequate.

Despite the facts that the literacy books used by DNAEA are outdated (they were developed in 1983) and that it would take very long to design new materials, it does not seem reasonable to address the problem by shipping to Mozambique the books that were developed for the Brazilian AlfaSol classes. That is in fact what took place. Mozambican literacy teachers and students were given books written in Brazilian Portuguese and prepared for the Brazilian reality. The result is that there was no single interviewee who did not mention PASMO's literacy materials as being problematic. As reported by Ernesto Muianga, there were critics who questioned the whole PASMO program on the basis of the inadequacy of the materials.

The inappropriateness of the Brazilian books for the Mozambican context can be better visualized in the following table:

**Student's book: module 1, book 1<sup>28, 29</sup>**

Page #	Content of the page
p. 5	Brazilian poem entitled "Quadrilha". The teacher shall read the title of the poem and students are expected to guess its main subject according to the title. However, "Quadrilha" is a Brazilian folkloric dance and probably the only sense that Mozambican students can make of this word is that it means a group of gangsters or mafia.
p. 12	Exercise entitled "Famous People". It asked students to organize the indicated letters so as to form the names of: a famous soccer player (answer: Pelé); a Brazilian singer who sings love songs; a Brazilian singer who is known as the "Queen of Truck Drivers"; a great music writer from the Northeast of Brazil; one of the best Brazilian car racers in Formula 1; three family names of TV stars (all of them Brazilian).
p. 17	Text entitled "Piada". The text is mainly about a hunter of "rolinhas", which is a typical Brazilian bird.
p. 22	Exercise entitled "A Fila do Ônibus" (The Queue for the Bus). In Mozambican Portuguese, the word "ônibus" does not exist, for bus is called "autocarro". Besides, there is no illustration or hint in the exercise that may help students realize that "ônibus" is "autocarro".
p. 32-33	Exercise entitled "Personal Documents". It shows a number of Brazilian identification documents and asks students to indicate which are those that they already have.
p. 35	Exercise entitled "Como obter sua Carteira de Identidade" (How to obtain your Identity Card). First there is the question that an ID in Brazil is called "Carteira de Identidade" and in Mozambique "Boletim de Identificação - BI". Second, the exercise was mainly intended to explain the procedures to get an ID in Brazil.
p. 42-44	These pages have texts, illustrations and exercises that are all about a Brazilian painter, Tarsila do Amaral. It is very unlikely that Mozambican students would know who this Brazilian artist was.
p. 50-51	These pages are about acronyms widely used in Brazil. A first exercise tells students what a number of acronyms stand for. The second gives the full name of some Brazilian institutions and asks students to write down the correspondent acronym.
p. 56	Exercise that lists the names of a number of Brazilian singers and asks students to put those names in alphabetical order. Although students do not have to know the singers to be able to accomplish the exercise, they certainly do not get as involved as they would if they knew whose names were those.

The table lists all the exercises, explanations and texts in module 1 that were not in accordance with the Mozambican reality. Considering that module 1 corresponded to a total of 62 pages, one can say that there were a significant number of problematic pages, which can be negative taking into account that those pages represented the first contacts that the adults had with the Program.

Besides the inadequacy of the contents, there was the natural difference between Brazilian Portuguese and Mozambican Portuguese. Although they are very much alike in their formal structures, there are several differences when one considers

<sup>28</sup>(Vovio, C. L. (coord.) (2000) *Viver, aprender: educação de jovens e adultos (Módulos 1 e 2)*. São Paulo: Ação Educativa; Brasília: MEC.

<sup>29</sup>The complete literacy course corresponded to 6 modules, whose activities were presented in a set of 3 Student's Books.

their informal and popular forms. Additionally, some words of everyday use are remarkably different:

	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>
Train	Trem	Comboio
Bus	Ônibus	Autocarro
Harvest	Colheita	Machamba
Bathroom	Banheiro	Casa de banho
Papaya	Mamão	Papaia
Pineapple	Abacaxi	Ananás
Pasta	Macarrão	Massa

As this problem was identified right in the beginning of the project, the strategy adopted to cope with it was to prepare the literacy teachers to deal with it as they used the materials. In this sense, during the training course the selected teachers were told that ‘if there was a text or example that was not according to the local reality, they should produce their own texts and examples’, as Mr. Muianga and others explained. However, this meant handing the responsibility over to the Mozambican teacher, giving her/him the double challenge of teaching literacy in Portuguese to a number of non-Portuguese speakers and also adapting the materials at her/his own discretion. Moreover, how could the teachers deal with the cases where the Brazilian word had a different or no meaning in Mozambican Portuguese, if they would not know it themselves?

Those various Brazilian texts, examples and exercises created difficulties not only for the literacy teacher. It was also problematic for the student, who had to differentiate between the parts of the book they could study and the parts they could not. They also could not try to study in advance the topics that would be taught in the following classes. Moreover, as mentioned by some of the interviewed teachers, children were not able to help their parents in their studies, for they could not use the literacy book as a basis of reference. This was considered to be regretful, for children were said to be important providers of support to parents attending literacy courses.

Although not mentioned by any of the interviewees, it should be also said that the inadequacy of the Brazilian materials does not only relate to its content. Although the requirement used in the recruitment and selection of teachers was that their minimum educational level should correspond to the 7th grade of primary school, the language structure and vocabulary used in the Teachers’ Guide were not adequate for this level. This becomes evident not only when one reads AlfaSol Teacher’s Guide

itself, but also when comparing it to the guide that is currently used in the Mozambican formal literacy program. The latter uses short sentences and words that can be more easily understood. The instructions given do not aim at style, but at comprehension.

Besides this issue of vocabulary and language structure, the Brazilian material has two different kinds of imbedded assumptions about the literacy teachers that may not hold in Mozambique: 1) that they are sufficiently motivated; 2) that they have some teaching practice. Again, these assumptions become manifest in the comparison with the Mozambican materials. First, the Mozambican Teacher's Guide brings in its very beginning some encouragement words to the literacy teacher, emphasizing the relevance of her/his work for the country's national development. See below what is written on its first page:

Dear Literacy Teacher,  
You have a big task.  
Literacy is a big task.  
The victory of development depends on the literacy work.  
We want to leave underdevelopment and eradicate extreme poverty.  
We cannot win this battle if there is illiteracy.  
Your task is to teach people to:

- Speak Portuguese, the language of National Unity;
- Read and write in Portuguese;
- Make calculus to improve production;
- Get to know the laws and civil rights of a citizen;
- Get to know better the resources of our own country and some of our history.

Your task is not easy.  
It takes sacrifices and efforts to win over illiteracy' (DNAEA 2002: 1).

Bearing in mind that these teachers are not hired as government civil servants but rather have a 10-month contract, this encouragement may be indeed relevant in getting them motivated.

Second, the Mozambican material provides the teacher with some basic but not least important instructions on how to conduct the classes:

You should:

- Write on the blackboard using large letters, so that all people can see with no difficulty;
- Separate words and line very well;
- Ask whether there are doubts before wiping what is written on the blackboard;
- Wipe the text or exercise before writing another one;
- Use a stick to point to what you are reading on the board;
- Make sure that everybody can see well and speak in such a way that everybody can hear well (DNAEA 2002: 9).

Although those instructions may seem too basic, they can be useful in the case of a teacher with no previous teaching practice, as was the case of part of PASMO's teachers.

Even if one argues that all those aspects that were missing in the Brazilian materials were compensated for during the teachers' training course, it can be counter-argued that it was only a 15-day training, while the Teacher's Guide accompanied the teacher for the whole duration of the literacy course, providing instructions on how to carry out each class.

Thus, from the literacy teacher to DNAEA's director, the overall answer to the questions 'Was PASMO worth it? Would you be willing to continue it?' was: 'Yes, it was a positive experience. We would continue it, but not with those books'.

#### *5.2.4 What was not learned: the partnership structure*

Although the transfer of AlfaSol to Mozambique was justified on the basis that the Program was considered a "best-practice", not all the features that led it to be seen as a successful experience were transferred to Mozambique. And, of those that were transferred, not all were incorporated as a result of policy learning. The former is the case of AlfaSol's partnership structure, while the latter applies to the issue of teachers' training.

Despite the fact that the partnership scheme is the feature that gives the 'Solidarity in Literacy' name to the Brazilian program, this attribute was not transferred to Mozambique. The Mozambican program – PASMO – was centralized by DNAEA and AAPAS in all stages. The private sector was not contacted and, although there was a first communication with the Eduardo Mondlane University, there was no follow-up to it, as explained by Debora Nandja.

In this framework, the non-involvement of Mozambican universities can be seen as the most problematic aspect. As highlighted by Ernesto Muianga himself, in Brazil AAPAS is completely dependent upon the partner universities, which are the ones to send their professors to the field to train the teachers and monitor the literacy classes. AAPAS itself does not have any trainer or teacher as part of its staff. Hence, in Brazil, the universities are AlfaSol's implementation arm.

In fact they also were in Mozambique, but they were Brazilian universities and not Mozambican universities. The official justification given by DNAEA was that the universities in Mozambique did not have experience in this field and were still at the

‘abstraction level’. Others referred to this exclusion as being the result of DNAEA’s choice for centralization.

In the case of the non-involvement of the private sector and of civil society, Mrs. Regina Esteves (AlfaSol National Coordinator) stated that ‘the Mozambican government made no efforts to integrate other actors’. Besides, she added, ‘the Mozambican civil society is still in the process of getting stronger. And there is not yet a culture of participation of the private sector in social programs’. It seems that, despite the long Structural Adjustment Program it has gone through, the Mozambican government has not yet internalized the newly dominating discourse on the role of the State and the sharing of responsibilities with the other sectors.

Eventually, this meant an incomplete policy transfer and an incomplete learning.<sup>30</sup> The Mozambican Ministry of Education learned how to work with the Brazilian institutions, but not with its own national universities. Consequently, although PASMO stands for *Solidarity in Literacy Program in Mozambique*, it did not really incorporate what ‘solidarity in literacy’ was supposed to mean. In this case, the views expressed in the interviews indicated that this was not a result of AAPAS not being willing to teach this policy component, but of DNAEA not being willing to learn it.

#### 5.2.5 *What was not learned: teachers’ training. Lack of sustainability.*

The transfer of AlfaSol to Mozambique included the training of about 250 literacy teachers, who were taught how to conduct literacy classes according to AlfaSol’s methodology. The training was entirely taught by Brazilian professors. They went all the way from Brazil to provide the training course and then went every 2 or 3 months to monitor and evaluate the classes. Consequently, as the service was directly delivered by Brazil, Mozambique did not acquire the know-how to train new literacy teachers in AlfaSol’s methodology.

Clearly, this had a direct impact on the program’s sustainability. At the end of the day, Mozambique was left with no more than 250 teachers who could work with AlfaSol’s methodology. In other words, if DNAEA decides to implement PASMO again without the Brazilian cooperation, it can only count on those teachers and

---

<sup>30</sup>Note that it is not implied here that this was either negative or positive. The observation is being simply analyzed *vis-à-vis* the Policy Transfer literature.



cannot expand the Program. Thus, this is a case where a South-South cooperation lacked sustainability and where a policy transfer did not necessarily lead to policy learning.

#### *5.2.6 What Brazil could have learned from Mozambique*

Another aspect to be highlighted is that this was a one-way cooperation project. Besides the lack of ownership and sustainability indicated above, there was no planned action aimed at leading Brazil to learn from the Mozambican experience on adult education. And this does not only refer to the literacy activities of the post-independence years, but also to the current Mozambican policy for adult education.

In Mozambique there is a national policy that assures a structured system for the provision of adult education in public schools. It allows adults to attend night schools and to complete primary and secondary education in a shorter time as compared to children. On the other hand, in Brazil there is not such an officially assured provision of adult education in all municipalities. In 2002, only 1,837 of the total 5,550 Brazilian municipalities offered classes of young and adult education (MEC 2002). Thus, in most cases, if adults want to resume their studies, they have to join the night classes of the regular system, which are designed for school-age children and youngsters. Besides being inappropriate in terms of the contents that are taught, this means that adults have to complete the standard number of years to finish primary and secondary education. In fact, one of AAPAS lines of action has been to assist municipal governments to structure the public provision of formal education for adults after the literacy stage has been completed.

Thus, this was an area in which the Brazilian government could have learned with Mozambique, although the latter does not hold the label of a best practice. This absence of learning on the Brazilian side is somehow symptomatic of the best practice title, which makes stakeholders believe that perfection has been already achieved and that the steps ahead are only about the best practice's maintenance and replication.

## **6 CONCLUSIONS**

It does not help the South to take a mute and muffled approach in issues of policy and strategy. Reluctance to be self-critical in the confused belief that self-examination connotes lack of militancy is a real problem for progress in the South (Mihyo 1992: 235).

The above words by Paschal Mihyo translate the spirit adopted by this paper: by critically analyzing development practices in the South we will be hopefully able to move forward. And to criticize should not be understood as to reject. On the contrary, it should be seen as an attempt to clearly see and better understand. We, in the South, shall be vigilant against romanticizing everything we do.

In this sense, the criticisms presented to the initiative of implementing AlfaSol in Mozambique do not mean that this paper disapproves it. Initiatives of this kind are recognizably valuable as providers of information gains for both development research and future practice. To complete the cycle, it is equally important that development academic work be used to inform policymaking. In other words, it is exactly the combination between initiatives taken in the South and social analyses that will allow us to define and achieve the development we want.

The case of AlfaSol in Mozambique was interesting in evidencing a number of relevant aspects. First that Mozambique has a significant past experience on what concerns promoting adult literacy and there may be lessons to be learned from that past. Second, the complexity of adult illiteracy in Mozambique is amplified by the facts that there is a multiplicity of national languages in the country and Portuguese is still spoken only by a minority. Third, the Mozambican government is in need of updated literacy materials, but materials that be adequate to the reality of the people. It also needs trained literacy teachers, but it should primarily acquire the capacity to train them. Fourth, Brazil should not only be expected to teach its social programs to other developing countries. For instance, it could also draw inspiration from Mozambique on how to guarantee that adults be entitled to an education system that is specially designed for them and that recognizes the knowledge they already have. Last but not least, the case indicated that the Mozambican government is at times in a tension between accepting the cooperation offered by external actors and consequently buying the ‘package solutions’ they offer, or trying to design its own indigenous remedies, which may take more time and be less easily accepted.

From what was observed in that experience of transferring the Brazilian AlfaSol Program to Mozambique, some remarks can be now presented to the literature and discourse on South-South cooperation, to the literature on Policy Transfer, and to best-practice reasoning.

There will not be an attempt here to derive policy recommendations from the conclusions above. Especially because general policy recommendations would be in

contrast with the idea that development initiatives should be context specific. The considerations here presented are mainly intended to serve as a basis for reflection.

<b>Normative language</b>	<b>Assumption/characteristic</b>	<b>Evidence brought by the case</b>
South-South Cooperation	Cooperation among developing countries is inherently horizontal and virtuous.	South-South cooperation can face the same problems of North-South cooperation: lack of ownership and of sustainability. It is not immune to vertical power relations.
Policy Transfer literature	More often than not it is an apolitical and culturally insensitive literature.	There are political factors behind a policy transfer, which are important for the understanding of why and how it occurs. Cultural and social differences between the “lending” and “borrowing” countries matter.
Best-practice reasoning	Policy transfer coincides with policy learning. A best-practice corresponds to an undertaking that has achieved such status due to admirable policy outcomes resulting from appropriate technical features.	A policy transfer may not lead to complete policy learning. A best-practice is socially and politically constructed, being more easily qualified as such if in accordance with the dominating discourse in that field.

In view of that, as this paper comes to an end, a fundamental puzzle arises: is it any possible to reconcile the variety of social realities presented by each community with the benefits that could be derived from learning from others’ experiences? Or are those two inherently opposite factors? Hopefully future research and practice will be able to shed some light into those questions.

As explained earlier, this paper ‘was bor’ from a fundamental concern with the cultural, social, historical and political specificities of each country, of each society. For that, it would be interesting to finalize it by encouraging development practitioners, policymakers and scholars not to loose sight of the need of conforming to local realities whatever solution they may intend to bring from one context to another. In the poetic words of Mozambican Mia Couto (2003), this means that:

What we can do with the socio-economic concepts is to reproduce what we did with the capulana and cassava.<sup>31</sup> And also with the Portuguese language. We made them ours, for we experiment them and live them in our own way.

---

<sup>31</sup>Capulana is a piece of cloth that Mozambican women wrap around their ribs and legs, turning it into a long skirt. They also use it to wrap their child and carry him/her on their back.

## REFERENCES

- ABC (2001) Programa Alfabetização Solidária em Moçambique, Brasília: ABC.
- AAPAS (2002) Pathway: 6 years [Internet] Accessed on 11 May 2004, available from: [http://www.alfabetizacao.org.br/pt/publicacoes/textos/as\\_six\\_anos\\_ingles.pdf](http://www.alfabetizacao.org.br/pt/publicacoes/textos/as_six_anos_ingles.pdf).
- AAPAS (2003a) Programa Alfabetização Solidária, [Power Point Presentation].
- AAPAS (2003b) *Alfasol encerrará 2003 com 4 milhões de alunos atendidos*. [Internet] Accessed on 22 June 2004. Available from: <http://www.alfabetizacao.org.br/pt/resultados/atendimento.asp#>
- Agência Brasil (2003) Para Celso Amorim, Brasil vai redescobrir a África. [Internet] Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Accessed on 25 August 2004. Available from: [http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica\\_externa/discursos](http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica_externa/discursos)
- Alcântara, C.H. de (1998) 'Uses and Abuses of the Concept of Governance', in: *International Social Science Journal*, p. 104-113.
- Almanaque Abril (2003) CD-ROM.
- Amorim, C. (2003) O Brasil e o "Renascimento Africano". [Internet] Jornal Folha de S. Paulo, Accessed on 25 August 2004. Available from: [http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica\\_externa/discursos](http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica_externa/discursos)
- Cervo, A.L. & Bueno, C. (2002) *História da Política Exterior do Brasil*, Brasília: Editora UnB, 525 p.
- Couto, A.E. (2003) 'O Meu Nome é África'. *Valor Econômico*, 14 November 2003, Year 4, N. 888.
- Da Silva, L.I.L. (2003) Discurso do Presidente da República, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, na Cerimônia de Encerramento do Seminário "Brasil-Moçambique: Comércio e Investimentos". [Internet] Ministério das Relações Exteriores, accessed on 25 August 2004. Available from: [http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica\\_externa/discursos](http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica_externa/discursos)
- DNAEA (2002) Manual do Alfabetizador – Português – 1º ano – Alfabetização. Maputo: MINED.
- Dolowitz, D. & Marsh, D. (1996) 'Who learns what from whom: a review of the policy transfer literature', in: *Political Studies*; vol. 44, issue 2 (01 06), p. 343 (15).
- Dolowitz, D.P. & Marsh, D. (2000) 'Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making', in: *Governance*; vol. 13, issue 1, p. 5-24 (20).
- Eboli, C. (2003) 'UNESCO elege Alfabetização Solidária como um dos dez melhores do mundo' in: *Escrevendo Juntos*, no. 24, p. 6-7.

- Furlanetti, M.P. (2003) Programas e Projetos de Educação de Jovens e Adultos: 1997-2003 [Internet], accessed on 17 June 2004. Available from: [http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/pdf/country/Brazil\\_Fatima.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/pdf/country/Brazil_Fatima.pdf)
- Hall, M. & Young, T. (1997) *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since independence*, London: Hurst, 262 p.
- INEP (2003) Mapa do Analfabetismo no Brasil [Internet], accessed on 01 November 2004. Available from: <http://www.inep.gov.br/download/estatisticas/analfabetismo2003/Analfabetismo.zip>
- Lewis, J. (2003) 'Design Issues', in: J. Ritchie & J. Lewis *Qualitative Research Practice: a guide for social science students and researchers*, London: Sage.
- Lind, A. (2002) 'ABLE Policies in an International Perspective' in: Center for Adult Education, International Conference on Adult Basic and Literacy Education in the SADC region, p. 22-36. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.
- Long, N. (2001) *Development Sociology: actor perspectives*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Marshall, J. (1985) 'Making Education Revolutionary', in: J. Saul (ed.) *A Difficult Road: the transition to socialism in Mozambique*, New York: Monthly Review Press, p. 155-210
- Marshall, J. (1990) 'Structural Adjustment and Social Policy in Mozambique' in: *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 47, Spring, p. 28-43.
- Marshall, J. (1993) *Literacy, Power and Democracy in Mozambique*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- MEC (2002) Educação de Jovens e Adultos: políticas e resultados 1995-2002, Brasília: MEC, 21 p.
- Miyo, P.B. (1992) 'Practical Problems in the South-South Development Cooperation: some experiences involving Tanzania' in: *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee*, 25 (2), p. 220-237.
- MINED (2001) Estratégia do Subsector de Alfabetização e Educação de Adultos/Educação Não Formal, 2001-2005, Maputo: MINED, 45 p.
- Mondlane, E. (1969) *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Middlesex, Baltimor and Victoria: Penguin Books, 222 p.
- Mouzinho, M. (2002) 'The Mozambican Experience in Adult Literacy and Education' in Center for Adult Education, International Conference on Adult Basic and Literacy Education in the SADC region, p. 128 – 136. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.
- MRE (2004) Moçambique [Internet], accessed on 17 May 2004, available from: [http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica\\_externa/relacoes/africa/mocambique.asp](http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica_externa/relacoes/africa/mocambique.asp).
- Newitt, M. (1995) *A history of Mozambique*, London: Hurst, 679 p.

- Newmark, A.J. (2002) 'An Integrated Approach to Policy Transfer and Diffusion' in: *The Review of Policy Research*; vol. 19, issue 2, p. 151-177.
- Nogueira, R. (2003) Speech on the occasion of the opening session of the G-77 High Level Conference on South-South Cooperation [Internet] Ministério das Relações Exteriores, accessed on 25 August 2004, available from: [http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica\\_externa/discursos](http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica_externa/discursos).
- OECD (1998) User Charging for Government Services: best practice guidelines and case studies. OECD Occasional Papers, no. 22.
- O'Laughlin, B. (2000) 'Class and the Customary: the ambiguous legacy of the indigenato in Mozambique', in: *African Affairs* (99), p. 5-42.
- Papic, A. (1990) 'The South Commission – Its Origin and Activity', in: *Development & South-South Cooperation*, vol. VI, no. 11, p. 81-88.
- Rap, E. (2003) The Success of a Policy Model: irrigation management transfer in Mexico. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, State and Society Seminars.
- Robinson, C. (2002) Rewarding Literacy: a review of the UNESCO International Literacy Prizes, (mimeo).
- Saksena, K.P. (1985) 'International Framework and South-South Cooperation: constraints and opportunities', in: *International Studies*, 22 (3), p. 199-214.
- Schuurman, F. (2000) 'Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Development Studies in the Twentieth Century', in: *Third World Quarterly*, 21 (1), p. 7-20
- Sharma, R. (1993) *The "Missing Middle" in Sub-Saharan Africa: role of South-South cooperation*, New Delhi: Interest Publications, 252 p.
- Simon, H.A. (1963) *Administrative Behavior: a study of decision-making processes in administrative organization*, New York: The Free Press.
- Singh, M. (1989) 'Revitalizing Development Cooperation: issues and priorities', in: *Asian Development Review*, 7 (1), p. 21-34.
- South Center (2004) The Group of 77 at Forty: championing multilateralism, a democratic and equitable world order, South-South cooperation and development, South Center: Geneva, 19 p.
- Sridharan, K. (1998) 'G-15 and South-South Cooperation: promise and performance', in: *Third World Quarterly*, 19 (3), p. 357-373.
- Stone, D. (2000) Learning Lessons, Policy Transfer and the International Diffusion of Policy Ideas, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation. [Internet] <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/poltrans.pdf>
- Torp, J.E. (1989) 'Mozambique' in: Torp, J.E. Denny, L.M. & Ray, D.I. (ed.) *Mozambique, Sao Tomé and Príncipe : economics, politics and society*, London : Pinter, 204 p.

- Truman, H.S. (1949) 'Inaugural Address' in: *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, Connecticut: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- UNDP (2000) Mozambique National Human Development Report 2000. Education and Human Development: trajectory, lessons and challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Maputo: UNDP.
- UNDP (2004a) WIDE – The Web of Information for Development [Internet], accessed on 15 March 2004, available from: <http://tedc.undp.org/tedcweb/WIDENEW/aboutWIDE.html>.
- UNDP (2004b) Human Development Reports. [Internet], accessed on 30 August 2004, available from: [http://cfapp2.undp.org/hdr/statistics/data/rc\\_report.cfm](http://cfapp2.undp.org/hdr/statistics/data/rc_report.cfm).
- UNESCO (2004a) The Literacy Decade: getting started (2003-2004), Paris: UNESCO, 79 p.
- UNESCO (2004b) La Pluralité de l'Alphabétisation et ses Implications en Termes de Politiques et Programmes., Paris: UNESCO, 32 p.
- UNESCO (2004c) Winners of the 2004 UNESCO Literacy Prizes [Internet], accessed on 17 June 2004, available from: [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL\\_ID=20508&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL_ID=20508&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)
- Veloso, T. (2002) 'Becoming literate in Mozambique – the early stages in Sena (Cisena) and Shangaan (Xichangana)' in: *Perspectives in Education*, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 79-96.
- Vieira, M.A. (2003) *Cultura e Alfabetização de Adultos em Moçambique*, UNIMEP, (mimeo).
- Vovio, C.L. (coord.) (1998) *Viver, Aprender: educação de jovens e adultos (Vol. 1)*, São Paulo: Ação Educativa; Brasília: MEC
- Vovio, C.L. (coord.) (2000) *Viver, aprender: educação de jovens e adultos (Módulos 1 e 2)*, São Paulo: Ação Educativa; Brasília: MEC
- Vrhunec, M. (1990) 'Innovative Approaches to North-South and South-South Cooperation', in: *Review of International Affairs*, 41 (954), p. 25-29.
- Wuyts, M. (1995) *Foreign Aid, Structural Adjustment, and Public Management: the Mozambican experience*, Working Paper Series No. 206. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

## APPENDICES

### Annex A

#### Semi-structured interviews carried out in Mozambique (July / August 2004)

Name	Position	District
Zulmira Rodrigues	Education Sector Coordinator at the UNESCO Office in Maputo	Maputo
Debora Nandja	Coordinator of the Master Program in Adult Education, Eduardo Mondlane University	Maputo
Ernesto Muianga	DNAEA Director, Ministry of Education	Maputo
Laurindo Nhacune	DNAEA Coordinator, Ministry of Education	Maputo
Ana Cambaza	DNAEA staff member, Ministry of Education	Maputo
Mr. Tembe	DNAEA staff member, Ministry of Education	Maputo
Teresa Veloso	Founding member of the NGO Progresso. She was the Director of DNAEA from 1984 to 1990, when it was extinguished. From 1990 to 2000 she worked at INDE, especially with the experimental project for literacy teaching in two Mozambican languages: Changana and Sena.	Maputo
Henriqueta Joaquim	Staff member of the Provincial Directorate of Education, Maputo province	Maputo
Mr. Teixeira	PASMO literacy teacher. He had also worked as a voluntary literacy teacher during the post-independence literacy movement.	Boane
Mrs. Rosario	PASMO literacy teacher	Boane
Leonardo Langa	Director of the District Directorate of Education	Boane
João Citói	Staff members of the District Directorate of Education	Matola
Linda Esconela		
Carlos Pava		
Tomás Nascimento		
Marta Ernesto	PASMO literacy teacher at the Literacy Center of the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM)	Matola
Mrs. Leonor	Staff member of the District Directorate of Education	Manhiça
Dionísio Muianga Jr.	PASMO literacy teacher. After teaching in the program, he was elected District Representative at the district legislative body	Manhiça
Alberto R.	PASMO literacy teacher. After teaching in the program, he was also elected District Representative at the district legislative body	Manhiça
Leonor de M.	PASMO literacy teacher	Manhiça
Jose Luiz Garcia	Coordinator of the REFLECT literacy program in Zambezia province, ActionAid Mozambique	Maputo



## Annex B

### Brazilian contacted stakeholders

Name	Position	Observation
Regina Célia Esteves de Siqueira	AlfaSol National Coordinator	Interviewed by phone on 05 October 2004.
Alexandre do Vale Petry	Responsible for the cooperation Brazil-Mozambique at the Brazilian Agency of Cooperation in Brasilia	Responded to electronic questionnaire.
Mabel Bouza	Administrative and Financial Coordinator of the Brazilian Agency of Cooperation in Mozambique	Responded to electronic questionnaire.
Renato Pontes Costa	Professor at Pontificia Universidade Catolica do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He was one of the university professors who participated in the implementation of AlfaSol in Mozambique <sup>32</sup>	Sent his reports on the missions for the evaluation of the program in the Cabo Delgado Province.

---

<sup>32</sup> All the university professors who participated in this cooperation were contacted via email. However, only Prof. Renato Pontes Costa gave a feedback.