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Theme: The Role of Educational Policy for the Government of Mozambique in the post-colonial era: a look at its development in basic education

1. Introduction

The history of education in post-colonial Mozambique is marked by Frelimo's¹ emancipatory project as an anti-colonial and pro-freedom movement. Already in the decade before the independence of the country against the Portuguese colonial yoke in 1975, Frelimo defined as its goal to liberate land and people. In its society project, it would be possible to liberate people, amidst various coordinated efforts, also counting on the school reform and the literacy of the population. In the post-1975 era, the educational maxim in Frelimo's speech embodied the importance of making school "*the basis for the people to take power*" (Machel, 1979).

For Frelimo, it was necessary to educate citizens capable of becoming aware of the political situation in Mozambique. For this reason, education was defined as the main tool for human development. In fact, it was not by chance that Eduardo Mondlane², in his book "Struggle for Mozambique," stated that education played an important role because it was essential to the development of the liberation struggle, on the one hand, but also because future would depend heavily on citizens trained to lead the country on the road to development. This aim led Frelimo to organize in the "liberated zones", literacy schools where political objectives were articulated with pedagogical ones. In line with political objectives, schools have become centers of mobilization, playing a major role in production, combat, surveillance and social cohesion. In this way, the school aimed at preparing young people for national reconstruction (Cf. Basilio, 2010: 110-111).

The concept of education developed in the "liberated zones" was the referential for the educational system that would be implemented after independence. It was in Frelimo's interest to redesign the model of education offered to society by the colonial regime as a way of removing a significant part of the population that, for colonial ideological interests, was maintained in ignorance and illiteracy (Cf. Rupia, 2012: 67).

As argued at the first national education seminar in Mozambique, held in Beira in 1975, and the consequent elaboration of the national education program, the purpose of education was development. In Frelimo's political discourse, national development should be ensured by education, by creating more schools and by maximizing opportunities, as well as by mobilizing the people to approach science and school. The

¹ Liberation Front of Mozambique. Movement that negotiated the country's independence with Portugal, and after 1975, came to govern the country. Although in 1990 a new Constitution of the Republic was adopted in the country, advocating multiparty system, and in 1994 the first general and multiparty elections were held, Frelimo remains in power until now, maintaining its government through of elections that have been held every 5 years.

² One of the founders and Frelimo's first president

new education system designed in 1983 should solve the problems of exclusion, provide vocational training and consolidate national unity and identity³. Thus, the Ministry of Education declared the universal coverage of basic education through the extension of the school network and committed itself to a deeper and more serious renewal of contents and the promotion of culture (Cf. Basilio, 2010: 116-117).

The new National Education System (NES) stated that education is a right of every citizen, which translates into equal opportunities for access to all levels of education (Cf. NES 1983). During this period, educational opportunities were opened up, also in cooperation with countries such as Cuba, GDR and Soviet Union, sending children and young people to better training in these countries, with the hope that they would then return to contribute to national development and as educational advisers to Mozambique (Tullner 2005; Kaiser et al 2015).

In 1992, after the civil war⁴ that lasted 16 years, of the deepening of the economic crisis of the time, Mozambique once again had to revise the NES. The law promoted compulsory and free schooling. In spite of these efforts, the educational aspirations of the Mozambican government were still not reached, and Frelimo decided to embark on another educational reform, creating in 2002 a new Curricular Plan for Basic Education, whose purpose was to optimize the basic learning conditions of Mozambicans, respecting especially, the particularities of local knowledge transmitted within communities (Cf. Castiano, 2005).

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, which also shaped the decline of Marxist-Leninist thought as a way of governing for many countries that follow this model, and with the V Frelimo Congress of 1989, the Marxist-Leninist perspective was closed, and a way of being more neo-liberal was started.

With an educational approach focused on the dynamics of neo-liberalism, the action of the Mozambican government has opened space for a perspective more in line with international rules of educational design. This perspective leads us to analyze the role of the State (represented by governments) in the implementation of feasible educational policies. In the Mozambican context, a good reference to this can be found in the book of Severino Ngoenha and José Castiano (2013), as well as in the doctoral thesis of Guilherme Basílio (2010). However, if we want to look at a more encompassing approach, we can look at the perspective of Norberto Bobbio (2007), who asserts that in terms of social stability, the state has always been considered the central element in the implementation of any policies.

According to Severino Ngoenha (2014), with the neo-liberalism advance in Mozambique, with the signing of cooperation agreements with the Bretton Woods institutions, namely the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984, The Mozambican government gradually moved further away from its responsibilities around public policies, and due to underdevelopment, the basic issues

³ Denominated by Frelimo as Mozambicanity

⁴ The civil war in Mozambique was promoted by Renamo (Mozambican Nacional Resistance) from 1976/7 to 1992, which opposed the model of socialist government opted by Frelimo. There are opinions that sees it also as a product of the then "Cold War" between the Eastern and the Western Blocs. Renamo advocated that with the war, its purpose was to force Frelimo's government to embark on a democratic political system, which become possible in the early 1990s with the peace agreement signed in Rome, and the realization in 1994 of the first multipartite elections n Mozambique.

(including education) of the populations became more acute, and the promise of consolidation of a freedom was kept farther apart.

The concept of public policy that I will use in this research is the one that according to Celina Sousa (2006) emerged in Europe as an unfolding of works based on explanatory theories on the role of the State and one of the most important institutions of the State, the Government, responsible for policy production and implementation.

In the Mozambican case, a more recent analysis of the government's role in education was made in 2016 in a joint book⁵ coordinated by Stela Duarte and Hildizina Dias. In a transversal way, the various articles in the book, especially those in the first part (Policies of Basic Education), are unanimous that "(...) *there are signs that indicate that in recent years the quality of Teaching and learning is not improving*" (Sovernao, Assale and Vogelaar, 2016: 9)⁶. This finding is not exclusive to the authors of the book in question. In fact, since the independence that several Mozambican authors have warned about the problem of inefficiency in the national educational system and the problems related to its quality, more systematic studies in this sense have been carried out, for example, by the Mozambican Institute of Social Studies and Development (ISOED), with the Barometers of Basic Education (especially the one published in 2012) coordinated by Severino Ngoenha, José Castiano and Manuel Guro, who also find serious problems in the Mozambican education system, and in basic education, more particularly.

In this sense, a study on the Role of Educational Policy for the Government of Mozambique in the post-independence era, focusing on the issues of Basic Education, becomes relevant and urgent, especially when current research shows that there are possible conditions for overcoming educational problems with which Mozambique is facing.

2. Research Question

Since its founding in 1962, apart from the desired conquest of political power, education has occupied a neuralgic position in Frelimo's emancipatory discourse. Nevertheless, the results of the "long walk to basic education" in the country have never been satisfactory, either by the Mozambican government itself or by the partner countries in the sector, or even by the international organizations that are at the forefront of the idea of universalizing of education, and the consequent human development.

According to Gómez (2001), shortly after the introduction of multiparty system with the constitution of 1990, Frelimo conceived the school as a great ethical nursery of the modern State under construction and as a center for the formation of free and worthy people.

As I explained in the introductory part of this project, education in Mozambique went through several phases and processes, and the revision of Basic Education, with the

⁵ Ensino Básico em Moçambique: Políticas, Práticas e Dualidades.

⁶ The conclusion of these three authors is interesting, since they are employees of the Ministry of Education and Human Development of Mozambique, especially Soverano, who is National Director of Planning and Cooperation.

introduction in 2002 of a new Curriculum Plan in this subsystem, was undoubtedly the most visible face of the efforts for the solving of the problems with which the Mozambican education system is confronted. The limitations of learning, denoted in the initial classes of primary education, especially in the field of reading and writing, whose consequences are transversal to the total education system in Mozambique, the still insufficient workforce duly qualified, both in terms of teaching and in management system, poor availability of the school network, high systemic corruption rates, high levels of absenteeism on the part of teachers and students, and the problem of large classes, etc., remained problems that even the 2002 reform seems to have failed to solve.

As stated by Básilio (2010), one of the main problems of basic education in Mozambique is that, from a practical point of view, the declaration of the right to education for all has not been carried out, since this principle was not accompanied by the extension of the school policy and teacher training policy. Thus, the NES project ended up being a mere set of democratic intentions, but it failed to overcome the social impasses and interests of the dominant culture, mounting and crystallizing social differences, and failed to fulfill the national development project. As for Mazula (2005), Frelimo fails with his project for trying to unite Mozambicans through the erasure of particular cultures, he goes so far as to say that *Mozambicanity* was conceived by the State in an ambiguous way, since the concept was used for to emphasize the revolutionary ideology and led the political power to forget that national identity is built by the association of various local cultures.

Basílio corroborates with Mazula affirming that Frelimo fears of linguistic tribalism, forgot that the survival of Mozambican cultures depends on the survival of Afro-Mozambican languages (Basílio, 2010: 195).

In a pre-interview with Carlos Machili⁷, he stated that there is a group within Frelimo that has struggled to perpetuate the elitism of the few, not measuring efforts or means for the inferiorization of the other. This has been done through the increase of mechanisms of selectivity in access to education, but also to other socioeconomic resources of the Mozambican people. According to him this same group has dominated Frelimo and putting to "earth" all the efforts of the development of the country.

As stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in its article xxvi, every man has the right to free education, at least in elementary and fundamental degrees. And elementary education will be compulsory. Education will be directed towards the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Here it is evident that attempts at elitism by particular groups, at the expense of the benefits of education, are nonsense and should be eliminated. The Declaration shows that all subjects have the right to dignity and equality, as stated in the first article of this Declaration.

It is in this desideratum that UNESCO works with Mozambique to materialize the Global Education Agenda 2030. With the Sustainable Development Goals, UNESCO and Mozambique hope to improve the Mozambican education system in terms of policy

⁷ Important Mozambican historian and philosopher, former rector of Pedagogical University, and one of the builders of the Mozambican State.

reforms, specifically in the curriculum, as well as in the field of quality planning and teacher training⁸.

However, to achieve the full compliance with the national and global agendas on basic education, it is important to question about what role has Frelimo (since its genesis) reserved to education, in order to achieve the social and economical development of the country, and how has this been reflected into basic education throughout post-colonial era?

An adequate response to this question would have to involve the protagonist of the Mozambican educational system soon after independence, for they played a pivotal role not only in the education sector alone, but also in establishing the first pillars of the actual Mozambican State. Some studies of Mozambican intellectuals have been looking for a full answer to this question, but so far there does not seem to have been a sufficient, systematic and consequent contribution that could shape public policies, that are in line with the actual educational needs of Mozambique. This is what the work will be about, looking at the concrete actions of Frelimo as a government, on the one hand, but also, on the other hand, looking and trying to systematize the different scientific contributions on the problem.

3. State of Research

Although a large number of studies on educational policies for basic education does not exist in Mozambique, there are some studies that can be considered references in this regard. For example, among them are the work about "the long way of an Education for All" written by Ngoenha and Castiano (2013), the "Local Knowledge and the New Curriculum of Basic Education in Mozambique" written by Basílio (2013), a considerable number of articles on educational policies written in a joint book entitled: Basic Education in Mozambique: policies, practices and quality, organized by Duarte and Dias (2016), "Samora Machel and Education" by Gómez (2001) and "Basic Education – Thematic and Concepts" by Golias (1999).

The work of Ngoenha and Castiano (2013) gives an important perspective of how educational events unfolded in Mozambique. What makes their work even more interesting is to look at the Frelimo's Project even during the colonial era. In this line, they also address how education was throughout the colonial period. In general terms and according to the authors, Frelimo – noting that the then Portuguese government used education in the colonies to subdue local populations and perpetuate domination – decided to fight for the country's independence, also installing a parallel education program in so-called "liberated zones". Another interesting aspect of this work is that the authors bring some relevant elements about the history of basic educational policies in Mozambique until the end of Joaquim Chissano's⁹ presidential term, in 2004. A significant coincidence, seeing that 2004 is the time which for analytical-methodological reasons, associated to the necessary historical distance for this type of studies, coincides with the frontier that I established for this research.

⁸ Online unter: <u>http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/portuguese/2016/02/unesco-apoia-analise-de-politicas-de-educacao-em-mocambique/#.Wer7szCxXIU</u> [letztere zugriff: 20.07.2017].

⁹ First democratically elected president in the 1994 multiparty elections.

According to Basílio (2013), the development of Basic Education in Mozambique was defined considering the critical theories that favor pedagogy focused on cultural knowledge to allow an integrated approach. Soon after independence, the Mozambican government was concerned with rebuilding a system of education that could deal with the new demands of the country's development; conditions that could reach the people's practical and cultural needs. This reconstruction led to a definition of a typical Mozambican and autonomous educational policy in relation to the Portuguese curriculum. In this sense, the NES was introduced in 1983 by Law 4/83 of March 23. The years after the creation of this law were confronted with the system of the global market economy, with the accession of Mozambique to international neoliberal institutions, which led to educational reform in 1992 by Law 6/92 of May 6. Even with this readjustment, the Mozambican government, with the aim of achieving a better approach to contents for Basic Education, had to follow the aforementioned reform of 2002.

Ngoenha and Castiano (2013) affirm that the reform of 2002 – as the most significant basic education policy in the country's history – was aimed at answering four questions: expansion of educational opportunities, decentralization of school administration, improving the quality of education and adapting the education system to the new conditions. The latter question is linked to student-centered educational theories and a culturally sensitive pedagogy, giving priority to locally produced and locally supported knowledge and defended by traditional theories, as well as critical or post-critical theories, with emphasis on constructivism.

In fact, the great innovation in the new curriculum of Basic Education was the incorporation of local knowledge in the school curriculum. With the idea of local knowledge, the Mozambican government wanted 20% of the time for the teaching of topics and approaches centralized in the diverse communities of the country to be reserved for teaching contents. This aim was linked to the fact that local knowledge is not always associated with strictly school knowledge. Basilio (2013) assumes that this finding has led the Mozambican government to seek policies and theories that offer sensitivity to tacit knowledge, social practices, accumulated experiences and daily life that play a crucial role in guiding human life.

However, with Dale (2004), the study of educational policies cannot be seen in a neutral perspective. In this regard, it is important, despite thinking about the contexts, to look also at the relationship between globalization and education. According to him, the specifications of the *Common World Educational Culture* and the *Globally Structured Agenda for Education* should be used. For Dale, supranational forces have significant effects on national education systems.

In the Mozambican case, policy design and its implementation in the education sector corroborate with the above approach. The Study by Ngoenha and Castiano (2013) shows how deep was the involvement of supranational forces in de conception and implementation of the education system of the country.

Gómez (2010) argues that although education is the task of all citizens, it is the government's responsibility to guarantee conditions that improve the quality of the teaching and learning process, and the definition of educational policies that ensure to all citizens the effective opportunity to develop through teaching.

A look at the genesis of education policies in Mozambique leads us to see that soon after independence, all work that was developed around the design of the system did not consider enough the contribution of education specialists. The decisions were taken at the Congresses or at the Headquarters of the Political Committee of Frelimo. In the end, even if they existed, the contributions from academics or academies ended up being ignored, and there were only those positions that mirrored the objectives of maintaining political power.

According to Buanaissa (2016), the lack of consideration of the important contributions of the academy sector to the design and implementation of educational policies is a reality in Mozambique. In 2011, in separate meetings with the then rector of the Pedagogical University, and later with the then director of planning and cooperation of the Ministry of Education, both agreed that there was almost no collaboration on education issues of national interest between the two institutions. Each of the institutions did what it pleased, both in terms of teacher training and in terms of perceptions about curricular dynamics, among other things. I think that here is an important gap for the research that I have partially started in the master's research, and that I intend to deepen here, to see how the studies developed in this matter, would/could allow the elaboration and implementation of policies more consonant with the educational reality of Mozambique, especially at the most elementary levels.

Hans Weiler (2003), speaking of the *Defizite der Deutschen Erziehungswissenschaft*, sought to show a new dynamism in the educational sciences of Germany, for the following theses: educational policies are - even if they do not want to admit them - based on science, monitoring and evaluation, without it, educational policy is in danger, either by opportunism or by ideology. As he points out:

Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, dass Bildungspolitik immer besonders in der Gefahr steht, ihre Entcheidungen nicht so sehr an den Ergebniss solider Forschung, sondern vornehmlich als Gesichtspunkten politischer Oportunität oder ideologischer Korrektheit zu orientieren. Naturlich gilt auch hier, dass wissensschaftlicher Sachverstand eine politische Entscheidung immer nur erhellen um zu informieren, nie aber erschöfend zu begründen vermag, und dass gesellschaftspolitische Prioritäten eine wichtige Rolle in solchen Entscheidungen spielen (Weiler, 2003:6).

I think that Weiler's position is also applicable to the Mozambican context. With Weiler, we intend to look at how academies and policy makers can collaborate to build more effective educational policies for the development of Mozambique.

Mozambican theorists have argued that with the entry of neo-liberalism in Mozambique, the state has relinquished even its most elementary functions of social protection in educational areas, so it would be useful to rethink its role in national development (Castiano 2005, Básilio 2013, Ngoenha 2014, Buanaissa 2014). Thus, in this work, it will be interesting to look at how education can be rethought, starting with a critical look at Frelimo's program for the consolidation of national development through education, examining its form of governance in the post-independence era under socialist influence, and analyzing how governance processes have evolved internally within the framework of the country's adherence to neoliberal institutions and global development agendas.

4. Objectives

This project aims fundamentally to analyze the Role of Educational Policy for the Government of Mozambique in the post-independence era, focusing on the issues of Basic Education. The purpose is to identify the actions taken so far by Frelimo, as a government, in order to materialize its project of society begun in the 1960s. Thus, the work is, on the one hand, to look at whether the project of society of the "Liberating Frelimo" still remains a goal to be achieved, or if the current efforts to create and implement public policies, particularly in education, are more a response to the current national and international community demands, no longer linked to the ideals conveyed in the foundation of Frelimo. To do this, the research will focus specifically on the following objectives:

• Review the Frelimo nation project, looking at the genesis of educational policies in Mozambique.

• Map the main aspects that have been considered in the design of educational policies in Mozambique.

• Compare the different diagnoses about basic education problems in Mozambique, with emphasis on their proposed solutions.

• Systematically describe existing work on the educational policy of the Mozambican government in post-independence, taking into consideration the main literature on the Mozambican educational system.

• Compare the different laws and regulations of the NES since 1983.

• Reflect historically on the possibility of collaboration between the academies and the politic in the design and implementation of educational policies, identifying the techniques for the construction of sustainable educational systems.

5. Methodology

In order to visualize different points of view on the research object, the study bases on oral history and will involve the protagonists of the creation of Frelimo, as well as of the construction of the Mozambican State. Interviews will be made focusing on the problem (Witzel 2000), in the sense that a relatively open entry question should initially allow for free narration, and then more specific questions will be asked. The evaluation of the interviews to be made will be based on oral history (Wierling 2003, Niethammer 2007). Also, in this research I will focus on the analysis of Frelimo Governance documents as well as legal documents (the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, the Laws of the NES, the Basic Education Curriculum, and the Mozambique National Development Strategy 2015-2035, among others). These documents are thus seen as products and producers of political orientations in the field of education, and their diffusion also mobilizes innovations (Cf. Shiroma, Campos & Garcia, 2005: 433).

Furthermore, I will proceed by reviewing the relevant literature on Basic Education and Educational Policies. This will lead to the crossing and confrontation of the sources as an indispensable operation, for a hermeneutical reading of the documents, since the reading to be made will surpass the only literal dimension of the information contained in the sources and will prevail for an understanding of the context by the crossing between sources that complement each other in explanatory terms. In this line, I will opt

for the technique of content analysis, which presupposes the description of texts and their interpretation. This will involve the organization of what will be analyzed and the inferences. Bardin establishes as the fundamental stages of this procedure, the preanalysis, the exploration of the material and the treatment of the results through hermeneutics (Cf. Bardin: 121).

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