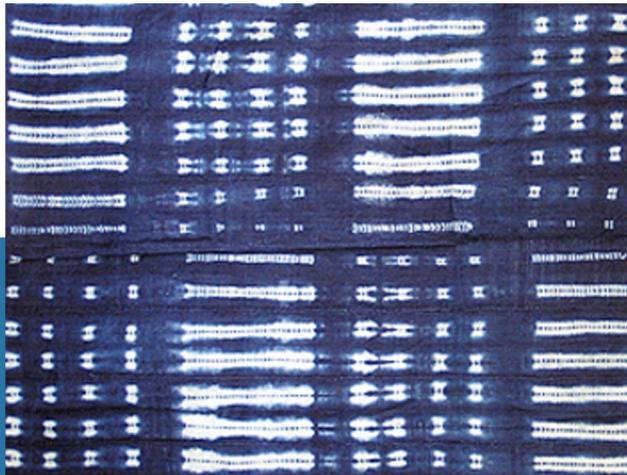


FUNDED BY THE UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Independent Midterm Evaluation of the Reducing Exploitive Child Labor in Mozambique (RECLAIM) Project

American Institutes for Research
Cooperative Agreement Number: E-9-K-5-005 I



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIR	American Institutes for Research
CVM	<i>Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique</i> , Mozambican Red Cross
DDEC	District Directorate of Education and Culture
DPEC	Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture
DPMAS	Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action
DPT	Provincial Directorate of Labor
EI	USDOL Education Initiative
ECLT	End Child Labor in Tobacco Foundation
EP1	<i>Escola Primária 1</i> , first level of primary school
EP2	<i>Escola Primária 2</i> , second level of primary school
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
GPRA	Government Performance Results Act
ICLP	International Child Labor Program
IEC	Information, Education, and Communication
ILAB	Bureau of International Labor Affairs
JFFLS	Junior Farmer Field and Life Schools
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MRC	Mozambican Red Cross
OCFT	Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
RECLAIM	Reducing Exploitive Child Labor in Mozambique
RECLISA	Reducing Exploitive Child Labor in Southern Africa
USDOL	United States Department of Labor
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In November 2007, the midterm evaluation of the RECLAIM project began. The project, financed by the U.S. Department of Labor's (USDOL's) Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (ILAB/OCFT), was executed by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) and its subcontractor, the Mozambican Red Cross. The RECLAIM project evaluation began with a desk review of documents and interviews with OCFT staff and the Corporate Monitor of AIR. Field visits took place in the Tete Province of Mozambique, from December 3 to 13, 2007, culminating in a presentation of the field observations at a Stakeholders Workshop on December 14, 2007.

The overall purposes of the evaluation as defined in the Terms of Reference are to—

1. Help individual organizations identify areas of good performance and areas where project implementation can be improved.
2. Assist OCFT to learn more about what is or is not working in terms of the overall conceptualization and design of EI (USDOL Education Initiative) projects within the broad OCFT technical cooperation program framework.
3. Assess the degree to which objectives relevant to the country-specific situation they address have been achieved.
4. Assess progress in terms of children's working and educational status (i.e., withdrawal and prevention from the worst forms of child labor; enrollment, retention, completion of educational programs).

A range of methodologies was employed for this evaluation. Before leaving for the field, the evaluator reviewed relevant project documents and conducted interviews with staff members from USDOL and AIR. In the field, the evaluator interviewed AIR project staff as well as representatives from the Red Cross and public officials, conducting focus group discussions with beneficiary students, parents, school officials, Red Cross volunteers, on-the-ground project personnel, and other community members. The methodologies also included direct observation of project activities and a workshop held with key project stakeholders, including those interviewed during the evaluation where results and initial findings were discussed.

Based on the documents and field observations, the evaluator concluded the following:

1. The Reclaim Project works well as an education project. It provides substantial opportunities to vulnerable children, especially in rural areas, to gain access to formal and nonformal education. It is well-received and welcome by all, from children to district and provincial officials.

2. The project does not work well (as yet) as an anti-exploitive child labor project. It delivers messages about the problem but there seems to be a tendency to aim at identifying the easiest groups of children rather than investigating deeper into the matter. The baseline study only superficially touches the problem; it does not explore the question of the length of time that children are required to work. The action-research may also be superficial. The evaluator was not able in the short time available to accompany the Drama Troup in this activity. The awareness-raising strategy seems more geared to delivering messages than engaging the community to examine what in its context is a *normal* versus *heavy* workload for a child. The Community Action Plans have more to do with material support for the schools and school infrastructure than with communal activities to improve the conditions of those households most likely to send their children to *ganho-ganho*, which is when members of land-poor households end up in the fields of land-rich households, and so on.
3. The corporate management of the project, from what the evaluator could understand from field evidence, has a tendency to work in a top-down fashion, not allowing enough time for consultation and negotiation or re-negotiation. The most evident instance of this was the state of relations with the Mozambican Red Cross, observed in the December field visit. Having said this, however, this same approach was *not* witnessed at the level of the AIR project personnel in Tete. In particular, the Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist and the Education Specialist teams worked exceptionally well with their colleagues in the field.
4. The Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist and the Education Specialist have demonstrated great capacity to carry on their work without the leadership of a project Director during the formative period of project activities in Tete districts, and they have also assumed responsibilities in addition to their own. Moreover, the experience of working on the project has taught them to evolve and develop strategies to improve the components for which they are responsible.
5. The delays in project start-up, the hurried identification of the beneficiaries of assistance in school materials, as well as the sudden departure of the original Project Director and the length of time they spent without one—all of these factors have caused delays in starting the most crucial activities of not only awareness-raising and research, but also of cultivating the partnership with MRC and other potential partners.
6. The strategy of opening access to educational opportunities, at least in the Tete context, is not sufficient to attack the problem of exploitive child labor. In many cases, if not the majority, the root cause is that parents or substitute parents lack sufficient resources to provide for the well-being of household members. The question is what to do about opening opportunities. The proposal to the ECLT (End Child Labor in Tobacco) Foundation aims at stimulating income-generating activities, particularly for the female heads of households. In the evaluator's opinion, in terms of sustainability, this is a step in the right direction, and one which will hopefully prove to be so in implementation as well.

Based on these observations, the evaluator made the following recommendations:

1. The RECLAIM Project needs to be extended: It needs to have time to correct some of its errors; mend fences with its main partner; cultivate its potential partners in a truly collaborative manner in order to guarantee sustainability, and open dialogue with other potential supporters; more thoroughly train volunteers, facilitators, and the Drama Troup; develop its new proposal; consolidate the JFFLS (Junior Farmer Field and Life Schools); open contacts with the national government, and so on. Any development project needs at least five years to make an impression in Mozambique.
2. More USDOL training and consultation on government reporting requirements is necessary. Possibly, a supervisory visit is necessary.
3. The project needs to encourage a closer collaboration with the appropriate officials and directors of the Provincial Directorates of Education, Labor, and Women and Social Action. This includes involving them in supervisory field visits, mining their experience and advice on aspects of the project, and getting to know their current activities, programs, projects, and policies in order to get a better idea of the ‘fit’ of the project. At the same time, it is necessary to see if it is possible to use them as conduits to the national level of government.
4. Consultation and direct communication with the national level of government would open the possibilities of collaboration on complementary strategies to education, such as targeted subsidies to families of children who are at risk of exploitive child labor. (See Recommendation 17 below, suggesting a dialogue with the National Institute of Social Action.)
5. The project needs to take a *consultative* approach in *all* of its activities in the next phase. It must clarify roles within the project team and with the CVM (Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique; the Mozambican Red Cross), and re-discuss the subcontract. It must consult its beneficiaries and proposed beneficiaries (See Recommendations 6–9) regarding their particular needs for further skills training before completing the design of any further educational programs.
6. Consultation by the evaluator with JFFLS students and their parents revealed a virtually unanimous desire that animal husbandry be included in the curriculum.
7. In future JFFLS selection processes, a requisite for selection should be that the child must be physically present at the community selection meeting to be considered.
8. In those communities where JFFLS students do not have access to the formal school system after education, a follow-up course is recommended. Possibly, in the case of the more mature students, they could participate in the soon-to-be developed Women’s JFFLS. Otherwise, a number of suggestions for professional training were offered by them and their parents. The most desired follow-up training is in Animal Traction. Other suggestions included Carpentry and Tailoring.

9. A parallel JFFLS for 16- to 18-year-old students based on the original syllabus of the Manica JFFLS is recommended. If the Women's JFFLS is also based on this syllabus, then it would not be necessary to create a third parallel course.
10. School teachers (particularly those involved in the school Production Fields) and Red Cross volunteers should also be encouraged to enroll in the parallel course.
11. Further dialogue needs to be opened with the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture regarding how the JFFLS could serve as a model for the school Production Fields, thereby influencing the curriculum (making it more relevant to local conditions) and improving the quality of teachers.
12. Red Cross volunteers need more training on exploitive child labor issues and the situation of young girls in their communities. They could also use training or assistance with their livelihoods (See Recommendation 8 above). The question of financing and distributing their 'incentives' needs to be addressed urgently.
13. Preference should be given to girls in both school materials assistance and enrollment in the JFFLS. There has been a recent effort to get close to a balance in the numbers between girls and boys, but the recommendation is to overbalance the numbers in favor of the girls.
14. A school director recommended that the JFFLS Drama Troup train local (district) drama troupes that could be used to raise an assortment of different issues within communities. Prior to this, the evaluator recommended that the Drama Troup receive extra training in participatory methodologies as well as management.
15. If the objective of reducing exploitive child labor is ever to be reached, and if this goal is to be sustained, more dialogue not just with but *within* communities is necessary. One recommendation to promote this was suggested by the Director of the Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action. She suggested the use of *radios comunitários*, which promote neighborhood discussions of radio broadcasts. (See Recommendations section for more detailed explanation.)
16. A dialogue needs to be opened with NGOs both local and international, such as Redd Barna and Save the Children, that have the well-being of children as their objective, in order to explore their ideas and willingness to support one or more project activities at the end of the project.
17. The Workshop suggested the following interesting ideas to promote RECLAIM activities at the national level of government:
 - a. Invite the press and media to follow some of the RECLAIM field activities; the TV program *Ver Moçambique* was mentioned.
 - b. Finance regional seminars to which government and local and international NGOs are invited.

18. In regard to the IEC (Information, Education, and Communication) materials, the suggestion was that anti-exploitive child labor posters should be posted near worksites where child labor takes place.
19. The Workshop felt that INAS should give income subsidies to substitute families that do not have means to support children at risk. (See Recommendations 2 and 3.)
20. The Workshop also suggested the creation of income-generating activities for the parents/guardians of children. (This follows upon Recommendations 6, 7, and 10.)

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I EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

The overall purposes of the evaluation as defined in the Terms of Reference are to—

1. Help individual organizations identify areas of good performance and areas where project implementation can be improved.
2. Assist the Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) to learn more about what is or is not working in terms of the overall conceptualization and design of EI (USDOL Education Initiative) projects within the broad OCFT technical cooperation program framework.
3. Assess the degree to which objectives relevant to the country-specific situation they address have been achieved.
4. Assess progress in terms of children's working and educational status (i.e., withdrawal and prevention from the worst forms of child labor; enrollment, retention, completion of educational programs).

This report addresses each of these issues in the Findings section. In the Conclusions, the degree to which the RECLAIM project has achieved its objectives is assessed.

On November 5, 2007, the project evaluator had a telephone conversation with Steve Genson, Tanya Rasa, and Maureen Jaffe of the Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking, an office within the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB/OCFT), an agency of the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL). The conversation was arranged and monitored by Lisa Slifer-Mbacke of Macro International Inc., and centered upon the specific areas of concern that the evaluator should investigate. Concern was expressed over the lack of clarity regarding activities on the ground. Was there a clear vision of the activities necessary in the remaining months of the project? Were these activities on track? Were the targets defined in the Progress Monitoring Plan being met? Were there clear definitions of the categories *withdrawn* and *prevented*? Were the tools and analyses for identifying and monitoring children adequate? What were the major difficulties with reporting, using such indicators as the GPRA (Government Performance Results Act)? What was the relationship between the AIR (American Institutes for Research) personnel and the major implementing partner, the Red Cross of Mozambique (CVM)? There were also questions regarding sustainability; the overall strengths and weaknesses of both approach and strategy; and whether educational quality had been factored into the approach and strategy, among other concerns.

The next conversation was held on November 15 with Tara Shariff of the American Institutes for Research, who gave background information on some of the areas for evaluation; this conversation, however, was mainly centered on the evaluator's itinerary and the schedule of interviews. (See Annex 7 for notes on these two conversations.)

After these two conversations, the following list of issues for evaluation was compiled:

1. Project design: Its fitness for purpose, its relevance to the local context, and its fit into national programs.
2. Project progress: Are the programmed activities on track?
3. The effectiveness of the tools and analysis for measuring the project's performance.
4. The process of identification of children involved in exploitive child labor, particularly the worst forms of child labor.
5. The monitoring of children to establish whether they have withdrawn or have been prevented from exploitive child labor.
6. The extent to which educational quality has been incorporated as a project strategy and how it can be measured; in terms of the quality of teaching and learning; in terms of community responsibility for the improvement of infrastructure.
7. The effectiveness of the educational programs in terms of changes in enrollment, dropout rates, quality, and availability.
8. The effectiveness of the awareness-raising activities.
9. The impact of exogenous factors on the project's interventions.
10. The relationship of the project and its partners; in particular, the Red Cross of Mozambique.
11. The relationship with relevant ministries.
12. The success in leveraging other resources.
13. The adequacy of USDOL technical assistance, especially in regard to reporting; for example, GPRA and overall communication between the project and USDOL.
14. Sustainability: In terms of government ownership of giving continuity to the purposes and strategies of the project.
15. Sustainability: In terms of community ownership.
16. Best practices.

The Findings section addresses each of these issues more or less in turn.

II EVALUATION METHODOLOGY AND DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK

2.1 METHODOLOGY

The methodologies that the evaluator used to address the issues cited in the Evaluation Objectives consisted primarily of a *review of all relevant project documents* provided by Macro International Inc. (Macro) in November 2007. Documents and instrumentalities, as requested by the evaluator, were provided in December by AIR (American Institutes for Research) staff in the Tete Province of Mozambique. In addition, the evaluator did an internet search for relevant materials, including government documents, international agency documents, studies on child labor programs, and studies on child labor in Tete. (For a list of all documents consulted, please refer to Annex 1. The evaluator also prepared a background document based on this research, which can be found in Annex 8.)

Secondly, the methodology employed for this evaluation included *interviews* with the following: U.S. Department of Labor staff, as cited above; the AIR Corporate Monitor for the project, Tara Shariff; AIR project personnel; officials of the Provincial Directorates of the Government and District administrations; the Mozambican Red Cross national coordinator, the provincial secretary, field officers, and volunteers; the staff of the *Direcção Provincial de Mulher e Acção Social* (Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action), working with street children; members of the Youth Parliament (*Parlamento Infantil*); the Drama Troup personnel; district school directors and teachers; and Junior Farmer Field and Life School (JFFLS) facilitators. These interviews took place from December 3 to 13, in accordance with the interview schedule negotiated between the evaluator, USDOL, Tara Shariff, Air personnel on the ground, and Macro. Of 18 project communities, the evaluator was able to visit five. (The schedule is reproduced in Annex 2.)

Another and certainly the most informative methodology used was the *focus group discussions* the evaluator had with children (beneficiary students) and separately, with parents and community representatives. Children were engaged in all five of the communities, and parents and community leaders from the four communities of Chiuta, Macanga, and Moatize districts. (A record of all conversations can be found in Annex 7.)

Direct observation of JFFLS activities through field trips to several schools in three districts/localities was scheduled but not possible as the schools were waiting on the seasonal rains in order to begin their production activities.¹ The evaluator was, however, able to observe a performance of the Drama Troup held in Nhansato, Chiuta, held on December 8.

¹ It was explained to me that the schools mainly take place in the field chosen as the production site. Because the rains were just beginning, the children had not yet had lessons in the field. I did not visit the production sites because there was nothing to be seen there. In all of the rural JFFLS schools, the school year had just begun. I met the students and their teachers in the formal school buildings.

A *workshop* was held with 22 stakeholders towards the end of the field visits on December 14. After the summary results of the evaluator's findings were presented, the stakeholders were asked to consider three problematic areas identified by the evaluator, and in so doing, they provided a number of recommendations for the project to consider. The three problematic areas concerned (1) complementary strategies—apart from providing education, necessary to assist in reducing exploitive child labor; (2) what they could contribute as stakeholders to assist the project in making its influence felt at the national level; and (3) what they could contribute towards the sustainability of the project. (Please refer to Annex 4.)

2.2 DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK

The first field day consisted of meeting with Provincial officials to introduce the project evaluator and the purpose of the evaluation, to receive any feedback they had on the impact of the project, and to report on areas of compatibility between the project and their activities in their respective directorates. During the meeting, the evaluator briefed the officials on the questions she would be asking them at their second meeting. On the final day of field visits, these same officials and their superiors were interviewed again. At that time, the main topic was what they might be able to contribute towards continuing the activities of the project after it ended.

The first day was also spent meeting with the AIR personnel, beginning with a short meeting with the Project Director who then introduced the evaluator to the Education Specialist and the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Specialist. The evaluator asked them to prepare a short paper on what they considered the strengths and weaknesses of the project and the improvements they would recommend. These were delivered at the end of the field visits. While their comments did not influence the preliminary writing of the report, they did add detail to the evaluator's observations. Several important suggestions were made and have been duly noted in the body of the report and in the recommendations. Because the evaluator had to select an interpreter for the conversations with parents, community representatives, and children, the afternoon was spent in interviewing and selecting the interpreter as well as buying materials for the field trips.²

During the following days, the evaluator began each meeting with a short introduction of herself and the purpose of the evaluation. A short questionnaire had been prepared in advance for each group of people interviewed, though the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured fashion and each question depended upon the information given in the previous response. This meant that not each topic was covered but rather tailored for each group as it presented itself.

District and community officials were asked about how they viewed the project and their overall assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the project. They were asked about the problem of exploitive child labor in their locale and the effectiveness of the project in combating it. School officials were asked about the relationship between the JFFLS schools and the formal school curriculum, about the impact of the assistance in school materials on enrollment and on dropout rates. They were also asked about the effectiveness of the monitoring system on children's attendance and on the selection process in identifying the right children to receive assistance.

² At the request of the evaluator, the project recruited and provided resumes for potential interpreters.

Both groups were asked about the strengths and weaknesses of their own institutions in collaborating with the project and to what extent it has strengthened their institution, their concerns about ongoing activities of the project and its future, and their potential contribution to continuing the effort against exploitive child labor.

Discussions with the Mozambican Red Cross volunteers concentrated on the original and subsequent identifications of student beneficiaries, the tracking and monitoring instrumentalities, the support they need to do and improve their work, what they have learned about the problem of exploitive child labor through their work, their suggestions for improving the project's efforts, and their vision for their role in continuing the battle against exploitive child labor.

Group discussions with children were mainly with students attending the JFFLS schools. They focused on whether and how the project has benefited them. The evaluator used participatory methods to get the children to diagnose their working situation. Whenever it was feasible, the children were asked to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the course that they were attending; suggest improvements; and comment on relations with facilitators, teachers, and Red Cross volunteers.

Group discussions with parents and community representatives focused on the principal problems in their community in order to ascertain whether exploitive child labor figured among these. They were asked their opinions about the project: was it valuable to their community; what changes would they make; relations with project personnel, facilitators, volunteers; and suggestions for improvement. When appropriate, they were asked for their definition of exploitive child labor in their community, whether it was prevalent, and why (always as appropriate). They were also asked about the contribution they might make to continue the activities of the project.

On Saturday morning of that week, the evaluator and interpreter attended a performance by the Drama Group and interviewed them afterwards about their methodology of work, the work program, and their activities for the following year.

The field trips continued the first day of the next week, after which the interviews focused upon project personnel in Tete, the Mozambican Red Cross officials, the Youth Parliament, and directorate officials. Since the manager of the Red Cross component at the national level came to Tete, she was included in the interview schedule. As already indicated, on the penultimate day, provincial personnel from the stakeholder institutions were re-interviewed and preparations for the Round Table were made. It was held on the morning of the final day and was also attended by the U.S. State Department representative whose brief included USDOL activities.

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III FINDINGS

3.1 PROJECT DESIGN

The comments made in this section are designed to respond to the second objective of the evaluation: To assist OCFT in learning more about what is or is not working in terms of the overall conceptualization and design of EI projects within the broad OCFT technical cooperation program framework.

Before discussing findings regarding the project design, it is important to note that no development-oriented project in Mozambique can achieve its objectives in less than five years. The normal length of time needed to set up a project, including finding and rehabilitating office space, buying vehicles and equipment, hiring and training personnel, settling in international personnel, and making the essential contacts, is a significant amount and cuts into the time to be spent on direct project activities. Furthermore, for this particular project, the aim to reduce exploitive child labor requires not only a change in cultural attitudes regarding exploitation and labor, especially in parents and substitute parents of the children, but it also requires giving communities the responsibility for identifying and monitoring these changes. The awareness-raising component of the project is a crucial one and requires time to develop, experiment, reformulate, and consolidate. The three-year design of the RECLAIM project can therefore be seen as a flaw in the Mozambican context.

It is also important to note that the strategy of providing access to formal and nonformal systems of education is not in itself enough to reduce the demand for child labor, whether the demand comes from within the household or the market. As regards household demand, the underlying factor is not ignorance but rather poverty—the parent’s or guardian’s lack of resources to provide for the well-being of the child without a contribution on its part. This became evident in the diagnosis made by boys and girls of how they spend their day. In four of the five communities visited, children of both sexes spend at least six hours in doing domestic and fieldwork. This demand continues even after the child is able to go to school. Boys are not required to make up the hours lost in the fields and spent in the classroom, whereas girls are.

Rather than being a design flaw, this problem is one of conceptualization and lies in linking exploitation of child labor with lack of access to educational opportunities. The fault may result from applying an approach successful in other countries to the Mozambican situation. Simultaneously, one of the strong points of this approach is the fact that it is accepted government policy to provide free education at the primary level to all school-age children. The RECLAIM project provides assistance with school materials in order to make this feasible for children in vulnerable situations. It is a popular approach at all levels as the children, their parents, school authorities and so on—all welcome the RECLAIM project. Nevertheless, in three of the five communities interviewed, children are still being sent to work in the fields or homes of wealthier neighbors under a system known as *ganho-ganho*, which is generally known to be exploitive. This is the basic weakness of relying on an educational strategy alone.

It can be argued that to reduce child labor in Tete Province requires an intervention that will help the parents and guardians gain income, close to the amount earned by the child. According to Christopher Udry, Chairman of the Economics Department of Yale University: “The most promising tool yet developed for reducing child labor is a targeted subsidy to families sending their children to school. In such a program, a grant is given to the family of any child who is enrolled in school. The particular value of this intervention is that it addresses the root causes of child labor (2004:11).” Udry based his claim on the outcomes of a number of programs across the world that follow this strategy. “The flagship program of this type is the innovative *Progresa* poverty program in Mexico (the name of the program has recently been changed to *Oportunidades*). *Progresa* provides mothers of enrolled students in rural Mexico with grants that have a value slightly less than the wage that would be earned by the child were she working full time (2004:11).”

The most significant result of this approach was the drop in labor participation of secondary school girls, which was almost fifty percent. In the context of Tete families, Mozambican girls seem to be the more exploited. In four of the five Mozambican communities visited, girls rather than boys worked the longest hours and were responsible for several tasks that could damage their growth and development, including the pounding of maize into meal and carrying heavy loads of water. When asked, girls responded that they were obliged to carry out these tasks even though enrolled either in the formal school system or the JFFLS schools.

The evaluator was not able to verify the extent to which child labor is used in tasks associated with commercial crops such as tobacco and cotton, because the planting season had not yet begun.

3.2 PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION AND PROGRESS

The comments in this section relate to the first objective of the evaluation, which is to help individual organizations identify areas of good performance and areas where project implementation can be improved.

3.2.1 The Identification and Selection of Child Beneficiaries

It is necessary to review some of the Project’s history in order to be able to see how it has impinged upon its progress. As is well known, the project got off to a difficult start. Rather than beginning in September 2005, AIR project personnel began identification of beneficiaries in the Tete districts in February 2006. They were under pressure to produce results, and within the first month 1,481 children were identified for assistance with school materials in Chifunde and Macanga districts. With reference to the logical framework, the first identification of child beneficiaries took place before the baseline study was conducted, before action research was undertaken “to identify local child labor, education and gender issues,” and even before the Red Cross volunteers were properly trained. These last two points were underlined by the Red Cross provincial secretary.³

³ It should be noted that Red Cross personnel were given technical assistance in November 2005 to develop criteria for beneficiary selection. However, as Annex 8 shows, the criteria developed were relatively vague.

Everyone in the project is aware that mistakes were made in the first identification and selection process, compounded by the fact that most of the target children were identified from the very beginning, leaving very little possibility to correct mistakes. The rationale given for choosing such a large group (1,481 out of the target of 1,710 children) at the outset was to allow as many children as possible to have a full three years of schooling, given the short lifespan of the project.

The first selection process in Chifunde and Macanga districts was carried out by the Red Cross volunteers. As reported to the evaluator by the volunteers interviewed, the first thing they did was to consult with local authorities of the community, who directed them to the families they thought needed assistance. The volunteers then visited each family to investigate their living conditions and to talk to them about the RECLAIM project. Thus the first selection process was also the first awareness-raising activity. It is difficult to know how the subject of exploitive child labor was broached or if it was broached. The principal criterion that seemed to be used for selecting children was the level of poverty of the family. Other criteria were also used and some of the children had to be de-selected and new ones introduced.

New criteria were developed (See Annex 10) and, in March 2007, a new system launched. Under this revised system, community leaders, together with volunteers and professors, select the candidates and a public meeting is called to vet the candidates. A jury is empanelled, including project personnel, to select which children receive assistance. The children are called upon to answer a number of questions and their answers can be challenged by members of the public in the meeting. In the second selection process, 201 students were selected in the Chiuta district and 97 from the Zobue orphanage in the Moatize district, while 43 were selected from within Tete. Project personnel expect that more or less 300 new students will be identified in the final selection process of March 2008. *The programmed activities for the immediate objective of enrolling school children in the formal system and JFFLS schools are mainly on track.*

The most recent selection process that has taken place is that of students for the JFFLS schools. The questions they were required to answer are found in Annex 14. According to the volunteers, the emphasis has been on selecting orphans, particularly orphans of AIDs. Depending upon the circumstances of the families that care for these children, these children are undoubtedly at risk of being exploited, even by the families who care for them. In Zobue, “parents” admitted that six hours of work a day for most children was a very heavy workload, but they justified this by saying that they and the children were in no position to alter the situation. The “parents,” often aunts, uncles, grandmothers and so on, had to shoulder the burden of an extra child when they were having difficulties supporting their own children. They admitted to having to put themselves and their children into *ganho-ganho* work situations. Children in three of the five communities visited are doing *ganho-ganho* as are the ‘parents’ in two of them. Thus it can be said that the students in these communities have been, for the most part, correctly identified. However, the project, as designed, is not able to alleviate their situation: *The six hours of JFFLS schooling (three days a week for two hours) in no way diminishes this workload in such communities.*

Selection process issues remain, which will need to be corrected. In two of the five communities where the evaluator interviewed students attending the JFFLS schools, there were children who were strikingly small in stature. The evaluator asked the children themselves what their age was,

but had no reply. The minimum age is 12 for entrance into the schools. In Chidzolomondo, the school director was asked how it happened that around 12 of the 30 selected were so small, and he said that they had been selected at the public meeting but that no one questioned their age. From the volunteers, I learned that the “public” meeting was a meeting mainly of the “parents” of the children being scrutinized for selection. I later learned that in at least one case, some children were not physically present at the meeting (please see Recommendation 7). Even supposing that the children were 12 years old and present, the question remains whether such small children should be working in the production fields of the JFFLS schools. The question is: *Should such small children be admitted or would it not be better to provide them assistance to enter the formal educational system?*

In regard to the studies of child domestic workers, street children, child sex workers, and the enrollment of child domestic workers in educational programs, the project is greatly behind schedule. While the evaluator was in the RECLAIM office, negotiations were proceeding and contracts were being signed with two researchers to do these studies. It was decided that the Child Sex Worker Study which the same investigators had recently completed for Redd Barna would substitute for the project study so as not to duplicate efforts. The same two investigators will conduct the remaining two studies on Child Domestic Workers and Street Children, both of which will begin in December 2007 and will be delivered in February 2008. The studies will be used to help the project identify children for nonformal education, including literacy programs or formal schooling. The target of 200 child domestic workers may have to be reduced to between 80 and 100 given the project end date of September 2008. The project is already helping 122 street children so that the target of 150 should be easily reached by September.

3.2.2 The Monitoring of Children

The comments in this section and the section below on Reporting, under Management and Budget Issues, addresses the evaluation objective of assessing progress in terms of children’s working and educational status (i.e., withdrawal and prevention from the worst forms of child labor; enrollment, retention, completion of educational programs).⁴ The reasons that *to date, the project has not been able to measure its progress* are cited in both sections. This section focuses on the monitoring of children in order to establish whether they have withdrawn or have been prevented from exploitive child labor.

There have been modifications to the monitoring process as well, particularly in the development of the forms that the Red Cross volunteers fill out. (Examples of these forms are found in Annex 13.) Both school teachers and the Red Cross volunteers are responsible for monitoring beneficiary children. Because of the uneven educational level of the volunteers, the monitoring forms have been simplified. When asked, some volunteers admitted to still having difficulties with the forms.

One of the ways that the project has coped with this is to have the volunteers work in teams so that the better qualified volunteers help the others. The evaluator had no way of checking on the reliability of the information gathered and reported in the forms. The data is presently being

⁴ The question of enrollment, dropout rates, and conclusion rates will be dealt with separately.

entered into a data base in order to provide the analyses required by USDOL. It was not possible at this stage—almost two years into the project—to ascertain either whether the right kinds of children were being selected or whether they were being prevented or withdrawn from exploitive child labor through the educational programs. The anecdotal information gathered by the evaluator from the children themselves and their parents casts some doubt on both of these aspects. Therefore, without the data completely entered into the data base and analyzed, it has not yet been possible to ascertain neither the status of children before nor after they entered the project. According to the Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist, this information will be available for the next Technical Progress Report in March 2008. *This aspect of the project is seriously behind schedule.* At least part of the delay can be attributed to the M&E Specialist having to take on at least two additional roles in the absence of a Project Director for a period of nine months.

There are, however, two issues related to both selection and monitoring that need to be raised and to which attention needs to be paid. They are the questions of gender imbalance and gender bias. In terms of numbers of students enrolled in the formal school program, girls are notably under-represented,⁵ and this is in a country where the number of girls is already critically out of balance with the number of boys beginning in the primary level of education, and progressively more out of balance in the higher levels. The UNICEF report, *Childhood Poverty in Mozambique*, casts some light on this: In rural areas, only 48 percent of enrolled girls were attending school, compared with 57 percent of boys. While completion rates for those attending primary school were up, they were substantially lower for girls than for boys. Only 39 percent of girls completed EP1 (*Escola Primária 1*, first level of primary school), while 57 percent of boys completed. The completion rate for EP2 (second level of primary school) was 23 percent for girls and 35 percent for boys. The UNICEF report places more emphasis on attendance rate than enrollment because it believes it gives a truer picture of what is happening in the schools. With this monitoring system in place, the RECLAIM project may ensure a greater attendance rate than would normally happen,⁶ but it still needs to address the question of the number of girls it enrolls in order to ensure equality at least within the project.

In regards to monitoring for withdrawal and prevention from exploitive child labor, there is a need to correct the gender bias in the monitoring forms in regard to the questions parents are asked about the kind of work the child performs. None of the potential answers relates to domestic work. The choices the parents are given are between *ganho-ganho*, working in the fields, selling, taking care of animals, carrying loads, and making charcoal and bricks. Most but not all of these are jobs done by male children and young adults. There is the category of “other” as well but this is left unspecified. In this evaluator’s opinion, the forms are not only a mechanism for gathering information but they also serve to raise consciousness both of the parents and volunteers and should, therefore, be modified to reflect the reality of girls as expressed by them in their own diagnosis of how they spend their day. In four of the five communities visited, girls work longer hours than boys and at some very burdensome and

⁵ The total enrollment of beneficiaries in formal schools in the third period is 761 girls and 921 boys.

⁶ The professors in Chidzolomondo, however, have been noticing that children enrolled in the first two years of primary schooling have been failing to show up and that there have been some dropouts among the Project’s beneficiaries. The parental group mentioned that the need for *ganho-ganho* was keeping some children away from school.

potentially prejudicial tasks. As shall be seen below, parents, community leaders, and even children often find it difficult to distinguish between normal and heavy exploitive workloads. The forms they are required to fill out need to better reflect the conditions of children's work in their own communities.

3.2.3 The Effectiveness of Awareness-Raising Activities

The most notable finding in regard to the awareness-raising activities is the delay with which they began. According to the Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist, there have been two phases: During the *first phase*, as noted above, awareness-raising was accomplished through community meetings⁷ and during the selection process in which the volunteers went from home to home, explaining the objectives of the project. Because the necessary research had not yet been undertaken, clear-cut definitions of exploitive child labor were not available. The criteria used by the volunteers in the first identification process were relatively vague (See Annex 10). It is possible that the first category of children was the one given priority in the majority of cases: "children presently out of school." As already noted, the volunteers themselves looked primarily at the economic conditions of the families in order to decide who needed assistance.

The *second phase* of awareness-raising began when the Drama Troup was identified (among ex-Red Cross volunteers) and trained. Drama performances began in March 2007, *a full year after the launch of the project*. The work methodology of the Troup is as follows: They spend a total of six days in a community. The first two days are dedicated to research in which they work in teams of one man/one woman. They first meet with the government officer who orients them regarding the community and the households they should visit for their research. On the third day, they collect all the household data and analyze the problems that they have found, which become the topics they will discuss in their songs and performance. The next two days are spent in writing the scenario and in practicing the piece. Finally, the presentation is performed for the community.

The evaluator attended a performance of the Troup in Nhansato, a satellite community of Kaunda. The following is a description of what she saw and heard:

The Theater Group began with song/dances. They first talked about premature marriages and a young married girl who was lamenting her plight. She felt very underprivileged because she gave up her schooling. The second was the lament of a father who receives a letter that he can't read. Nor can his children read it for him as he has stopped them from going to school. The third affirmed that the people in this village do not appreciate the value of school because they send their children to the fields.

The Theater production was entitled "Nao estudar é morrer," or "Not to study is to die!" The first actor motivated the audience to act as a Greek chorus, shouting: I deny this, I deny this! He then proceeded to make a number of statements to which we responded: I deny, I deny (Wagana gana!). This was to get us in the mood and also to pass the message that their attitudes are essential.

⁷ The community meetings have continued from the beginning of the Project until the present day. They have actually exceeded the targeted number of meetings.

Next, three actors representing father, mother, and son took center stage and discussed whether the son should come to the field and work alongside his parents. He does go to the fields but this is taking away his possibility of going to school. In the fields, the father wants him to do his work for him but the mother intervenes and saves the child. The son reminds them that it is time for him to go to school but his father says he must get water first. The father is putting as many obstacles as possible in the way of the son going to school. He then demands that he shepherd the goat herd. However, the son comes back in the hands of another farmer because he has let the goats trample the other man's fields. The exchange between the farmer and the father is particularly funny and has the audience laughing but it is this interchange and the threat that he will demand compensation for the field that finally convinces the father to send his child to school. In all of these situations, the mother defends the child's need to go to school. Each of the actors asks the audience if what he is saying or doing is right and the audience responded "yes." The son comes in joyous that he has passed.

The scene changes: Villagers (four men and three women actors) come to the village for a meeting with government officials. They have to wait and dance while they are waiting. Then the main official appears and it is the son who has finished his studies and has become an authority. The father is bursting with pride and tries to take credit for this success. The son asks the villagers if they are using the wells that he has had opened for them. Then he talks about their contribution of five meticaïs each to create a maintenance fund. He asks about the health post as well. The message is loud and clear: Education leads to development for the good of all.

The play ends and the actors present themselves to loud applause. One actor talks about the RECLAIM project and repeats the message of the theatrical piece. The Theater Group has performed in all 18 beneficiary communities and in some of them twice, when asked by the community for a repeat performance. There have been 20 performances through December 2007.

The reason for describing the performance in detail is to show three things:

1. How the Troup engages the audience in the play.
2. That the performance was well received and enjoyed by a receptive community including government officials.
3. How little emphasis—in this particular piece—was given to the question of *exploitive* child labor.

The third point may refer to the specific situation of Nhansato, which may not have a serious child labor problem. However, in the interviews conducted in the four communities where there were parents or guardians (the fifth community was composed of street children), there was either difficulty in identifying what constituted exploitive child labor, or they had never had anyone talk to them about child labor, or their children were working six hours a day. Even the children of Kaunda, when asked directly, called their six-hour workload "normal." In the

Chidzolomondo, where the parents said they were not clear about the objectives of the RECLAIM project, the Theater Group had already performed twice. When asked about the main ideas presented in the performance, those who had seen it said that it was about the importance of education for all children.

Based upon this field evidence, admittedly in only 4 of 18 communities, it is the opinion of the evaluator that much more emphasis and investigation on the question of what is exploitive child labor in each specific community is necessary. Moreover, while the Drama Troup is a very effective tool for giving messages, it should be encouraged to invite much more audience participation in the actual dramas. This would encourage people not simply to carry away “messages” but give them a chance to think about them and, in the best of circumstances, actually participate in defining them. (In the Recommendations, one way of furthering this process is suggested).

The Theater performance is followed 10 days later by a community meeting in which a Community Action Plan is drawn up, consisting mainly but not exclusively of activities in support of the schools and professors. The meeting, in the presence of government and school authorities, takes between one and two hours. The community is asked to discuss its problems freely and encouraged to talk about issues brought up in the theater presentation. It is then asked to prioritize the problems and how they mean to resolve them. Project staff present a model Community Action Plan and the community selects someone to fill out the form with the activities the community decides to undertake. The community sets deadlines and designates people responsible for each activity. The plan is then signed as an agreement between the project and the Community. Those responsible for activities call meetings which are also attended by the Red Cross volunteers and the field officers. The volunteers and field supervisors are responsible for following up on community activities.

The second phase of the awareness-raising component also included visits of the Youth Parliament to districts and communities helped by RECLAIM. The parliamentarians spoke about diminishing child labor and the importance of education, among other things. To date, they have covered only two of the four districts in which the project is active. The Parliament is an initiative of the Ministry of Women and Social Action and exists nationwide to disseminate the Rights and Responsibilities of Children. It was created in 2004 by the Ministry of Social Action with the help of UNICEF. Provincial-level Parliaments in turn create district-level Parliaments. In the districts of Chifunde and Moatize two district-level youth parliaments have been formed. *These have taken the place of the organization of working children and youth for advocacy purposes listed in the project document.* RECLAIM has hopes of utilizing the Youth Parliament to lobby the National Assembly of the Republic on its behalf by financing two of its members to go to Maputo.

In the *third phase* of awareness-raising activities, which will begin in January 2008, both the Theater Group and the Youth Parliament will produce radio programs. They were trained in the techniques of radio-broadcasting. The Theater Group learned how to adapt a live performance for a radio broadcast. The radio stations will be selected on the basis of coverage, cost, and popularity with the target communities. *The Group expects to make 30 broadcasts next year and*

to give 19 more live performances.⁸ The costing and programming of the activities had yet to take place.

The activity of developing and disseminating IEC (Information, Education, and Communication) materials began in mid-2007 with the distribution of T-shirts and book bags with the RECLAIM emblem. A proposal made by the Education Specialist was still pending at the time of the evaluation. Further information received in February indicates that similar materials will be developed and distributed in 2008, though educational pamphlets still await development.

The quarterly newsletter has been suspended pending a decision by the new Project Director who thinks a less frequent one would be desirable and feasible.

3.2.4 Educational Quality and Measurability

Another important issue to raise is whether or not educational quality has been incorporated as a project strategy and the extent to which it and the effectiveness of educational programs can be measured. When the researchers who conducted the baseline survey for the project asked children about what they most liked about school, they replied “friends.” The second most important reason given was “some teachers.” The quality of teaching can make a great difference to attendance rates and conclusion rates. When children are bored, they do not learn. Handa (2002) argued that even school enrollments in Mozambique were very sensitive to the number of trained teachers (cited by Udry, page 11).

The RECLAIM project had originally programmed one workshop per target school to train teachers in improved education methodologies. The Education Specialist prepared a description of the aims of such workshops. They are: (1) to train teachers and school managers in classroom management techniques and methods for dealing with the special needs of beneficiary children; and (2) to train additional formal school teachers in the student-centered teaching methodologies of the JFFLS schools. (Please see Annex 11.) By the time of the field visit, two workshops had been held and a third one was planned, instead of the original twelve that were programmed. The reason for the change is that each workshop covers a number of schools. In all, 15 of the 18 beneficiary schools have had teachers trained so far. Forty-four teachers and school directors have received the training. The last planned workshop will cover Moatize and Tete schools and will train 26 teachers and school directors. *It was programmed for February 2008.*

The Education Specialist proposed that follow-up visits and training be implemented in late March and early April 2008 in order to ascertain whether the teachers are utilizing the new methodologies in which they have been trained. In this way, the objectively verifiable indicator of 75 percent of trained teachers adopting one new method of classroom management, curriculum/materials improvement, or teaching could be verified. *The sudden departure of the Education Specialist in December may delay the follow-up visits even though a local consultant was hired in January 2008.*

⁸ This will mean that every community has a second theater performance.

No other specific activities have been programmed to enhance educational quality in the formal schools. One opportunity might be to develop a stronger link between the School production field and the JFFLS schools, but this would require discussion and negotiation with the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture and perhaps approval from the Ministry in Maputo.

Although the evaluator asked the Corporate Monitor in the November 15 telephone conversation⁹ to ask project personnel to prepare enrollment figures for 2007, comparative dropout rates for 2006 and 2007, and comparative completion rates for the same two years for the 18 project schools, no such data was made available. After one or more requests were made directly to project personnel in Tete, only on December 13 was an appeal made to the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture for this data. At the time of writing, it was not available and further information from the Corporate Monitor indicates it cannot be given. Anecdotal evidence gathered in the field showed that in Kaunda, the dropout rate for 2007 was almost triple that of the previous year, due to the poor agricultural year and consequent emigration of a number of families. In Chidzolomondo, the school director said it was lower than the previous year.

In regard to developing quality nonformal educational programs, the work of the Education Specialist in adapting and simplifying the JFFLS materials developed originally by the FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization) for youth in Manica province has been noteworthy. Although the eligible age group was the same in both provinces, the Manica children had already attended fifth, sixth or seventh grade in formal school, whereas the Tete children were from widely differing backgrounds. Some had previously never attended school. The document prepared by the specialist in Annex 12 describes the kinds of learning, philosophy of education, participatory methodologies, and programs that she incorporated into the JFFLS schools. The specialist not only simplified the level of presentation of the courses according to the needs of Tete children but also developed several modules, including one to assess literacy and numeracy levels, a training assessment module, an agricultural marketing module, and a life skills module. As noted above, the approach—based upon observation, experimentation, analysis, reflection, conclusions, and application—would enrich the formal school curriculum and could be introduced first of all in the production fields of each formal school. Other techniques such as how to make a lesson plan and how to present new material in the classroom could also be adapted from the JFFLS teaching materials and transferred into the formal school. *This would require much more discussion with education officials than has taken place so far.*

As far as the impact of exogenous factors on the JFFLS, the latest Technical Progress Report made the point that a lack of a near-by water supply was compromising production. It was also undermining the integrity of an anti-exploitive child labor approach since the JFFLS children were carrying heavy loads of water for irrigation purposes. This situation was noted by parents, guardians, facilitators, and the children as well, and a number of suggestions were offered by communities and other interested parties to resolve this problem. The main community suggestion was the installation of diesel-powered pumps, which are impractical and beyond the limits of the communities to support.

⁹ This request was repeated by email in the days running up to the evaluator's departure for Maputo.

The Education Specialist was also responsible for training the facilitators of the JFFLS schools. This training activity and that of CVM volunteers are all on track but both have one final training programmed for July 2008; an inconvenient date if the project finishes by September of the same year. *At the time of writing this report (December 2007), there was uncertainty regarding the programming of these important activities.*

It is also hard to understand how the nonformal educational programs will be put together once the street children and child domestic worker studies have identified suitable candidates for material assistance in either formal or nonformal education. *This activity is much delayed.*

3.2.5 The Effectiveness of Tools and Analysis in Measuring Performance

As already noted above, it was not possible to know how well the tools for monitoring beneficiary children measured their progress either in the educational programs or their status in terms of withdrawal or prevention from exploitive child labor. At the time of the evaluation, the data was still being entered into the database and the analysis was not available.

An examination of the forms shows that plenty of data is being collected on a quarterly basis from the following:

1. Professors who monitor the children in their classrooms
2. Red Cross volunteers who collect information on the schools, including how many students, professors, type of courses, conditions at the schools, problems, and so on
3. Volunteers who also fill out forms registering the beneficiary child in the project
4. Volunteers who check on the status of students with their parents and guardians; comments have already been made above regarding this form.

Recently, an extra form was added which relates to the status of the child before entering the project. This will provide baseline information on whether children engaged in exploitive labor before entering the project, whether they went to school, whether they are orphans, and whether they were living with parents infected by AIDS; it will thus enable the Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist to know whether entry into the project has made a difference in the child's life and whether they have been withdrawn or prevented from exploitive child labor.¹⁰

One worry that the evaluator has is in regard to the number and types of forms required from the volunteers, given the generally low educational levels among volunteers. The evaluator saw four forms. The worry is whether the number of forms, which require at least one home visit to each parent or guardian and possibly to the schools per quarter, as well as the complexity of the present

¹⁰ The delay in developing and distributing these forms may help to explain the delay in the analysis of the categories of withdrawn/prevented children. Without information on the status of the child before the project started, it would not be possible to measure the impact on the child. A caveat, however, is necessary. Children's status can change through no fault of the project as, for example, after a bad agricultural year.

forms, might be too much to ask from unpaid volunteers who must also look after their own livelihoods. It must quickly be added, however, that none of the volunteers interviewed brought up this issue as a complaint; although when asked, some did note difficulty with the forms. The fact that in 2007 the volunteers had not received most of the subsidies due to them by the Mozambican Red Cross compounds this preoccupation in the eyes of the evaluator. More will be said about this point below in the section on relationships between the project and its partners. (The various forms can be found in Annex 13.)

The fact that the project has not yet analyzed data from 2006 by the end of 2007 means that it has not been able to measure whether project targets have been met in regard to retention and completion in the formal school system and the JFFLS schools. It is not able as of today to say whether beneficiary children have been withdrawn or partially withdrawn or prevented or partially prevented from exploitive child labor. It fully expects to be able to report on these indicators in the March 2008 Technical Progress Report. (This point is taken up in the Reporting section under Management and Budget issues.)

A review of the RECLAIM Performance Monitoring Plan Worksheet with the project personnel demonstrated a number of difficulties with reporting enrollment figures on the first page of the worksheet. After some discussion, it was agreed that, as of December 2007, fewer than 540 students were enrolled in the JFFLS schools because enrollment was still taking place. *There has been a several-month delay in the start-up of the JFFLS schools visited by the evaluator.* No explanation was offered by the Tete project personnel, but facilitators from two of the schools mentioned a lack of equipment and waiting on the rains in order to be able to open the production fields. In February 2008, the Corporate Monitor cited the new and time-consuming selection process as another important reason for delay. *No explanation has been given regarding how the schools will complete their program by the end of August/September 2008.*

By the beginning of the formal school year in March 2007, the project had enrolled 1,682 students in total. These numbers were on target. As regards enrollment of child domestic workers in formal and nonformal programs, the project may have to reduce the targeted number of 200 to 100 if the project ends in September 2008. None have been enrolled as of this moment, whereas 122 street children have been enrolled in programs throughout the Province.

3.3 MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET ISSUES

3.3.1 Management

The project has greatly suffered from a delay in start-up, from the loss of its director after seven months in the job, and the nine month delay in appointing a new director. As already noted, the project was “off the ground and running” before it had any feet. The loss of the director meant that other project personnel had to take over certain administrative duties, which considerably affected their own areas of responsibility. For example, the Education Specialist had to not only design materials for the JFFLS, but also had to manage the schools in their first year. The original project proposal did not designate a person to either manage the Theater Group or implement the

Community Action Plan. Both of these responsibilities fell to the M&E Specialist.¹¹ Delay has been a key aspect of project performance and the work plan has continuously had to be revised.

Much of this does not reflect well upon the management of the project from AIR headquarters, despite attempts to substitute direct management for the Project Director. Even with a full complement of personnel since July 2007, much control was observed to be exercised by AIR headquarters over most management and budget issues; for example, in relation to reporting to USDOL (See below) and in regard to relations with the Mozambican Red Cross. This impression was picked up in anecdotal information, but was also mentioned in a staff member's assessment. One explanation may be the extent of corporate involvement in the day-to-day running of the project during the absence of a Project Director, though this may not explain the state of relations within the project team and with the Red Cross, observed in the December field visit.

It has been directly observed by the evaluator that the M&E Specialist and the Education Specialist have worked very well as a team. Their dedication, competency, and "tireless" efforts were also noted by the Project Director in his assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the project, and were appreciated by the Corporate Monitor as well. The departure of the Education Specialist will undoubtedly affect this teamwork and either mean an extra burden on the remaining personnel to take up her duties until the end in September 2008, or will mean some further delays as a new specialist settles into the position. The fact that the evaluator was neither briefed by the AIR Corporate Monitor nor the Project Director about this departure or how this gap will be filled needs to be underscored. The new Project Director will understandably be affected because—as a new member of the team—he has been very dependent on his other two colleagues for understanding the project and its problems and for reporting data in the Technical Progress Report. (Issues with reporting are taken up below.)

3.3.2 Budget

As far as the budget is concerned, as of September 30, 2007, the project has spent around US\$750,000 of the US\$3 million for local personnel, equipment, disbursements to the Mozambican Red Cross for their implementing activities, office expenses, field activities, and M&E. There have been no obvious financial constraints, but certain pressures have been put on project personnel to limit or even cut their budgets. Control from AIR headquarters is exercised on all expenditures. It may be important to note that in the last two months, AIR headquarters has requested original receipts for expenditures rather than photocopies of them. The financial assistant has some worry that this may contravene with the project agreement, which she has not seen, and cause problems with Mozambican fiscal authorities.

AIR has been successful in receiving a grant of US\$750,000 from the ECLT (End Child Labor in Tobacco) foundation for carrying forward the JFFLS component of the RECLAIM project and, in conjunction with them, adding the additional component of Women's Farmer Field and Life Schools that will include the parents and guardians of the students. The purpose, taken from the

¹¹ It should also be noted that the lack of operational support from the Red Cross Provincial Technician compounded this problem, especially for the M&E Specialist who has had to shoulder extra responsibilities in regard to the distribution of school materials and so on.

AIR proposal, is to provide adults and children of legal working age with “agricultural training, business skills, and access to micro-credit, reducing the need for exploitive child labor.” It is understood that the grant would provide an additional year for the project in a revised form. The evaluator did not investigate this further with AIR personnel in Tete as she was advised by the Corporate Monitor that the information regarding the proposal resides mainly with her. Moreover, the evaluator did not feel that the proposal formed part of her Terms of Reference (See Annex 5). However, Recommendations 7 through 9 below refer to the use of the JFFLS to train adults.

3.3.3 Reporting

There is an obvious need for further USDOL technical assistance in understanding federal reporting requirements such as the GPRA.¹² The evaluator spent hours with project personnel in regard to the September 2007 Technical Progress Report, trying to sort out the confusion in numbers reported.¹³ As far as feedback on Reports is concerned, they expressed satisfaction with the detailed scrutiny given by USDOL staff to their reports.

The first thing that has to be said about the September 2007 Technical Progress Report is that it had three authors, including the Corporate Monitor. The second thing to be said is that a significant number of reporting mistakes were made, which after working with the project personnel seem now to have been corrected. The corrections are as follows:

In the *Performance Information and Assessment* sheet: Under 1.a., the number of children withdrawn or prevented and enrolled in JFFLS schools, the numbers reported under Period 3 should be zero, pending the analysis of data. Under 1.b., the numbers of not yet fully withdrawn under Period 4 should be 75 girls and 108 boys, and these same numbers should be reflected in the Total column. Under 1.c., the number of children under Period 2 should be zero. Under 1.d., the number of children under Period 2 should read 664 girls and 817 boys, and in Period 4, 97 girls and 104 boys. The totals are correct. Under 1.g., the number of street children not fully withdrawn or prevented may change, as may all of the above figures once the data has been analyzed.

Project personnel suggest taking out 2.a. “Percent of JFFLS enrollees who continue for subsequent years or levels,” since the course is only for one year. Under 3.a., the percentage of

¹² According to one of the project personnel, the agency has not made any supervisory visits, which, in his opinion, could help correct implementation errors so that they do not continue to affect the project negatively. USDOL conducted a visit to Mozambique in February 2006 to provide startup technical assistance, including logframe and PMP development.

¹³ The AIR Corporate Monitor explained “that inconsistencies in the numbers surfaced during the preparation of the September 2007 TPR. When it became apparent that the inconsistencies would not be resolved prior to submission, all of the children were moved to the ‘not yet fully withdrawn or prevented’ categories (categories not previously utilized by the project). It should also be noted that the project also footnoted that ‘RECLAIM has the necessary monitoring forms to track the enrollment and working status of project beneficiaries. This year, RECLAIM began to monitor on a quarterly basis and is just finalizing the necessary analysis to determine complete withdrawal/prevention according to USDOL definitions. The analysis will be completed and reported in the next TPR.’”

JFFLS students who completed the program is 75 percent because of the enforced dropouts due to the dissolution of *Projecto Mosaico*. Not counting these children, the percentage is 91 percent.

Under the narrative assessment, project personnel suggest taking out footnote 1.c. as the totals are still to be ascertained. It cannot at this point be said that RECLAIM is on target with this indicator.

Under Output 2, number 3, the figure is correct as no workshops had taken place by August 31. However, by December two workshops for formal school teachers have taken place. One took place while the evaluator was in the field.

In regard to the *Aggregate Performance Report on USDOL ICLP EI Common Indicators*, after much discussion and puzzlement, it was decided that most of the numbers on this form in the September 2007 Technical Progress Report are inconsistent with the numbers on the *Performance Information and Assessment* form since the data was still being analyzed. The new ACCESS database will link each child with these categories, and the Aggregate Performance Report in the March 2008 Technical Progress Report will truly reflect the reality of the situation. The project personnel noted that the new category of “partially withdrawn” was not included on this form and suggest that it should be. Under Project Cohort 2 for the period ending August 31, 2007, the totals are 310 males and 224 females, making a total of 554. (Correspondingly, the numbers under withdrawn and prevented need changing but cannot be changed until the data is analyzed).

3.4 RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARTNERS AND RELEVANT MINISTRIES

It is hoped that the comments in this section help RECLAIM identify areas of good performance and areas where project implementation can be improved, thus responding to the first evaluation objective.

3.4.1 Relationship with the Mozambican Red Cross

After five days in the districts of Tete, interviewing a range of ground-level project personnel and observing, as far as it was possible, good working relationships between the personnel and with the communities, the evaluator was not prepared for the interviews with the Mozambican Red Cross (MRC) provincial and national-level officers held on December 12, 2007.

Both the provincial secretary and the national manager of the Red Cross component spoke with one voice. A major issue for them is that the RECLAIM Project is inflexibly controlled from AIR headquarters and that they have not been treated as a full “partner” in the project. They felt that their authority over their own personnel has been undermined—field officers and volunteers are managed and supervised by AIR project staff. They also felt that they have no control over the monies disbursed to them and this has resulted in some line-items being under-budgeted; as, for example, school uniforms. This year, the Red Cross has been told to reimburse excess funds before the end of the fiscal year. There is no doubt that their national pride has been damaged but, more seriously, there is the feeling that within districts the credibility of the Mozambican Red Cross to manage its own staff has been undermined. There is also no doubt

that the CVM provincial technician had begun to undermine MRC's credibility within the districts before AIR project personnel began to take over some of his responsibilities.

The national manager also called attention to the way the midterm evaluation had been programmed. Why, she asked, had there been no meeting with the national director or manager in Maputo before the evaluator went to the field? The original itinerary proposed by the evaluator had included a day in Maputo before she went to Tete, but AIR informed Macro International that the project only operated at the provincial level so that time in Maputo was not necessary. (It was then agreed with USDOL that every attempt would be made to meet its representative, who turned out to be the Political Officer of the Embassy in Tete itself.)

The agreement between AIR and CVM, which is technically a subcontract, enumerates a list of activities under the responsibility of CVM, and it states that CVM activities, including its reporting and disbursement activities, are under AIR supervision. However, it also clearly states that the activities are "led by CVM" so there is room for misunderstanding. The subcontract lacks a clear-cut division of labor between AIR personnel and CVM personnel, between AIR-led activities and CVM activities and, in particular, the relationship that AIR personnel will have at the local levels with the CVM volunteers and Field Supervisors. In the opinion of the evaluator, the contract was not well drafted and is a major culprit in the misunderstandings regarding roles and responsibilities.

In regard to *project implementation*, there have been serious issues with the Red Cross Officer at the provincial level who was in charge of distributing school materials to the children receiving project assistance, and likewise, the management of materials designated for improving school infrastructure. *The activity of improving school infrastructure has had to be suspended.* The distribution of school materials was taken over by the field officers¹⁴ and AIR project staff. The Red Cross provincial and national officers informed the evaluator that the officer in question is no longer in charge of the project and will be transferred to other duties. This should open the way towards better relationships with the organization. One important suggestion made by an AIR project staff member is to undertake a re-planning of project activities in a joint session with provincial and district CVM personnel.¹⁵

From direct observation as well as pointed questions to both field officers and volunteers from three communities, the evaluator was able to record very positive working relationships between them and the AIR project personnel. However, the evaluator heard from several volunteers in two different communities that they had not received the incentives that the Red Cross was responsible for giving them. One volunteer even asked that AIR personnel distribute the incentives. Apparently, there had been only one out of the four quarterly distributions made in 2007. I took this issue to the Provincial Secretary, who said that he had just signed a check for a

¹⁴ I was informed that the appointment of the field officers was at the instigation of AIR, since the provincial Red Cross Officer was not performing his role properly. I did not ask about this as the Red Cross indicated that he was being removed. Both the M&E specialist and a group of volunteers mentioned the need for one field officer per district; that is, the need to increase their number from two to four.

¹⁵ This suggestion was made in a written evaluation of the Project by the staff member; it was not discussed with either AIR or MRC as it was submitted after the evaluator left the country.

distribution to take place. He, however, felt that this was another area in which the Agreement was faulty and noted that, in all of the international contracts made by the Red Cross with other partners, it was customary for the international partner to finance the incentive packages. *The matter of the incentives requires urgent and immediate attention and should be included in the re-planning session suggested above.*

3.4.2 Relationships with Relevant Ministries

On the first and last days of interviews in Tete, the evaluator met with officials from three provincial directorates of ministries whose policies and programs are compatible with the RECLAIM Project. The directorates are that of Education and Culture (both the District and the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture; DDEC and DPEC, respectively), as well as Women and Social Action, and Labor. Apparently, the project has very cordial personal relationships with officers within these directorates.¹⁶ The absence of a Project Director for a considerable length of time, however, meant that these relationships had not been maintained nor consolidated in a manner that will guarantee the continuation of project activities in the future.

One of the more promising possibilities for influencing the educational curriculum and incorporating the JFFLS schools is with the Ministry of Education and Culture because of its re-launch of production activities within the school curriculum. The section responsible for this is that of *Produção Escolar* (School Production) and the officer in charge of it is eager to collaborate with the RECLAIM Project. He has made the point, however, that it will be necessary for him to accompany the activities of the project. *This should become a priority for the Project.*

The collaboration with the Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action (DPMAS) is already well established with the taking over of the street children component in Tete city by directorate staff (please see below) and the provision of assistance to the Youth Parliament so that it can carry out its mission. The Provincial Director was very positive in her comments about the project. The Ministry's programs involving Orphans and Vulnerable Children and its responsibility for the Plan of Action (2005–2010) make them a natural partner for the project. However, it is hard to see that this would be the appropriate ministry either to fund assistance for school materials or manage the JFFLS schools. Since there is an Institute, under its mandate, that provides income subsidies to very poor and vulnerable people, it might be the proper institution with which to talk if a complementary approach of targeted subsidies to the parents or guardians of AIDS orphans and other exploited children were contemplated.

The Provincial Directorate provided sites for two production fields in order to allow the *Projecto Mosaico* JFFLS schools to continue. The original children of this JFFLS had been dispersed and sent to various orphanages in the Province. The new JFFLS encompasses some of the children who came back to Tete and a number of new ones, approximately 40 in all. The agricultural production on the first site, opened last year, was good and the children are waiting for the rains

¹⁶ The project also maintains contacts with the Tete City Council, Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development, and the Provincial Directorate of Tourism and the local Human Rights League, most of which sent representatives to the evaluation workshop. (See Annex 4.)

to come to open the second site. With the help of the project, some of the children are also in formal education. From what the evaluator could observe and verify with the children, the school is going well. The facilitators are well respected and are seen as mothers by the children.

When asked their opinion of the JFFLS, the children were very positive. When asked why they liked the school, they said that they were happy to grow food as this meant they had something to eat. They also were grateful for the school lunches which meant a hot meal three times a week. They liked learning about agriculture, liked getting soap, and receiving help with school materials. What they really need is shelter. They would also appreciate a blanket and some more clothes as they only have what is on their backs. They would also love a baseball cap and tee shirt that identified them with the project. They respect the JFFLS facilitators. They all want to get a formal education. Two of the children wrote poems for the occasion which are found in Annex 9.

The Provincial Directorate of Labor (DPT) is collecting statistical data on working children. This is a country-wide program at the level of the Provinces and encompasses children between the ages of 7–14 who work as domestic workers, in agriculture, and in commerce. The data is collected on a trimestral basis in specified areas from 150 children at a time, and is analyzed and sent to the national Ministry which wants a general picture of child labor in the Provinces. The newly revised Labor Law includes an article on exploitive child labor. The directorate officers were very positive about the project's activities and also see themselves as natural partners. They, too, feel that the Directorate can contribute to the continuity of some of the project's activities, particularly in the area of awareness-raising and possibly professional training, but this requires dialogue and negotiation.

All of the officers of the three Directorates unanimously felt that the project should be extended.

3.4.3 Relationships with the National Government

At the moment, project relationships with the national level of government are nonexistent. The Project Director is well aware of the need to remedy this situation. He spoke about the obvious difficulty of establishing national relationships from the provincial level and felt that this would have been facilitated if there had been a resident representative of the project in Maputo. Project personnel have attended all FAO meetings in regard to their JFFLS programs, have also attended ILO meetings, and have good contact with the present ILO representative. They have also attended the RECLISA regional seminars but have no future plans in that regard.

The Director is hoping that the U.S. Embassy will help the project make contacts at the national level, and the attendance of their representative at the Round Table/Stakeholder presentation and discussions could help this happen. He also wants to make use of the Youth Parliament to lobby Parliament on behalf of the RECLAIM project, and is planning to finance two of its members to do so. He spoke of connecting with the *Liga do Direitos Humanos* (Human Rights League), which he feels is a dynamic organization and hopes—through increased contacts with the Provincial Directorates mentioned above—to open up not only indirect but direct contacts with their counterparts at the national level. The final initiative the Project Director spoke on was the dissemination of the results of the studies on street children, child domestic workers, and child

sex workers. A Round Table will be organized and further dissemination will take place in order to try to influence national policy.

3.5 SUSTAINABILITY

The evaluator found the question of sustainability to be another area which the project personnel had not given sufficient attention. This can be attributed to the lack of leadership for such a long period in its short-life span, the need to catch-up on most project activities and rethink strategies, as well as the prospect of an extra year of project life due to the ECLT foundation grant. Whatever the case, there is a need to start putting in place a strategy for turning over project activities to the government, local NGOs, and communities, preferably all three.

The sustainability matrix presented in various documents by RECLAIM personnel, the latest version of which is in the September 2007 Technical Progress Report, does not go far enough in addressing the issues of which entities might take over various activities and how this might happen. From the field observations, the following are some of the sustainability problems that the evaluator envisages:¹⁷

1. Although the problematic relationship between AIR personnel and CVM provincial and national officers (noted above) is in the process of being resolved, until a new CVM Provincial Technical Officer is in place and takes over these responsibilities, there will continue to be problems of sustainability. These include the continuing demoralization of community volunteers over the lack of distribution of their incentives and the continuing poor conditions of schools due to the suspension of school rehabilitation.
2. The awareness-raising component has a long way to go before communities are ready to take on responsibilities toward children who are exploited for their labor. *There is no doubt in the evaluator's mind that they are ready to contribute towards making it possible for children to go to school.* The Community Action Plans demonstrate this. Whether this contribution would include fund-raising activities for assistance for school materials is a question still to be investigated.
3. There will need to be more practice and training of the Drama Troup to become even more effective and to go deeper into the issues of exploitive child labor.
4. Red Cross volunteers also need further training regarding the question of exploitive child labor. At this stage, they are ready to identify orphans and poor children, but whether they realize that they also need to be working in order to be eligible for project assistance is another matter. They also need some gender awareness training in order to understand

¹⁷ The Project Director made an important point regarding the sustainability of the JFFLS component: After the end of the project, he does not think it possible to continue to compensate the facilitators or provide school lunches or purchase production equipment. These are important points but, if school teachers are trained in the JFFLS methodologies and this component becomes part of the curriculum, then special facilitators and school lunches will no longer be necessary. The question of equipment was discussed with the appropriate DPEC Officer, who thought that funding might be possible through the special donor fund.

the circumstances of very young girls and the roles that they play in the households in which they live, and understand why preference should be given to them.

5. Red Cross volunteers need to be supported in some way to compensate for all the work that they do for the project.
6. Relationships with the Provincial Directorates are still not consolidated in a way that leads towards their taking over parts of the project.
7. District governments need to be incorporated into stakeholder meetings so that they can be aware of the contribution they might make towards continuing the project.
8. International NGOs such as Redd Barna and Save the Children, and local NGOs need to be contacted and partnered with.

The Recommendations section will address most of these and other issues.

IV LESSONS LEARNED AND BEST PRACTICES

4.1 LESSONS LEARNED

1. In order to enter a viable partnership, a clear-cut division of labor is necessary between partners, and all terms of the agreement need to be clearly spelled out, including the relationship between partners.
2. When an individual creates obstacles to the good functioning of the project, ways must be found to overcome this obstacle. The appointment of two district Mozambican Red Cross Field Officers was a good partial solution to the lack of attention (or incorrect attention) by the provincial level officer involved. Two more directors may be necessary.¹⁸
3. In certain country-specific situations, a strategy that aims at providing educational opportunities for exploited children must also be accompanied by a strategy for dealing with the root causes of the exploitation. If lack of resources, including human resources, is causing the demand for exploitive child labor within a household, then some opportunity needs to be provided for the parents or guardians to attain further resources.
4. It is not possible to correctly identify children in situations of exploitive labor without a thorough investigation, which includes each community investigating itself. (A recommendation regarding this direction will be found in the Recommendations section.)
5. The identification of beneficiaries before research, studies, and other measures have taken place can start a project off on the wrong foot. This lesson has apparently been learned and project personnel have made attempts made to correct it.
6. It is not possible to attribute responsibilities to field staff who are already over-burdened with duties. The case in point is that of the rural extension agents who were originally appointed as facilitators in the JFFLS schools. It was subsequently found that using school teachers, who already had agricultural training, worked much better.
7. This same lesson also applies to over-burdening project personnel.
8. It is not advisable to entrust the selection of project beneficiaries to one or two people in each community as this opens the door to favoritism. The project has tried to eliminate this possibility by opening the final selection of candidates to a community meeting.

¹⁸ In order to carry out the MRC responsibilities under the project neglected by the provincial technician, two district-based field directors were appointed and placed under AIR supervision. Along with the M&E Specialist, they have distributed school materials to beneficiary children. Moreover, they have taken over supervising the community volunteers and following-up on Community Action Plans. The reason why two more might be necessary is that there are four districts but only two directors, each based in one district. Their duties in the districts in which they are resident often take up most of their time, leaving little time to devote to the problems of their other district.

9. People with a low level of education may have difficulties with reading, writing, and reporting. The project has tried to reduce this difficulty by encouraging the Red Cross volunteers to work in teams.

4.2 BEST PRACTICES

In the Mozambican context, the RECLAIM Project has given rise to two interesting innovations that merit further investigation and a fuller appreciation:

The Theater Group

The first is the use of the Drama Troup to engage communities in exploring important issues within the community. The evaluator heard only praise from officials, especially, for this form of awareness-raising. The evaluator's only criticism has to do with the way this seems to have been conceived and implemented. The Troup goes from house to house asking families their problems, particularly in regard to questions of child labor and education. They then write their dramatized scenario based on the identified problems. While, the "drama" itself is very engaging, the spirit in which this proceeds is one of delivering a "message" and mobilizing people to change their ways. This recalls the early FRELIMO period of command government and messages delivered to large public meetings. The evaluator heard about "messages" from a school director, from various officials, and project personnel, and began also to use the phrase. Much more needs to be done to encourage a more participatory, interactive approach; especially in regard to the way the theater piece unfolds, using the audience as well as the actors to develop the play.

In regard to the new phase of radio broadcasts in 2008, one assumes that this didactic approach will be repeated.

The JFFLS Schools

Because of the extensive work of the Education Specialist in developing appropriate materials, this one-year course incorporates a participatory methodology in many, if not most, of its lessons. The idea is that the student is not told what to think but is allowed to discover for themselves. Moreover, the student is encouraged to experiment, engage in teamwork, express himself/herself, report his/her findings, and so on. The other important aspect of these schools is that they address the reality of rural children who are expected to be in the fields at an early age and to contribute to the livelihood of the household. The evaluator's main recommendations have more to do with extending the coursework and extending the opportunities for participation than with the methodology.

The Education Specialist has included JFFLS facilitators in the training workshops for formal school teachers. Since they, too, are formal school teachers, they understand the conditions under which they have to operate and can more easily transmit the benefits of the participatory approach over a didactic approach to their colleagues. This use of the most dynamic facilitators as trainers can contribute to the sustainability of this component of the project, and also to the improvement of educational quality.

V CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the Reclaim Project works well as an education project. It provides substantial opportunities to vulnerable children, especially in rural areas, to gain access to formal and nonformal education. The children are eager for these opportunities and the parents interviewed in the process of the evaluation welcome the project. There are no critical comments made about this component from anyone at every level of society. All would like to see the project continue. All want to see it extended to other districts and other areas within the four districts.

As of yet, the project does not work well as an anti-exploitive child labor project. It delivers messages about the problem but there seems to be a tendency to aim at the easiest to identify groups of children rather than investigating deeper into the matter. The baseline study only superficially touches the problem; it does not explore the question of the length of time that children are required to work. The action-research may also be superficial. The evaluator was not able in the short time available to accompany the Drama Troup in this activity. The awareness-raising strategy seems more geared to delivering messages than engaging the community to examine what in its context is a “normal” versus “heavy” load for a child. The Community Action Plans have more to do with material support for the schools and school infrastructure than with social activities to improve the conditions of those households most likely to send their children to *ganho-ganho*, and so on.

The corporate management of the project, from what the evaluator could understand from field evidence, has a tendency to work in a top-down fashion, not allowing enough time for consultation and negotiation or re-negotiation. At the time of the evaluation, the most evident instance of this was the state of relations with the Mozambican Red Cross. The same approach was *not* witnessed at the level of the AIR project personnel in Tete. In particular, the teams of the M&E Specialist and the Education Specialist worked exceptionally well with their colleagues in the field. The evaluator was struck by the fact that she had to find out from the Education Specialist, herself, that she was leaving the project imminently. In December, the evaluator was not briefed by project personnel about replacing her or how her responsibilities would be carried out. She has since been informed that a local consultant was hired in January 2008 to fill this gap.

The Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist and the Education Specialist have demonstrated great capacity to carry on their work without the leadership of a Project Director, and have assumed responsibilities in addition to their own. Moreover, they have been able to learn from the experience of the project, and have evolved and developed strategies to improve the components for which they are responsible.

Despite their flexibility, however, the delays in start-up, the hurried identification of most of the beneficiaries of assistance for school materials, the sudden departure of the original Project Director and the length of time without one—all of these factors have caused not only delays in beginning the most crucial activities of awareness-raising and research, but also of cultivating the Mozambican partner and potential partners.

The strategy of opening access to educational opportunities, at least in the Tete context, is not sufficient to attack the problem of exploitive child labor. In many cases, if not the majority, the root cause is the parents' or substitute parents' lack of sufficient resources to provide for the well-being of household members. In the case of AIDS orphans, the substitute parents may be elderly: grandmothers or elder aunts and uncles. The older generation is often vulnerable itself. In the case of female heads of households, the lack of support from husbands or numerous very young children forces them to rely on their somewhat older children to make up for labor demand. In the case of a bad agricultural year, all members of land-poor households end up in the fields of land-rich households (*ganho-ganho*).

There are a variety of reasons for poverty. Fortunately, there is no lack of consciousness about these situations. The question is what to do about opening opportunities for overcoming them. The proposal to the ECLT foundation aims at stimulating income-generating activities, particularly for the female heads of households, which in the evaluator's opinion is a step in the right direction and will hopefully prove to be so in implementation as well.

VI RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The RECLAIM Project needs to be extended. It needs to have time to correct some of its errors; mend fences with its main partner; cultivate its potential partners in a truly collaborative manner in order to guarantee sustainability; open dialogue with other potential supporters; more thoroughly train volunteers, facilitators, and the Drama Troup; develop its new proposal; consolidate the JFFLS; open contacts with the national government, and so on. Any development project needs at least five years to make an impression in Mozambique. Scandinavian development agencies have a very long-term vision, perhaps too long term, but time is a necessary component for new ideas and outsiders to not only be accepted but trusted. Moreover, they will never be trusted if they do not build the confidence and self-esteem of the people they work with.
2. More USDOL training and consultation on government reporting requirements is necessary. Possibly, a supervisory visit is required.
3. The project needs to encourage a closer collaboration with the appropriate officials and directors of the Provincial Directorates of Education, Labor, and Women and Social Action. This includes involving them in supervisory field visits; mining their experience and advice on aspects of the project; getting to know their current activities, programs, projects, and policies; in order to get a better idea of the “fit” of the project. At the same time, it is necessary to see if it would be possible to use them as conduits to the national level of government.
4. Consultation and direct communication with the national level of government would open the possibilities of collaboration on complementary strategies to education, such as targeted subsidies to families of children who are at risk of exploitive child labor (see Recommendation 17, suggesting a dialogue with the National Institute of Social Action). It is also necessary to open direct communication with the national level of government if the RECLAIM project wants to avoid situations such as that reported by the officer in charge of *Produção Escolar* of the Provincial Directorate of Education. When he spoke of the project to his counterpart in Maputo, he got an irritated response to the effect of “What project is this?” The project’s lack of contact with the Ministry put this officer in an embarrassing position.
5. The project needs to take a *consultative* approach in *all* of its activities in the next phase. It must clarify roles within the project team, with the CVM, and possibly renegotiate the subcontract. It must consult its “beneficiaries” and proposed beneficiaries (see Recommendations 6–9) regarding their particular needs for further skills training before completing the design of any further educational programs.
6. Consultation by the evaluator with JFFLS students and their parents revealed a virtually unanimous desire that animal husbandry be included in the curriculum. This is especially necessary since some areas are better suited for raising animals than crops, but also because mixed farming is generally practiced in Mozambique. It was learned from the Educational Specialist that animal husbandry was part of the FAO JFFLS curriculum.

7. In future JFFLS selection processes, a requisite for selection should be that the child must be physically present at the community selection meeting in order to be considered.
8. In those communities where JFFLS students do not have access to entering the formal school system after JFFLS education—which appears to be the desire of all JFFLS students—a follow-up course is recommended. Possibly, in the case of the more mature students, they could participate in the soon-to-be developed Women’s FFLS. Otherwise, a number of suggestions for professional training were offered by them and their parents. The most desired follow-up training is in Animal Traction. Other suggestions included Carpentry and Tailoring.
9. Two school directors spoke about the need to re-think the age-level of JFFLS students. They felt that the age-group of 16–18 was more appropriate because these students would be able to put into practice what they had learned immediately. The evaluator would recommend running a parallel JFFLS for the older students based on the original syllabi of the Manica JFFLS; which, if understood correctly, was designed for a more highly educated student. This may be the intention of the Women’s FFLS; in which case, the need for a third parallel course would not be necessary.
10. It is recommended that not only parents, guardians, and older students, but also school teachers (particularly those involved in the school Production Fields), Red Cross volunteers, and JFFLS graduates be encouraged to enroll in the parallel course. School teachers would, in this way, receive further training in participatory methodologies and also in production techniques to pass on to the students in the school fields. Volunteers would be receiving training that might help them improve their livelihoods and older students and graduates could receive professional training that might give them a good start in life.
11. A dialogue needs to be developed with the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture regarding how the JFFLS could serve as a model for the school production fields and thereby influence the curriculum (making it more relevant to local conditions) and improve the quality of teachers. The evaluator approached the officer in charge of *Produção Escolar* and found out that, at present, there are over 900 primary schools covering 13 districts in Tete. The officer felt that one way of integrating the JFFLS might be to group the 13 districts into zones and implant a pilot JFFLS project in each zone to test its adaptability to the school’s objectives, after which the numbers could be extended. The present facilitators could train school professors but the children would still have to bring their own production tools as there is no funding for this purpose, nor would it be practicable. The access to water for irrigational purposes is a problem. In the dry season, this might be resolved by placing the fields near sites which the communities know to have water near the surface, so that improved traditional wells could serve this purpose. The Ministry of Education and Culture has a fund supplied by donors called *Apoio Directo as Escolas*, but as yet the fund does not include an item to cover the school production fields. This could be re-negotiated with the donors. The point of repeating this conversation is to show that ideas do exist about the future of the JFFLS, but a more profound dialogue needs to take place, including at the national level of government.

12. Red Cross volunteers need more training on exploitive child labor and the situation of young girls in their communities. The question of their incentive package needs urgent addressing.
13. Preference should be given to girls both in assistance with school materials and enrollment in the JFFLS. There has been an obvious effort to balance the numbers between girls and boys, but the recommendation is to overbalance the numbers in favor of the girl.
14. A school director recommended that the Drama Troup train local (district) drama troupes that could be used to raise many different kinds of issues with communities. Prior to this, the evaluator recommended that the Drama Troup receive extra training in participatory methodologies and management.
15. If the objective of reducing exploitive child labor is ever to be reached, and if this goal is also to be sustained, more dialogue not just with but *within* communities is necessary:
 - a. One recommendation that might serve to promote this was suggested by the Director of the Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action. She suggested the use of *radios comunitários*, which promote neighborhood discussions of radio broadcasts. This might fit in well with the new phase of awareness-raising that includes radio programs. The idea would be that in each neighborhood, one person would be designated to invite their neighbors to listen together to the broadcast and engage in discussion thereafter.
 - b. This might lead to a definition of what constitutes exploitive child labor in that community. The issue could then be discussed at the community meetings regarding the Community Action Plan. If a consensus is possible, then this might lead to plans that address the problem directly within that community.
 - c. The project components of school materials assistance and nonformal education might also be presented as part of a Community Plan to assist particularly vulnerable children; other ideas include maintaining a community plot whose proceeds go to help both the children and their parents.

In this way, all of the components of the RECLAIM project are finally interlinked and might even be seen as the Community's project, thus promoting community ownership and a step towards sustainability.

16. A dialogue needs to be opened with both local and international NGOs that have the well-being of children as their objective, such as Redd Barna and Save the Children, in order to explore their ideas and willingness to support one or more project activities at the end of the project.

17. The Workshop Group dealing with the question of how to reach the national level of government came up with the following interesting ideas:
 - a. Invite the press and media to follow some of the RECLAIM field activities; the TV program *Ver Moçambique* was mentioned.
 - b. Finance regional seminars to which government, local, and international NGOs are invited.
18. In regard to IEC materials, the Workshop Group dealing with complementary strategies to education came up with the idea that anti-exploitive child labor posters should be created and posted, particularly near worksites where child labor takes place.
19. This group also suggested placing street children and orphans with substitute families and encouraging INAS to give income subsidies to those families that do not have means to support the children.
20. The same group suggested the creation of income-generating activities for the parents and guardians of children.