

The Political Framework for Technical Cooperation between the Open University of Brazil and Public Universities of Mozambique¹

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Abstract: The research analyzes, in its political framework, the “Program to Support the Expansion of Distance Higher Education in the Republic of Mozambique”, which involved the Open University of Brazil and public universities in Mozambique. The study carried out via historical materialism showed the dissonance between the politically elaborated discourse on South-South Cooperation and the practices implemented in the Program by the Brazilian institutions involved.

Keywords: International South-South Cooperation; Open University of Brazil. Historical materialism.

O Marco Político na Cooperação Técnica da Universidade Aberta do Brasil com universidades públicas de Moçambique

Resumo: A pesquisa analisa, em seu marco político, o “Programa de Apoio à Expansão da Educação Superior a Distância na República de Moçambique”, que envolvia a Universidade Aberta do Brasil e universidades públicas de Moçambique. O estudo realizado via materialismo histórico evidenciou a dissonância entre o discurso elaborado politicamente sobre a Cooperação Sul-Sul e as práticas implementadas no Programa pelas instituições brasileiras implicadas.

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Palavras-chave: Cooperação Internacional Sul-Sul; Universidade Aberta do Brasil; Materialismo histórico.

El Marco Político en la Cooperación Técnica de la UAB con las universidades públicas de Mozambique

Resumen: La investigación analiza, en su marco político, el “Programa de Apoyo a la Expansión de la Educación Superior a Distancia en la República de Mozambique”, que involucró a la Universidad Abierta de Brasil y universidades públicas de Mozambique. El estudio realizado a través del materialismo histórico mostró la disonancia entre el discurso políticamente elaborado sobre la Cooperación Sur-Sur y las prácticas implementadas en el Programa por las instituciones brasileñas involucradas.

Palabras clave: Cooperación Internacional Sur-Sur; Universidad Abierta de Brasil; Materialismo histórico.

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1 PROLEGOMIES

When we created the Open University in Maputo, what was the idea? We're going to create an Open University in Maputo; if it works, we'll create it in São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, Angola [...] it was a movement. Mozambique's [Open University] works (former President Lula in an interview with Rossi, 2015, p. 334, our translation).

In the first half of 2010, based on a "wish" of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the Distance Education Secretariat (Seed) of the Ministry of Education was mobilized to design a project to offer distance education courses in Mozambique, as part of the Brazilian Open University System (UAB), in technical cooperation with the government of this country, which had shown interest in training education professionals and civil servants to improve the quality of public education and public service. Approximately 50% of secondary school teachers (more than 20,000) had no higher education or training in the area where they taught (REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE - MINED, 2010), and higher education institutions were concentrated in Maputo and some of the capitals of the ten provinces, making access difficult for those working in the more inland districts.

There was a political will on the part of the Brazilian government to establish stronger ties with Portuguese-speaking² African countries, offering different types of services and financial support, especially in the education field³. In March 2010, President Lula asked the Minister of Education to extend the UAB to Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa (a kind of UAB Africa), starting with Mozambique, where Brazil has a significant presence with projects on health, agriculture, and mineral exploration⁴.

In October of the same year, with the promulgation of Normative Ordinance 22 of October 26, 2010, the Ministry of Education (MEC) instituted the "Program to Support the Expansion of Distance Higher Education in the People's Republic⁵ of Mozambique". The aim was to provide distance

² On July 17, 1996, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) was created, consisting of eight countries (East Timor/Asia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, Portugal, and Brazil). It represented 250 million people, a consumer market, and an estimated 16 million "speakers" of Portuguese in Africa. On July 20, 2010, the President of the Republic approved Law No. 12.289 which established the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (Unilab - Normative Ordinance No. 22 - October 26, 2010) as a Federal Public University.

³ In the education field, the Brazilian government was offering distance learning high school courses and the Program for Training Teachers in Practice (ProFormação, created in 1999) in São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor (2005) and Guinea-Bissau (2007).

⁴ State projects: Vale Moçambique (coal mining in the Tete region); ProAlimento (in partnership with Japan, for family farming); ProSavana (development of agriculture - agribusiness - in the central region of the country); the antiretroviral drug factory; the creation of the Human Milk Bank Network; School Feeding, etc.

⁵ A demonstration of the lack of knowledge about the history of Mozambique, since the official name of "People's Republic" lasted from June 25, 1975 until December 1, 1990, when it was renamed "Republic of Mozambique".

learning qualifications for public managers and teachers of secondary and basic education in Mozambique's public system.

President Lula wanted to implement the program before he left office at the end of 2010. The deadlines were tight. Four public universities in Brazil and two in Mozambique were hastily enlisted in the arduous task. The focus was on designing the cooperation project, the pedagogical proposals for the courses, and the Distance Education (EaD) system to be adopted. The program was implemented in November 2010 and suspended in the second half of 2014. What led the Brazilian government to abruptly "abandon" the program? How was the cessation of technical cooperation in distance education perceived by Mozambican stakeholders at different levels of government because they were not consulted as "cooperation partners"?

In an effort to understand and analyze the political aspects involved in the implementation phases of this international cooperation program in the field of Distance Higher Education, we studied the abundant written and oral material produced by the program's stakeholders between 2010 and 2017.

We, therefore, opted for qualitative research with a "narrative approach" ("narrative studies"), which, by dialectically dialoguing the scientific perspective (of the narrators) with the ethical perspective (of the researcher) as interdependent and complementary components, allows the researcher to give voice to the narrators, to the voices "captured" by the written documents of the program and those subsequently recorded in the narrative interviews about the program.

Thus, we did not conduct the study as a "case" but as a phenomenon immersed in a diverse socio-cultural context, with subjects living in different countries, nourished by different cultures and institutional practices, by particular life and professional experiences, specific and involving governments and institutions of two countries, within the framework of foreign and domestic policies.

In a way, this study will serve as a reference for understanding the program itself and for subsequent International Technical Cooperation programs in the field of education. It will be able to show the way forward and/or as one of the program managers put it: "It leaves lessons on what to do but above all on what not to do in International Cooperation".

2 THE PROGRAM'S PROGRESS (2010-2014)

Implemented under the Technical Cooperation system, two Mozambican universities (Universidade Pedagógica/UP and Eduardo Mondlane University/UEM) and four Brazilian public



universities (Federal University of Goiás/UFG, Fluminense Federal University/UFF, Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro/Unirio, Federal University of Juiz de Fora/UFJF) participated in this program. The courses to be offered jointly under the UAB system were Public Administration (UEM and UFJF), Biology (UP and UFG), Basic Education (UP and Unirio), and Mathematics (UP and UFF).

In the initial phase of the Program, in the first semester of 2011, 90 vacancies should be opened for the Public Administration course and 180 vacancies for each of the three courses. Three local support centers have been established in the cities of Maputo (in the south), Beira (in the central region), and Lichinga (in the north) to serve the students.

In addition to the printed and/or digitized teaching materials and the assistance provided by "presential tutors" (Mozambicans) at the Pole, students would have access to the Virtual Learning Environment (AVA), the teaching platform of the course, to be assisted by teachers (Mozambicans and Brazilians) and "distance tutors" (in Brazil and Mozambique).

By the end of 2014, the program planned to have 10 hubs (one in each region of the country) with more than 7,000 students enrolled (5,500 secondary and primary school teachers and 1,500 civil servants). The pedagogical project for each course was developed during two workshops in 2010: the first in Mozambique and the second in Brazil. The program introduced something new: Mozambican students would receive a double degree.



Figure 1 - Location of the Beira, Lichinga and Maputo Hubs

The students were enrolled at the Mozambican university and at the same time at the federal partner university for the course offered. Within three months, the technical project was drawn up, the distance learning system was designed, and the pedagogical projects for each course were drawn up in such a way as to meet the specific needs of Mozambique and at the same time to comply with



the legal requirements of the higher education institutions involved.

The teams' work was then intense: coming and going, pedagogical and technical meetings in Brazil and Mozambique, meetings with the Department of Distance Education, the Ministry of Education, and the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, which were responsible for managing part of the program's funding.

When the Program's designers encountered legal and/or technical problems, they believed that the strength of the political decision and the words of the authorities involved would be enough to resolve them as soon as possible. They relied on political continuity, with the presidential succession in January 2011 as an important element of "stability" and "governance" of the program. However, it was urgent to start the Program before the end of the Lula administration.

The Brazilian and Mozambican coordinators of the courses to be started worked hard to develop and approve the pedagogical projects for each course within the collegial bodies and councils of their respective institutions. The pedagogical projects had to be approved by the Brazilian and Mozambican universities since the students would be enrolled in both institutions. Even without the final approval of the four projects, the courses began with the Inaugural Lecture.

Thus, on November 9, 2010, at the Provincial Center for Distance Education (CPED - Maputo Hub), then President Lula gave the Inaugural Lecture, in the presence of Mozambican and Brazilian authorities, the teams of coordinators, teachers, and tutors of the courses (BRASIL, 2010). The students from Maputo were present, while those from the Beira and Lichinga centers followed via videoconference⁶. The academic year began on February 28, 2011, with 694 students enrolled in the four courses.

Since the second half of 2011, the program has had a Resident Coordinator⁷ who organizes a work routine, conducts distance education training sessions (for teachers, tutors, and students), and acts as a spokesperson to UAB/Capes for any problems or constraints arising from the implementation of a complex and unprecedented program.

The two Mozambican institutions had experience in offering distance learning courses, but

⁶ On this occasion, the Technical Cooperation Project between the Brazilian and Mozambican Governments was signed by representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, the Director of the Institute for Distance Education (Ined - Mozambique), the President of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes) - the coordinating body of the UAB project in Mozambique - and the Rectors of the six participating universities.

⁷ Retired University Professor at the Federal University of Mato Grosso (UFMT) and selected by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP - Contract No. BRA10-14762 in the Program - Project BRA/04/044) to work in Mozambique as Executive Coordinator in the Program - July 2011 to July 2012. The contract has been extended twice until July 2014.

what the program proposed was to go further. It proposed to build pathways in partnership, to experience new distance learning experiences such as the use of Moodle Virtual Learning Environment as an important tool in the process of distance learning, the development of subjects (teaching) and teaching materials in collaboration, the presence of tutors at the poles and the use of Moodle Virtual Learning Environment.

These elements aroused the expectations of the Mozambican stakeholders: the possibility of developing new skills in distance learning, acquiring new knowledge, and enriching the curriculum through the contribution of public institutions from another country in a relationship of partnership, South-South cooperation, and joint teaching.

The journey has been arduous, with constant uncertainties about the continuity of the program and its expansion, unfulfilled promises, stumbles and interruptions with the changes that occurred in the direction of the government and the program on the Brazilian side, culminating in the second half of 2014 with its "silent" and unofficial interruption by the Brazilian government, shattering dreams on the Mozambican side.

In this article, we will provide data and narratives about this journey, focusing on the political aspects of the Program.

3 THE THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL PATH

Over the course of eight years (2010-2017), participants in the program (commonly referred to as "stakeholders"), who held positions at various levels of management, produced a variety of written documents (reports, minutes, and memoirs totaling 159, as well as messages posted on the institutional email)⁸ and testimonies (15 interviews between 2013-2014 and 16 between 2017-2019).

As we carried out an intensive, detailed, and extensive reading of this abundant documentation, we identified several recurring themes, but as we read on, four narratives emerged as the most significant, which we call "milestones": the political, the institutional, the academic and the distance education. These milestones mark the path of a reconstructed vision of the UAB Mozambique Program and are interrelated, permeated, and impregnated by cultural and collaborative milestones. However, in this study, we will focus on the political framework.

Thus, to understand why a government decided to take to the African continent an experience

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that has been evaluated as positive for its results in the process of social inclusion, such as the Open University of Brazil, it is necessary to understand this decision in the context of foreign and domestic policies, since both are intertwined, with a focus on the so-called International Technical Cooperation.

Undoubtedly, issues such as foreign policy, international relations, technical cooperation, North-South cooperation, and South-South cooperation are related, intersect, interpenetrate, and fertilize each other, but our aim is not to analyze these policies or trace their history. On the other hand, we must recognize that international technical cooperation from a South-South perspective is not a new issue. However, it was during the Lula administration that the discourse and the implementation of concrete actions of South-South cooperation, "solidarity cooperation" in the context of a "diplomacy of generosity" (ALMEIDA, 2010, p. 71, our translation), "active and haughty" (ALMEIDA, 2004), as the then Foreign Minister Celso Amorim (2007) used to call it, gained emphasis.

Some authors believe that the results of South-South cooperation have been much more political, as Baquero (2011) argues, than technical, economic, scientific, or academic. On the other hand, although there is disagreement on its conceptualization, there are basic principles that can be summarized in the concepts of horizontality, consensus, and equity, in the view of Ranucci (2015).

However, it is important to note that few studies have examined Brazilian technical cooperation in education on the African continent. Amaral (2013) analyzed Brazilian cooperation in education based on the experience of the Graduate Student Agreement Program (PEC-G). According to the author, the program was developed based on a concept of cooperation from the 1960s, ignoring the needs and cultural contexts of the partners.

Schardong (2012) had a different understanding of this program during the Lula administration. According to this author, by fulfilling its objectives and promoting development, the program would be in line with the internationalization of higher education.

An interesting study was conducted by Cabral (2015) on African PEC-G students in 25 higher education institutions, mostly in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The author points out the weaknesses of the program from the moment the students are selected and arrive in Brazil.

Jesus (2015) analyzed the contemporary context of internationalization of higher education through the "Program for the Expansion of Distance Higher Education in the Republic of Mozambique" and the reading of the pedagogical projects of the four courses implemented by the program, pointing out some deficiencies in the academic field, in the process of implantation and implementation.

Aline Rizzo, when analyzing cooperation projects in education in Cape Verde (2015), found that relations were not horizontal and symmetrical. In 2018, a similar study began in Mozambique. However, we have not yet had access to the results.

Milani, Conceição and M'Bunde (2016) analyze Brazil's actions in the field of education in Portuguese-speaking African countries, focusing on the case of Mozambique, with projects aimed at training literacy teachers (2010-2014) and the UAB-Mozambique program. Based on the testimonies of the people interviewed, they recognize that the perception of this type of cooperation is positive, although they point out some shortcomings in the process of implementing and monitoring the projects developed there.

Gonzaga (2017) focused his study on one of the courses in the UAB-Mozambique program (Basic Education) and found that participants from the two universities involved had different understandings of what "collaboration" and "institutionalization" of the program would mean. Souza and Segenreich (2018) focused their study on the public administration course of the same program. According to the authors, there were difficulties implementing the program that prevented the intended cooperation from taking place.

Based on the work of Rossi (2015) and the report of the Brazilian Ambassador to Mozambique (SCHERER, 2015), as well as some data and information about the UAB Mozambique program, the "Student Agreement Programs (PEC-G and PEC-PG) and other projects in the field of education," Accioly (2018)⁹ concluded that these cooperative actions also "present the typical contradictions of precariousness and fragility that characterize Brazil's insertion into the international aid system" (p. 315, our translation).

We did not find a specific, in-depth analysis of the political aspects of South-South cooperation. Hence the importance of our study, which set out to overcome a linear and/or merely discursive reading of the narratives of South-South cooperation proposed by the UAB-Mozambique program, since this was a complex technical cooperation involving countries, cultures, institutions, and subjects with diverse and often very different backgrounds and experiences.

We have therefore turned to the historical and dialectical materialist method as a theoretical tool to support our journey (GRAMSCI, 2004; MARTINS, 1985; OFFE, 1984; OSZLAK, 1982; GOUVÊA, 1994). Because of its singularity (it is a snapshot of reality) and particularity (of the

⁹ Regarding Mozambique, Accioly (2018) identified a total of 60 cooperation agreements between Brazil and Mozambique between 2004 and 2015, of which 39 (65%) aimed at capacity building and "workforce training" and 10 agreements aimed at reforming the state and public administration, in line with the World Bank's "good governance" agenda. The majority number of agreements (15 in total) took place in 2010, the year in which the UAB Mozambique program was implemented.

historical moment and the determinations of capitalism), we try to understand the cooperation and the program in the context of educational policies and foreign relations, in the neoliberal movement of commercialization, expansion and internationalization of education, especially through Distance Education. For Santos Filho (2018):

The internationalization of higher education as an instrument of cooperation between developed and developing countries for academic, cultural and political reasons has evolved into internationalization for economic reasons in order to offer educational services as an expensive "commodity" to be sold to less developed countries. The consequence of this movement was internationalization as competition for educational markets [...] the understanding of higher education as a private good (p. 186)¹⁰.

But how did the program become part of this movement? We borrowed from Gramsci, in the field of "small politics" (2004; 1997), we borrowed the concept of the "educating state" and the category of "mediation" to understand whether the cooperation strengthened the "positive educational function" of the state and whether the relationships established showed unequal power, domination on the part of the "donors" (the Brazilian government) or "consensus"¹¹ and participation on the part of the "recipients" (Mozambican institutions) in the implementation of the program, and whether the actions of the "mediators" (the technicians and managers of the program in Capes) were aimed at making all those involved "cooperation partners". For Muller (1994; 1985) and Jobert and Muller (1987), a policy does not exist without the actions of "concrete actors" which they call "mediators".

It is in "small politics" that the actors of the state bureaucracy operate, who, along with the leaders and dominant groups, try to influence the direction and implementation of state policies (big politics) and thus of programs such as the UAB, according to their world view, often acting in the opposite direction.

In order to understand the UAB-Mozambique Program in the context of "big and small politics", we opted for qualitative research with a "narrative approach" ("narrative studies"), which, by dialectically dialoguing the scientific perspective (of the narrators - "the concrete actors") with the ethical perspective (of the researchers) as interdependent and complementary components (CLANDININ; CONNELLY, 2011), allowed the researchers to give voice to the narrators, to the

¹⁰ Original quote: A internacionalização da educação superior como instrumento de cooperação dos países desenvolvidos com os países em desenvolvimento por razões acadêmicas, culturais e políticas vêm evoluindo para a internacionalização por razões econômicas para oferta de serviços educacionais como "mercadoria" cara a ser vendida aos países menos desenvolvidos. A consequência desse movimento foi a internacionalização como competição por mercados educacionais [...] o entendimento da educação superior como bem privado (p. 186).

¹¹ Consent is the foundation of the relations of any social group, given that a social group is formed when some people share principles and behaviors, visions of reality and existence" (BRUNELLO, n.d., our translation). Available at: <http://www.cult.ufba.br/maisdefinicoes/HEGEMONIA.pdf>. Accessed on: Jan. 15, 2019.

voices "captured" in the written documents of the program and to those recorded in the narrative interviews about the program, trying to prevent only "other" voices from narrating it, as an African proverb reminds us: "Until the lions invent their own stories, the hunters will always be the heroes of the hunting narratives".¹²

Therefore, narratives are representations or interpretations of facts (hermeneutic field) that express the narrators' point of view in a given time (chronological and/or experiential) and space (immediate context) and a given socio-historical context (mediated context). Narrators express the meanings they give to being in the world, so their narratives are an elaboration of personal experience in a social context that is historical and cultural, and of identity construction, that is, a social practice that constitutes reality. In this sense, narratives can't be put on trial or subjected to verification, to veracity.

It is, therefore, necessary that the analysis of the narratives is not limited to the micro context (the immediate context) but takes into account the mediated context of social, economic, historical, and cultural relations. That's why it was necessary to delve into this macro context to situate and understand the narratives emanating from the subjects' speeches and the documents produced by these same narrators.

Therefore, we understand narrative not simply as remembering and retelling past events, but as a process in which the participants sought to recover, in their personal and professional lives, what was/was noteworthy about their participation in the Program.

Angolan writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2011) points out that our knowledge "is built by the stories we hear, and the greater the number of different narratives, the more complete our understanding of a given subject will be" (our translation).

As we immersed ourselves in the narratives, we realized that it was complex and unfeasible to try to draw boundaries between landmarks that emerged because they were interlinked, connected, immersed, and involved in each other. Their borders are not static, immovable, closed, but in motion. There is unity in a process such as that of a Program under construction, conceived as a pilot, experimental project for possible expansion in other African lands. It was a pioneering experience in the field of Technical Cooperation in Education and between institutions from two countries on different continents, and it demarcated the political field of possibilities for South-South Cooperation.

¹² A proverb quoted by Mia Couto on the opening page of her book "The Lioness's Confession". Maputo: Ndjira, 2012.

4. NARRATIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

The statement made in the interview by one of the Mozambican rectors sums up how the Program was perceived by Mozambican managers:

It was a good initiative that was in line with the whole idea of the government [...] it was applied in Brazil, in the interior, to minorities without access to quality higher education and without training. President Lula took this idea, the same way of thinking, to friendly countries in Africa, where there are also people without access to quality education (our translation).¹³

It was an initiative that was in line with the educational policy of the Mozambican government and at the same time recognized that if the UAB Program played an important social role in Brazil, it could be extended to the "friendly countries" of Africa, a form of treatment dear to President Lula's heart.

However, the verb to BE in the past perfect tense ("had been"), uttered in 2017, does not mark a promise unfulfilled by the program, but the breaking of an agreement signed by the leaders of both countries. It was a program born by the will of President Lula, at the end of his term, and implemented by the Distance Education Secretariat. When it was abolished in January 2011, a month before the academic start of the Program's courses, the Ministry of Education gave Capes the task of coordinating the Program.

Those involved were unanimous: the Program was the result of a political decision taken by two governments - the Presidency of the Republic and the Ministry of Education - without the direct participation of government agencies and higher education institutions, which were later involved and selected by a higher decision, as the then Secretary of Seed/MEC rightly pointed out:

We decided to invite some universities with the right profile and people for the difficult mission of designing and implementing a project in less than a year [...] universities that were well established and could speed up the project.

It was a vertical decision that was not discussed internally by the institutions that would or could be involved in the program. There was a "rush" to implement the Program by the end of the same year.

¹³ Original statement: Era uma iniciativa boa que estava em linha com toda a ideia governativa [...] isso era aplicado no Brasil, no interior, para as minorias sem acesso ao ensino superior de qualidade e sem formação. O presidente Lula trouxe essa ideia, essa mesma perspectiva de pensamento aos países amigos da África onde também tem um povo sem acesso de educação de qualidade

Another vertical decision was made by the Brazilian Minister of Education when he abolished the Distance Education Secretariat and assigned the program to CAPES, which, although it had participated in the design of the program, was designated to coordinate it, as stated in the Normative Ordinance No. 22 (10.26.2010):

Art. 2 - Capes will be responsible for coordinating the Program of Support for the Expansion of Distance Higher Education in the Republic of Mozambique, in close collaboration with the Brazilian higher education institutions participating in the UAB system and the higher education institutions in the Republic of Mozambique, as well as regulating, in legal form, the details related to its implementation (BRASIL, 2010, our translation).¹⁴

However, there was a certain "fear" on the part of Capes managers, with the entry of a Program that involved a significant amount of resources destined to the payment of scholarships without legal security¹⁵. Hosting another program could affect other policies that had not been consolidated at Capes, such as the UAB system itself and the Science without Borders Program, which was being planned and would be launched by President Dilma Rousseff on July 26, 2011. All of this generated "political uncertainty or could set unpredictable precedents," according to one of the Capes interviewees. Therefore, there were certain noises in government circles that differed from the political decision made by President Lula and the Minister of Education himself. Thus, during the first half of 2011, the program was implemented by the Mozambican actors, with remote academic support from the Brazilian universities involved. It wasn't until the beginning of the second semester of 2011 that the advisor of the Capes presidency and a team from the Capes Distance Education Directorate (DED) went to Mozambique to discuss the Program with the Brazilian and Mozambican stakeholders, to inform them that Capes was in charge of the Program, and to provide initial guidance, especially regarding the payment of scholarships for teachers and tutors.

The political framework of the Program was also reaffirmed when political missions from the Brazilian government went there¹⁶, composed of representatives of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), the International Relations Department of the MEC, the Office of the President of Capes, and the Distance Education Department (DED) of Capes. During official visits to the Brazilian Embassy,

¹⁴ Original Ordinance text: Art. 2º - Caberá à Capes coordenar o Programa de Apoio à Expansão da Educação Superior a Distância na República Popular de Moçambique, em estreita cooperação com instituições de ensino superior brasileiras participantes do Sistema UAB e instituições de ensino superior da República Popular de Moçambique, bem como disciplinar, na forma legal, o detalhamento relativo à sua implementação (BRASIL, 2010)

¹⁵ In the Program's budget resources there was a forecast of 26,373,205.00 USD, allocated to Capes for Phase I, II and III (2011-2019). Source: Data extracted from the Brazil-Mozambique Technical Cooperation Project (MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES. AGÊNCIA BRASILEIRA DE COOPERAÇÃO, 2010, our translation).

¹⁶ There were three missions in 2011, two in 2012, six in 2013 and three in 2014.

meetings with the Vice Minister of Education of Mozambique, the Rectors of the two Universities (Eduardo Mondlane University and Pedagogical University), and the Board of Directors of the National Institute of Distance Education (Ined), the political commitment of the Brazilian government to the cooperation program was strongly reaffirmed, as noted in the minutes of the missions.

If the extinction of Seed had caused a lot of turbulence in the Program's take-off, greater turbulence arose in mid-flight when, on January 23, 2012, a few days before the arrival of a new Brazilian mission to Maputo, made up of members of Capes, MEC and the four Brazilian universities, the Resident Coordinator received the following message on the Program's institutional email address:

The past week has been one of great impact for those of us working in the Ministry of Education, due to the departure of Minister Fernando Haddad and the arrival of Minister Aluizio Mercadante [January 24, 2012]. Unfortunately, this change had direct consequences for our mission. The new Minister has asked that all matters relating to Africa be suspended, as he wants to get to grips with all the issues and then proceed with them (emphasis added and our translation).

Thus, for the second time, the Brazilian course coordinators were prevented from monitoring the program in situ until the end of the first semester of 2012. At the same time, Capes did not renew the contract of the Executive Coordinator of the Program in Brazil in July, and it was not until February of the following year that a new coordinator was selected and hired to continue monitoring and reformulating the Program. Thus, for one semester, the program was run by the Mozambican actors and the resident coordinator, with the remote support of the course coordinators from the Brazilian institutions.

Therefore, the work of the Mozambique Steering Committee, created by Order No. 23/GM/MINED/2012 of the Minister of Education of Mozambique on April 19, 2012, was fundamental.¹⁷ At its monthly and extraordinary meetings, it sought to solve problems that arose so that students on the Program's courses would not be affected.

With the creation of the Brazilian Steering Committee in August 2012, it seemed that the dialogue between the two Committees and the institutions of both countries would take place on a regular and "official" basis, leading to improvements in the communication processes and the implementation of the Program. This has not been the case, as can be seen from the letter sent by the Mozambican Steering Committee to the Brazilian one (05.09.12), in which it points out worrying

¹⁷ They included: "i) representatives of the Ministry of Education (Mined), namely the National Institute for Distance Education (Ined), the Directorate for Planning and Cooperation (Diplac), the Directorate for the Coordination of Higher Education (Dices), ii) a representative of the Pedagogical University, iii) a representative of the Eduardo Mondlane University, iv) a representative of the Brazilian Embassy, and v) the local coordinator of the program".

aspects regarding the progress of the Program.

After requesting a response several times, on November 27, 2012, the Coordinator of the Mozambique Steering Committee received a message by e-mail with the following content:

On behalf of the President of Capes, I acknowledge receipt of your message and inform you that it has been forwarded to the UAB Mozambique Management Committee for analysis. We will contact you in due course to inform you of the Committee's position on the points listed in the document. Sincerely, Cassia Mendes - Head of Office (our translation).¹⁸

This "we will be in touch in due course" did not happen. Faced with this "diplomatic silence", the two Mozambican universities, with the support of the Mozambique Steering Committee, decided not to carry out the expansion planned for 2013. They needed official guarantees from the Brazilian government to publish the vacancy notices before the academic break (December 22, 2012).

The sign that new "winds" were blowing over the program was the meeting held on 27 May 2013 in Brasilia, in the meeting room of the Minister of Education. It was attended by representatives of the two Program Management Committees (from Brazil and Mozambique). The program reformulation document was presented and discussed (version "D" - under the coordination of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency), which foresees the expansion for the first half of 2015 and the completion for 2019.

This document was signed during the event "Education as a Strategic Bridge Brazil-Africa" promoted by the Brazilian Ministry of Education and attended by government representatives from Portuguese-speaking African countries, held in Costa do Sauipe on May 20, 2013. The program was presented as an unprecedented and successful experience that could be extended to Lusophone Africa. The document was sent through diplomatic channels to Mozambique and then to Brazil, where it was signed by the rectors of the participating institutions.

However, among the "constraints" that the Mozambican managers and stakeholders constantly pointed out in their reports and speeches and that accompanied the program throughout its life, the delay or non-payment of grants was the one most frequently mentioned by the Mozambican managers.

Another favorable "wind" that seemed to calm the storms that arose throughout the project concerning delays and/or suspension of scholarship payments was the approval of Law No. 12.801,

¹⁸ Original email content: Em nome do Presidente do Capes, acuso o recebimento de sua mensagem e informo que a mesma foi encaminhada ao Comitê Gestor UAB Moçambique para análise. Desta forma, esclareço que, oportunamente, entraremos em contato com V.Sa. para informar a posição do Comitê quanto aos pontos elencados no referido documento. Atenciosamente, Cassia Mendes - Chefe de Gabinete.

of 24.04.2013, by Congress and sanctioned by President Dilma. It finally provided legal guarantees for the payment of Capes scholarships to foreigners living abroad, as was the case with Mozambican teachers, coordinators, tutors, and authors. It was a late solution because the noise and uneasiness generated in the area of "scholarship payments" during the implementation of the program had put the "credibility" of the Brazilian government in check.

In this way, the Brazilian government officially signaled that the program would continue and achieve what was planned in its original proposal, at least in part, since it would not be able to achieve the training of 5,000 public school teachers and 2,000 public administration employees.

In fact, in 2014, two missions of the Brazilian government went to Mozambique to "seal" the program politically and institutionally. The first, which took place between April 13 and 15, was led by the President of Capes, accompanied by the Director of Distance Education at Capes, the Rectors of the four universities involved, the Rector of Unilab, the Secretary of Sesu, representing the Minister of Education (Henrique Paim), who was unable to accompany the delegation at the last minute, and advisors from the international area of Mec. The mission went to Mozambique to assess the situation of the program - after three and a half years of implementation - before the expansion phase.

Meetings were held with the staff of the two universities, with the Ministry of Education, with the Management Committee and with teachers, coordinators, tutors and students of the Program, always in the presence of the Brazilian Ambassador in Maputo and the Resident Coordinator. In all of these meetings, as stated in the Mission Report produced by the Resident Coordinator (April 16, 2014), the Brazilian and Mozambican authorities were clear and forceful in their support for the continuity of the Program. There was recognition of the importance it had represented for Mozambique up to that point. The political decision of the two governments to continue the Program was solemnly ratified, with the expansion, in February 2015, of the number of admissions and the number of hubs, with an expected end date of 2019.

This mission gave the Program greater visibility and political support. In an e-mail sent to the deans of the universities involved after returning from the mission, the Director of Distance Education at Capes acknowledged that the Program needed to be strengthened so that it could leave a positive mark on the consolidation of the distance education models at UEM and UP and a possible public distance education system for the expansion of higher education in Mozambique. He ended his message (April 16, 2014) with a brief assessment of the mission:

At the end of the recent visit, with the enormous challenge of expansion already assumed by the parties until 2019, I express my personal understanding that the UAB-Mozambique Program is promising, as shown by the courses in progress, by the

testimonies of students and teachers and by the 15% dropout rate, reduced even to the best face-to-face courses in the world! (emphasis added and our translation).¹⁹

But then, with the departure of the DED Director and the non-renewal of the contract of the Executive Coordinator in Brazil in May, there were changes in the Capes team that monitored the Program. In her Final Report, this Coordinator draws attention to what this meant:

[...] the management of the program was left to the technicians and analysts of DED/Capes itself, as well as the supervision of the work carried out by the partner universities. These technicians and analysts began to add the management of this international cooperation program to their technical duties, which are already many fronts given the complexity of managing the distance education system in Brazil.²⁰

This change in the institutional management of the program by the Capes, replacing people with pedagogical training with technicians, with career bureaucrats, immediately led to the cancellation of the Brazilian mission, scheduled for May 11-25, composed of the Course Coordinators and the Executive Coordinator in Brazil, whose purpose was to support and continue what the institutions had been doing to "institutionalize" the program and prepare it for the expansion phase.

Instead, they sent a Delegation (June 9-13), a technical mission led by the Federal Prosecutor of Capes, accompanied by people from the legal and accounting sectors: representatives of the International Advisory Office, the Ministerial Office (GM/MEC), the legal sector (Conjur/MEC), the scholarship payment sector of the Distance Education Directorate of Capes, and the International Relations Directorate of Capes.²¹

According to the Head of Delegation in an interview, "it was a segment of the previous high-level mission" and she had come to "bring answers and seek solutions to some of the Program's legal problems". At the meeting with the Mozambique Steering Committee, she said that, in order to "learn more about the details of certain Program procedures related to the legal area":

Capes proposed the visit so that we can understand the procedures, from the beginning of the program and so that it can be sustained without any mishaps [...] to

¹⁹ Original message content: Concluída a recente visita, com o enorme desafio da expansão já assumida pelas partes até 2019, expresseo meu entendimento pessoal que o Programa UAB-Moçambique é promissor, como mostram os cursos em andamento, pelos depoimentos de alunos e professores e pela evasão de 15%, reduzida até para os melhores cursos presenciais de todo o mundo! (Grifo nosso)

²⁰ Original message: [...] a gestão do Programa ficou a cargo de técnicos e analistas da própria DED/Capes, bem como, o acompanhamento dos trabalhos desenvolvidos pelas Universidades parceiras. Esses técnicos e analistas passaram a acumular às suas atribuições técnicas, que já são muitas frentes de trabalho, em termos da complexidade que é a gestão do Sistema de EaD no Brasil, mais a gestão desse Programa de cooperação internacional

²¹ Regarding the arrival of this mission, the Brazilian Ambassador to Mozambique, in a telegram sent to the Head of the International Advisory Office of the MEC - Luciana Mancini - on 06.06.14, said: "I note, however, that the planned agenda of activities does not include a meeting of the mission at the Embassy, as is usually the case with missions within the framework of the UAB-Mozambique project, and which I consider important to also take place on the occasion of the mission in question, ideally at the beginning and end of the activities" (our translation)

confirm the policies and learn the details of the operation from Capes' legal department (Minutes of the Meeting with the Steering Committee, May 9, 2014).²²

The Delegation's members made it clear to the Mozambican managers that members of the middle echelon (technicians and bureaucratic technicians) of the sectors involved in the Program, in the fourth year of its implementation, knew very little about it and came asking for information available in the Quarterly Reports of the Executive Coordinators, in the Minutes of the Management Committees and of the course coordinators (sent regularly to Capes and UAB), in addition to what was available on the Program's own website (www.ead.brasil.mocambique.org - deactivated).

The mission returned to Brazil with a commitment to send a report to the Mozambique Steering Committee, presenting an analysis of the Program and forwarding proposals and legal solutions related to the management and destination of budget funds.

We don't know if any reports were produced, as we couldn't find any records in Mozambique or with Capes, ABC and the Ministry of Education.

By the end of July 2014, with the non-renewal of the Resident Coordinator's contract by CAPES, no communication had been received by the Mozambican Management Committee or the Brazilian Embassy in Maputo as to whether or not the program would continue.²³ There has been a lack of guidance and a total breakdown in communication between Capes and the Steering Committee and the Mozambican institutions involved.

The Steering Committee took the initiative to send a document to Capes asking for clarification and guidance on how to proceed with the program and its expansion. According to the testimony of one of the members of the Mozambique Steering Committee, in the interview we conducted on November 13, 2017, there was no response to this document. His questions were as follows:

We have no official communication. What do we do? Do we take it as something

²² Original statement: A Capes propôs a visita para que consigamos entender os procedimentos, desde o início do programa e para que possa haver sua sustentabilidade sem nenhum percalço [...] confirmar as políticas e conhecer detalhes da operação pela área jurídica da Capes (Ata da Reunião com o Comitê Gestor, 9 maio 2014)

²³ In the same telegram sent to the Head of the International Advisory Office of Mec (c/o President of Capes) on 06.06.14, the Brazilian Ambassador to Mozambique - Ligia Maria Scherer - expressed her concern about the fate of the program: "UAB-Mozambique is one of Brazil's most important bilateral cooperation projects in the country. It is a complex and challenging project, involving 12 institutions in Brazil and Mozambique, with a budget of more than 40 million USD. Today, three branches of the Open University of Brazil are operating in Mozambique [...] it is going through an important moment, as plans are underway to expand the program to 12 more branches, located in cities in all regions of the country, which should serve another 1600 students [...] I believe that the efficient operation of the project is the key to its success. I believe that the efficient operation of the program cannot do without a systematic monitoring of its activities, to be carried out by a professional hired exclusively for this purpose [...] In recent years, I have been able to testify to the fact that the work of the Resident Coordinator is essential for the proper functioning of the program" (our translation).



that's going to change or do we take it as a given? Do we wait for an official communication? Do we ask for an official announcement or do we let it happen naturally?²⁴

Technical missions formed by the Brazilian course coordinators were also not carried out by Capes and the Brazilian universities involved received no official explanations.

Thus, since July 2014, silence and absence have been the main characteristics of the political framework of the program. The feelings of the stakeholders were striking, as can be seen in the accounts of some of the Mozambican managers in the interviews we conducted in November 2017:

[...] we didn't have any information as such. What we did know, in an unofficial way, were the big changes that were taking place in Brazil, especially in relation to Capes and so on. There were many changes in President Dilma's government, there were many changes in the Brazilian Ministry of Education. First there was the abolition of the State Secretariat for Distance Education, then something about the management of the projects that were in Capes. What I know is that there was a very difficult, painful reorganization that didn't allow things to develop as they had been planned here on the ground. Of course that caused some unease among people, that's natural, it was a very nice plan and it had been signed off at the highest level (our translation).

Honestly, with this situation that is coming up, that they haven't officially communicated with us, so they haven't even communicated with the ministry or with us. I think that's very inconsiderate of us. It's not the fact that you're funding us or supporting us that we deserve this treatment. I personally, not as an institution, feel that this is a great lack of consideration. How credible is the current course? (our translation).

I think this lack of respect for others has to stop and it has to come from us. We have to respect ourselves and say enough is enough. There's no expansion next year [...] The idea is really that they're the ones that pay. So we have to do everything because they pay. That can't be. There's a total lack of respect for others (our translation).

On a diplomatic level, I think these things are a bit delicate. If there's no answer, you know that things have changed. Nowadays, what's written is always what's written, and if the explanation is not convincing or there is no explanation, everyone starts to understand as they see fit, in an individual way [...] it's understood that in diplomacy silence is an answer (our translation).²⁵

²⁴ Original statement: Nós não temos nenhuma comunicação oficial. O que fazemos? Assumimos isto como algo que vai mudar, ou assumimos isso como algo consumado? Ficamos à espera de que nos comuniquem oficialmente? Vamos pedir uma comunicação oficial, ou é algo que vamos deixar que as coisas naturalmente aconteçam?

²⁵ Original statements:

[...] não tivemos nenhuma informação como tal. O que sabíamos de alguma maneira oficiosa das grandes mudanças que estavam a ocorrer no Brasil principalmente em relação à Capes etc. Houve muitas mudanças no governo da presidente Dilma, houve muitas mudanças lá no Ministério de Educação do Brasil. Primeiro foi a extinção da Secretaria de Estado de Ensino a Distância, depois qualquer coisa com relação à gestão dos projetos que estavam na Capes. O que sei que era uma reestruturação muito difícil, penosa que estava ocorrendo, não permitia que as coisas evoluíssem aqui no terreno assim como tinham sido planificadas. É claro que isso trouxe algum mal-estar entre as pessoas, é natural, era um plano muito bonito e tinha sido assinado no mais alto nível.



According to the managers, since this was a bilateral cooperation program, everything was dealt with state-by-state, at the political level of the governments of both countries, at the highest levels of power, and therefore only at this level could the stalemate be negotiated, overcome or a solution found, always respecting the "non-interference" in the internal affairs of each country, a characteristic of Brazilian diplomacy throughout its history.

The "promises" were not perceived as having been made and accepted by a government, but by people who were in/with the government. With the change of people in the governmental bodies (in the ministries and in the capes), the commitment to the program was diluted, revealing its fragility, even with signed decrees and agreements.

5 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Program began loudly and solemnly, as befits a political event that warranted the presence of a President, Ministers, Deans and a host of civil and academic authorities from two countries and two continents. There were great expectations in the air and the certainty that the Program would be the milestone of South-South cooperation between Brazil and Mozambique, in the wake of the negation of traditional North-South cooperation, of external "aid" from "donors" to "recipients".

In the opposite direction, three and a half years after its implementation, it collapsed silently, without arousing the interest or curiosity of those who were there to sign commitments, applaud, celebrate, and raise expectations. It imploded without raising any dust and without leaving any visible signs of the perpetrators of such a task.

An "up and down political roller coaster ride", with changes of two Presidents, four Ministers

Sinceramente, com essa situação que está a surgir, de não nos comunicar oficialmente, portanto nem se comunicou ao Ministério e nem a nós. Acho que é uma grande falta de consideração conosco. Não é o fato de estar a financiar, a dar o apoio que merecemos esse tratamento. Eu, pessoalmente, não como instituição, sinto isso como uma grande falta de consideração. O curso atual que credibilidade está a ter?

Acho que essa falta de respeito pelos outros tem que parar e tem que surgir de nós. Nós mesmos temos que nos dar o respeito e dizer basta. Essa coisa de expansão no próximo ano, não há [...] A ideia é realmente, eles é que pagam. Então, temos que cumprir tudo porque eles pagam. Não pode ser. Há uma completa falta de respeito pelos outros.

No plano diplomático, eu creio, essas coisas são um pouco delicadas. Quando não há uma resposta, já se sabe que as coisas mudaram. Hoje, uma coisa escrita é sempre uma coisa escrita e quando a explicação não é convincente ou não há explicação, cada um começa a entender como entende, de forma individualizada [...] entende-se que, em diplomacia, o silêncio significa

of Education, two Directors of DED/Capes, members of the Cabinet and Advisors of Ministers and the Presidency of Capes, the Executive Managers of the Program, the course coordinators, without forgetting the sudden and unexpected extinction of the Distance Education Secretariat - the creator - after the "baptism" ceremony of the Program.

The changes of people (main and secondary, top and middle levels of government) in the field of politics and governance, with the same party in power, the redirection of domestic and foreign policies by President Dilma, the "dissent" within the bodies responsible for managing the program, had repercussions on the progress of the program and the conduct of academic activities. There were many obstacles to building an e-learning experience that would become a benchmark in the field of international cooperation in distance education, South-South cooperation, as had been proclaimed since its inception.

The decision of the presidents and ministers of education was the political milestone that triggered other political decisions, from top to bottom. On the Brazilian side, the Federal Universities were invited and readily accepted, delegating the mission to be carried out to the Distance Learning Centers and Departments. There were academic as well as political benefits for the institution in participating in an international program. On the Mozambican side, a request from a president or minister was practically a decision. The rectors accepted it and delegated the task to the heads of the faculties and Distance Learning Centers.

A political milestone that needed other frameworks (institutional, academic, cultural, South-South cooperation) to make the decision concrete. The knowledge of the other as a starting point signaled the development of a cooperation program, as President Lula had hoped. The discursive practices of the Brazilian missions throughout the trip repeated the motto of "South-South cooperation", cooperation among equals.

After returning from Mozambique, however, the Seed team designed the program based not on the "experience" of the future partners, their culture and organizational practices, but on the Brazilian experience: "The model we adopted was very similar to that of the Open University of Brazil," as one of the Brazilian managers put it. With this project designed "in the office", the Brazilian mission returned to Mozambique to present the dynamics of the program and get people on board.

A political landmark that confronted the discourse of South-South cooperation with the practices that were carried out, above all, in the decision-making moments of the implementation and deployment phases, and, in a very "disrespectful" way, with the abrupt "abandonment" of the program by the Brazilian government to the Mozambican partners, without fanfare and without official

justification.

The subsequent official creation of the Management Committees was based on the idea that the relationships between the institutions and bodies involved would lead to shared decision-making. In practice, the Mozambique Management Committee acted more as a "firefighter" to extinguish the program's constraints caused by the "incapacity" and "inability" or "lack of interest" of sectors of the Brazilian government to give the program legal, regulatory and financial sustainability. The Mozambique Committee was a committee without powers. The only time it met with the Brazilian Steering Committee was to discuss and approve the technical project for the expansion phase (version D). This meeting took place at the Brazilian Ministry of Education, with an entourage of ten representatives from Brazil and three from Mozambique. Once again, this situation demonstrated the unequal distribution of power in the program and the lack of recognition that the locus of cooperation was Mozambique and not the "donor". The most appropriate place for this discussion/negotiation was in Mozambique, with the broad participation of all segments and people involved.

The Brazilian Steering Committee itself did not include any representation from the Brazilian universities that implemented the program. Therefore, another situation of inequality in the distribution of power, concentrated in the political sphere, leaving the control and management to the local technical spheres (in the bureaucracy of the ministry bodies) and the execution at the top to the Brazilian and Mozambican institutions involved. Hence, a rupture between political and technical action, and a hierarchical separation of powers between the decision-makers and the executors.

Thus, the program's journey was marked by conflicts and misunderstandings that dragged on along the way, pitting different cultures against each other and practicing an "imposition" relationship rather than a cooperative one.

The way in which the Program had been conceived, planned, and launched, through political decisions, power, and the transfer of an experience to another context, without opening space for dialogue and dissent to reach consensus based on "partners," had the opposite effect to that desired. The force of friction, the tension of the surface, and the kinetic energy lost due to the force of gravity pulling downwards, ended with the Program.

In order to analyze the managers' narratives concerning the Program, it was necessary to make an initial theoretical journey to understand the Brazilian government's internal and external policies aimed at building a South-South cooperation relationship, aligning with countries in the South "from the South", and expanding higher education through different normative instruments to include groups excluded from access, as well as through Distance Education and a National Distance Education

System, the UAB.

The panoramic view (theorein) that we tried to build made it possible to understand that the Program, from its embryonic phase, was conceived from a functionalist and structuralist approach, although systemic in discourse, with consequences in the actions developed. Two inseparable and complementary movements were then dichotomized: the political and the technical, conception and execution.

In the managers' narratives, we identified the perception of the hierarchical existence of these two levels, which they referred to as the decision-making level (of those who set the direction) and the execution level (of the "makers", those who "did things on the ground"), two levels that didn't talk to each other, with the political level taking precedence over the technical level. As the Mozambican managers said at various times: "The decisions were made there by the program managers. It was now up to the technicians to study the feasibility and implement it" or "Politics took precedence over academic reason" and another contested: "We weren't listened to. We were shouted down".

Thus, the decision-makers, who presumably had a political "commitment," did not have a direct commitment to implementation because they did not involve the implementers in the decisions. On the other hand, the implementers, by not participating in the decisions, did not build a political commitment to the program. As a result, there was neither consensus nor hegemony. It was a "government program" or, as it was more commonly referred to by Mozambican managers and students, it was a "Brazilian program" or, even more symptomatically, it was "Lula's program" and therefore not part of a state policy.

On the part of the implementers, the "promises" were not perceived as having been made and accepted by a government, but by people who were in/with the government at the time. As people changed leadership positions, the commitment to the promises became diluted and ephemeral, even though regulations and agreements had been signed.

For the program to be sustainable, political commitment and technical capacity had to go together dialectically, hand in hand: *political commitment with technical capacity and technical capacity with political commitment* (SAVIANI, 1983; NOSELLA, 1983). Otherwise, the state bureaucracy could act in the opposite direction by engaging in "small politics" (GRAMSCI, 2004).

What the narratives reveal is that this political commitment (in the realm of small politics) was not put into practice by government agencies or within Brazilian universities. The ministries involved, the Brazilian Steering Committee and Capes, which was formally responsible for coordination, did not comment on the closure of the Program.

On the Mozambican side, stakeholders pointed out that strategic sectors such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, provincial directorates and their chambers, other public higher education institutions, etc. were not involved. According to one Mozambican manager, the program "should also be a government issue in the provinces, because it is a political issue. It's not just an academic issue." Within the two universities, there was a commitment from the deans and DE managers, but the other bodies had little or no knowledge of the program, which "could have been better dimensioned if the institutions had been involved from the beginning".

Perhaps it was "government inertia" in making the decisions necessary to move the program forward, or perhaps it was the actions of officials within the ministries who had a kind of "micro-power" and were willing to stand in the way, to act against, that led to the failure to achieve the goals proposed by the Program.

We could not make any progress in this direction because it was not possible to interview some of the people who worked at UAB/Capes and the International Advisory Office of the Ministry of Education and Foreign Affairs (ABC) at that time or to get feedback from them about the Program.

This redirected our analysis to what, according to the Mozambican managers, failed from the start: the "governance" of the Program or, as Lima (2013) developed in her thesis, "the capacity of the State" to conduct and materialize certain policies or programs. Capacities that "go beyond a professional bureaucracy. It is also necessary for the state to have the political capacity to build consensus" (p. 44, our translation).

Thus, even with the subsequent creation of the Mozambique Steering Committee and the Brazil Steering Committee, the Program lacked a body, a sector, or even an "actor" in each country to act as a "mediator", an "interlocutor" (in the words of the Mozambicans) with the power to establish a permanent dialogue between all the institutions and bodies involved.

Thus, without a clear structure for the distribution of functions and powers, the Program moved forward without governability, stumbling over every stone and becoming increasingly fragile, generating misunderstandings, expectations, and "discrediting". If lessons were not learned, legacies were left behind.

Since the program was launched in Mozambique with the commitment to strengthen the national education policy by training teachers and public managers through an e-learning system, to democratize access to higher education, there was an expectation that it would be long-term, that it would stay in Mozambique for a long time. In the words of one Mozambican participant, "It came with everything," "It showed courage, the will to do something, but it was too big," in the words of

another. A program committed to "transferring knowledge and technology" to Mozambican institutions.

Expectations regarding teaching platforms, production of teaching materials, libraries with basic works for each subject, and the viability of the Internet in centers and coordination rooms.

So what did the program bring to Mozambique and what did it leave behind? Despite the misunderstandings that the program has caused and the limitations that have resulted from them, those involved recognize that the program has made contributions to the institutions in Mozambique.

For one of the Mozambican deans interviewed, who evaluated "with an eagle's eye, very high up, seeing the processes and then the gains that the institution had" (our translation), the program achieved the ultimate goal of the project with the graduation of almost all of the participants and with the training of the institution's faculty in teaching in partnership, with Brazilian faculty coming to meetings and workshops in Mozambique and Mozambican faculty going to meetings at the Brazilian partner institutions. One of the coordinators admitted: "My teachers are not the same after the project(our translation)".

In addition to improving the use of the platform and introducing improvements in the "module" production process (in the "domestication of materials"), the program developed the capacity and skills for the Distance Learning Centers to manage a more robust distance learning system capable of serving thousands of students in a sustainable and quality manner.

In fact, in 2015, UEM began expanding its distance learning Public Administration course, reaching more than 2,000 enrolled students in 2017, "inspired by the UAB Program", according to a UEM manager.

By 2015, UP already had more than 2,000 students enrolled in distance learning courses, and by 2017, there were more than 12,000 students across all provinces, representing almost a third of all UP students enrolled. According to the Dean: "We have increased our access capacity, especially in the interior [...] the system has grown, but [the program] has strengthened our distance learning system through a safe expansion" (our translation).

On the Brazilian side, there were interests in the program and profits were made. In addition to the geostrategic and geopolitical interests that justified the investment, there were technical interests. This program represented an opportunity to learn how to carry out South-South cooperation and to develop knowledge and skills in the joint construction of a project involving different contexts and cultures, with their limitations and difficulties. It was an opportunity to develop an e-learning system that would become a benchmark and develop important expertise for Brazil itself, a

multicultural country. As one of those involved in the management of the program said in his testimony: "Brazil could have become a school for cooperation and production of teaching materials because it has excellent universities and an already mature system, which is the UAB system" (our translation).

The program took the discussion of international cooperation and Distance Education to other levels by establishing relationships with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, the Organization of Ibero-American States, the African Development Bank, and Portuguese-speaking African countries. It was necessary to revise Brazilian legislation and establish new administrative procedures to make international cooperation effective.

The purpose of this text is to point out that, despite all the mistakes and constraints faced by the program, it has built up expertise that could guide and instrumentalize future cooperation in the field of EaD, an experience that, due to its international dimension, has aroused the interest of scholars and researchers, leading to the publication of articles, dissertations and theses on the program, and providing elements for comparative studies on the implementation of international cooperation programs in the field of education and, in particular, Distance Education.

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