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Review of innovation in interventions to increase access to education and attainment

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SOFIE is a three year Research Project supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Economic and Social Science Research Council (ESRC). Its purpose is to strengthen open, distance and flexible learning (ODFL) systems and structures to increase access to education for young people living in high HIV prevalence areas in Malawi and Lesotho. It seeks to achieve this through developing a new, more flexible model of education that uses ODFL to complement and enrich conventional schooling. It also seeks to encourage application of the new knowledge generated through effective communication to development agencies, governments, development professionals, non-governmental organisations and other interested stakeholders.

Access to education and learning is being viewed as a 'social vaccine' for HIV but in high prevalence areas orphans and other vulnerable children are frequently unable to go to school regularly and are thus being deprived of the very thing they need to help protect themselves from infection. In this context sustained access is critical to long term improvements in risk and vulnerability and it requires new models of education to be developed and tested.

The partners

The research team is led from the Department of Education and International Development, Institute of Education, University of London and the research is being developed collaboratively with partners in sub-Saharan Africa.

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Abstract

This paper is a critical review of interventions that are used in different developing contexts to enhance educational access and attainment. The paper was informed by data and information gathered through a multi-method approach. The approach involved reviewing of research-based publications from leading organisations like IIEP (UNESCO), UNAIDS, UNICEF, and Save the Children (UK). Journal articles and research reports mostly based on experiences in African countries were also reviewed. Semi-structured, face-to-face and telephonic interviews as well as informal discussions were also held with key informants from various organisations that deal with HIV/AIDS issues in the Southern African region. Using these sources of information, a mixture of educational interventions implemented in different countries was identified and these are reported under four main categories in this paper; interventions that aim to increase access by subsidising school costs, interventions that make educational provision flexible, interventions that aim at increasing access through community mobilization, and interventions that try to increase access and attainment by improving the quality of educational provision. The review showed that these interventions were implemented differently and with varying levels of success in different contexts. Whilst there are many interventions that aim at reducing the cost of education, very few pay particular attention to addressing the quality of educational provision. With the exception of a few examples in South Africa and in Namibia, there is hardly any use of ICTs in enhancing access and improving the quality of education, an important aspect worth pursuing through the current project. Drawing from Coleman's theory of social capital as an analytical tool, the paper concludes that effective innovations are those that are premised on sound school-community linkages and integration. Such integration facilitates ownership and support of school innovations by the community.

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CSNet	Caring Schools Network
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EDSCs	Education Development and Support Centers
EPU	Education Policy Unit
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FSSAP	Female Secondary School Assistance Project
HAD	Health and Development Africa
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IDA	International Development Association
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MiET	Media in Education Trust
NAMCOL	Namibian College of Open Learning
NFPEP	Non -Formal Primary Education Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODFL	Open, Distance, and Flexible Learning
OLA	Open Learning Association
OVCs	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
SAIDE	South African Institute for Distance Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Introduction

1.1 Background and context

One of the major challenges developing countries are facing is putting in place and implementing social and economic strategies that make it possible for them to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Poverty alleviation and increasing literacy and numeracy levels by raising educational access are generally considered to be some of the critical dimensions of this development agenda. Regrettably, many of these countries are far from realising these goals due to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, a phenomenon that is already eroding the gains these countries have realised so far. Unless something is urgently done in order to reverse this trend, poverty alleviation, food security, economic growth, and national development remain a dream in these countries. The aim of the review is to identify educational interventions that can be used to keep vulnerable children in school, formal or informal, face-to-face or distance, and enhance their educational achievement so that they play a meaningful role in the economic development of their societies. The review is part of a broader study known as SOFIE project jointly supported by the Department for International Development (DfID) and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in the UK and is coordinated by the Institute of Education at the University of London. The aim of the study is to help countries reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by seeking best ways of strengthening Open, Distance and Flexible Learning (ODFL) systems as a strategy of ensuring that vulnerable learners continue with their education, even if they are outside the formal school system. The project focuses on two selected countries in Southern Africa, Malawi and Lesotho where schools are reported to have been seriously affected by HIV/AIDS and where the number of orphans is predicted to be on the increase.

1.2 The approach used

A multiple methods approach was used in collecting data that informed this paper. The first approach was a review of literature on educational interventions that have been used in various developing contexts, both in Africa and outside the continent. Most of this literature was obtained from research-based publications by the IIEP (UNESCO), thanks to the generosity and support of this august organisation. The paper also drew quite extensively from journal publications by researchers in the field of HIV/AIDS and Education as well as from reports produced by various development agencies like UNAIDS and UNICEF. Most of these reports were based on studies conducted within the sub-Saharan region, hence their direct relevance to the context of the current broad research study of which this review is a part.

Apart from books, journal articles and agency reports, papers and reports sourced from important websites like the South African education portal-Thutong and the SAIDE website were also used. The last source of data that informed this paper are semi-structured interviews and informal discussions that were held with key informants from different non-governmental organisations that work on HIV/AIDS related areas. These key informants include doctoral students at the University of Witwatersrand who are working on HIV/AIDS and education in South Africa and Malawi. This paper is therefore informed by secondary as well as primary data on interventions that have been used to promote educational access and achievement by different categories of vulnerable children.

1.3 Organisation of the paper

This paper is organised into seven main sections. The introductory section above has spelt out the aim of the paper and the methodology that was used in gathering information. The second section below highlights the promise that the global community holds in education as a strategy for overcoming poverty, disease and suffering so as to realise development. Section three gives a picture of the existing trends in terms of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the expanding population of orphaned and vulnerable children within the sub-Saharan context. Section four outlines the theoretical lens through which the problem of educational care and support for vulnerable children is perceived in this work. This section is followed by the heart of the paper - a critical review of the various educational interventions that have been used in different developing contexts to address issues of educational access and achievement by vulnerable children. For analytical purposes, these interventions are discussed under four main categories; those that target reducing school costs, those that make educational provision more flexible, those that rely on community mobilisation, and those that focus on improving the quality and relevance of education. Section six summarises the findings from the review of innovations and draws out the implications for the study project. The last section presents a conclusion of the paper.

2. Education as key strategy for development

Educational access and attainment are critical for the socio-economic development of developing societies. It is a widely acknowledged fact that no meaningful development can be realised without education and that investment in education is worthwhile investment in development. This thinking is the driving force behind concerted efforts by the international community to promote universal education for all. The Education for All movement is a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults. The movement was launched at World Conference on Education for All the in Jomtien (Thailand) in 1990, when representatives of the international community agreed to universalise primary education and massively reduce illiteracy by the end of the decade. Some 155 governments signed a World Declaration and Framework of Action, committing them to ensure quality basic education for all children, youth and adults (Torres, 2000:5).

Ten years later, with many countries far from having reached this goal, the international community met again in Dakar, Senegal, and affirmed their commitment to achieving Education for All by the year 2015. Six key education goals aimed at meeting the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015 were identified. These six goals are:

- Goal 1: Expand early childhood care and education
- Goal 2: Provide free and compulsory primary education for all
- Goal 3: Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults
- Goal 4: Increase adult literacy by 50 percent
- Goal 5: Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015
- Goal 6: Improve the quality of education

(UNESCO, n.d)

The framework and strategies for implementing education for all were revised and the concept of basic education re-conceptualised at the Dakar Conference in April 2000. By adopting the Dakar Framework for Action, the 1,100 participants of the Forum reaffirmed their commitment to achieving Education for All by the year 2015 and UNESCO was entrusted with the overall

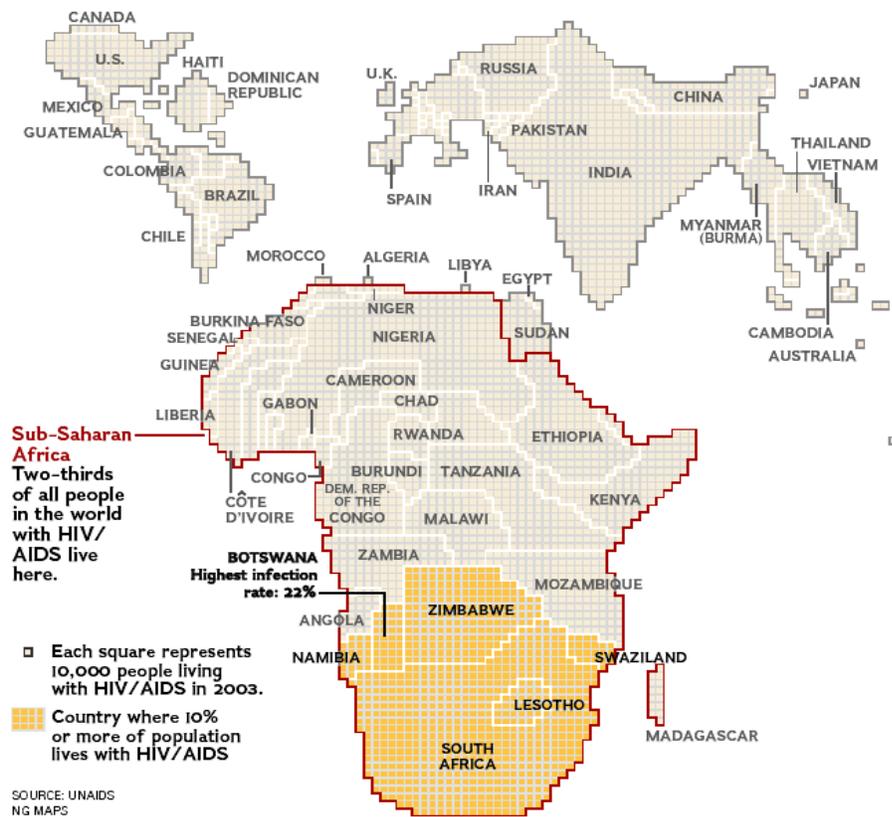
responsibility for overseeing and coordinating implementation of the plan internationally. As the lead agency, UNESCO has been mandated to coordinate international efforts to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015, irrespective of their socio-economic background. Governments, development agencies, civil society, non-government organisations and the media are some of the partners working towards reaching these goals.

Sadly, the achievement of the noble educational goals identified at the Dakar Conference is threatened by current trends in sub-Saharan Africa where social instability, corruption, poverty, and HIV infection are rampant. All these social ills, particularly the last, are severely weakening the capacity of governments, societies and individuals to meaningfully contribute towards the achievement of the EFA goals in particular and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in general.

3. The statistical facts

HIV prevalence rates in sub-Saharan Africa are shocking, especially when compared to other regions. Since HIV was first identified in 1983, over 65 million people have been infected, of whom 25 million have since died, and the majority of these cases are in sub-Saharan Africa (Carr-Hill et al., 2002:11). The following cartogram from a National Geographic special edition on Africa (2005) illustrates graphically that the region continues to be the worst afflicted.

Figure 1: A world map of people living with HIV AIDS



Number of people worldwide with HIV: 40 million
 Number in sub-Saharan Africa: 26 million
 Percentage of HIV-positive people age 15 – 49 worldwide: 1.1 percent;
 Percent in sub-Saharan Africa: 8 percent.
 Number of people in sub-Saharan Africa contracting HIV daily: 8 500;
 Number dying of AIDS daily: 6 300.
 Number of children under 18 orphaned by AIDS worldwide (as of 2003): 15 million
 Number in sub-Saharan Africa: 12.3 million.
 Number of HIV-positive South Africans: 5.3 million, more than any other country in the world.

Intra-regional comparisons equally paint a very grim picture of the trend of the pandemic in most of the sub-Saharan countries. UNAIDS estimates indicate that by the turn of 1999, 35.8 percent of people aged 15-49 were afflicted with HIV/AIDS in Botswana, and that respectively, around 25 percent of the same age group in Swaziland and Zimbabwe, 23.5 percent in Lesotho, 19.9 percent in Namibia, South Africa and Zambia were living with HIV or AIDS (Carr-Hill et al., 2002:11). From the above-reported statistics, it is possible to imagine not only how distressed the affected societies are, but also the magnitude of the threat that the pandemic poses in terms of reversing whatever development gains countries have realised so far if no interventions are made.

Orphans are a very nebulous concept, and different agencies use different definitions. According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, for instance, people are considered children up to and including the age of 17. UNAIDS generally defines orphans as children under the age of 15 who have lost both parents (Grassly and Timaeus, 2003:2). This paper goes by the definition of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, and takes orphans to be children under the age of 18 who have lost either one parent or both parents. This definition is well in line with the statistics provided in table 1 below.

The population of orphans due to the AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa is shocking. Table 1 below shows the extent to which HIV/AIDS has impacted on the orphan population in some of the sub-Saharan African countries:

Table 1: HIV/AIDS and orphans in sub-Saharan Africa by 2005

Country	Number of orphans due to AIDS, alive in 2005	AIDS orphans as a percentage of all orphans, 2005
Lesotho	97,000	64%
Kenya	1,100,000	46%
Uganda	1,000,000	45%
Malawi	550,000	57%
South Africa	1,200,000	49%
Zambia	710,000	57%
Zimbabwe	1,100,000	77%

Source: (Avert, n.d.:1)

The statistics above clearly tell a very saddening story about the population of children under the age of 18 within the region that live without parental care, without the material, social and

psychological support they need to develop into well-balanced adults, and most importantly without easy access to social services like health and education. These are children who need all round support and societal protection from various forms of abuse. Put differently, social anomy in the sub-Saharan countries is deeply entrenched through this substantial increase in the number of vulnerable children, who in the absence of strategic interventions may not gain access into formal educational systems.

Whiteside and Wood note that orphans

will not be able to afford school fees, uniforms and books; will not be likely to attend school because they will need to work in order to survive, and if they do attend school they will probably perform less well because of the lack of secure home support... they are also likely to drop out of school earlier" (Whiteside and Wood, 1994 cited in Carr-Hill et al., 2002:51-52).

Clearly, there are serious challenges that are posed by the pandemic in so far as educational attainment by vulnerable children and the achievement of the Education for All (EFA) goals outlined above are concerned. These challenges revolve around:

- Poor quality of education
- Prohibitive costs of education; direct and opportunity costs
- Impact of HIV/AIDS on families and communities (school absenteeism due to increased family responsibilities, poor performance due to social-psychological problems, and eventual dropping out due to lack of resources, engaging in family economic support, etc).

Research shows that HIV/AIDS flourishes in areas where high levels of unemployment, homelessness, general poverty, welfare dependency, and high school dropout rates are rife. All these adverse conditions render large numbers of children vulnerable; they become prone to abuse, lack of adult care and support, lack of emotional and psychological care, and lack of access to formal schooling. The challenges of meeting the afore stated Education for All Goals in most of the SSA countries are quite enormous, given the increasing numbers of children who are becoming vulnerable due to a number of social ills. To mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on the affected learners, innovative ways of providing education are needed; ways that depart significantly from the conventional, formal school-based delivery mode. Coombe informs us that:

Education in the sense of schooling can do nothing to reduce the transmission and impact of HIV/AIDS for children who - for whatever reason - cannot enrol in school. Neither can it promote the knowledge, understanding and attitudes that are fundamental to the reduction of HIV transmission if the quality is so poor that real and meaningful learning achievement does not occur (Coombe, 2004:41).

As Kelly argues, under conditions of HIV/AIDS, education cannot be the same as in an AIDS-free world, it has to be provided and managed differently (Kelly, 2000).

4. Theoretical framework

Traditionally, the family is a key social institution that gives stability and sustenance to its individual members as well as to the community as a collectivity. At the core of this social institution is the role of parents and parenthood in the upbringing of children. Theory has it that the type of being that is moulded out of a human infant depends to a very large extent on the amount of physical, social, psychological and emotional support the home (through parents)

provides at the early stages of childhood (Loening-Voysey and Wilson, 2001). Pringle informs us that:

All children have physical, emotional, social and intellectual needs which must be met if they are to enjoy life, develop their full potential and develop into participating, contributing adults. If any one of these basic needs remains unmet – or inadequately met – then development may become stunted or distorted (Pringle, 1980 cited in Loening-Voysey and Wilson, 2001:13).

Where parents are ill or deceased, this function is normally lost to families; other social structures like community organisations and the school need to provide a safety net for the affected children. In this regard, the importance of social structures lies in their ability to effectively harness the available social capital in order to enhance children's development, particularly through education. In exploring possible ways of mitigating the negative impact of HIV/AIDS on the educational success of affected children, I find the notion of social capital a useful analytical tool. The concept of social capital is understood and used differently by different writers. In this paper, social capital is used to refer to "the stock of active connections among people (including the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviours) that binds members of human networks and communities and that also empowers them to make cooperative action and participation possible" (Pridmore et al., 2007:2). Thus, at the center of social capital are a sense of collective responsibility amongst community members and social concern for the welfare of others. The community is bound by strong social networks that provide safety nets to those who lose their normal source of psycho-social and emotional support. Coleman, who first used the concept to explain educational achievement, defined social capital as an inclusive concept that refers to social resources that are available to children which promote educational growth. In Coleman's view, social capital is distinct from other forms of capital in that it "inheres in the structure of the relationships between actors and amongst actors" (Coleman, 1988 cited in Van Wyk and Lemmer, 2007:301-302). By implication, Coleman's theory of social capital places due emphasis on the establishment of positive relationships between schools, families and communities as a way of supporting the educational development of children. A child who is orphaned falls into the safety net of the extended family, or the wider community and its institutions, where the extended family does not exist or cannot cope. These community structures ensure that the orphaned child eats, has shelter, and continues to participate in education. In the light of this theory, this paper explores intervention innovations implemented by schools and communities in different contexts in order to enhance the educational attainment of children, particularly those who are orphaned and vulnerable. The paper specifically focuses on those interventions that are either school or community-based and that help enhance the participation and achievement of vulnerable children.

5. Critical review of interventions used in different contexts to enhance access and attainment

There is growing awareness of the need to mitigate the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS in particular and other social problems (like drug abuse, poverty, violence, and civil unrest) in general on the welfare of vulnerable children, particularly in as far as their participation in education is concerned. A number of initiatives implemented in different parts of the world and meant to keep the affected and infected youth in some form of education were identified in this study. Analysis of the innovations shows that all of them are based on certain assumptions or established facts regarding the main obstacles to schooling by these marginalised children. Although a lot of these obstacles are a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, some of them are very

generic to vulnerable children in general, irrespective of whether their parents are alive or not. Thus “orphanhood” is only one amongst the myriad causes of vulnerability amongst many children in developing countries, and most educational interventions reviewed in this paper aim at addressing problems beyond loss of parents.

Before discussing the interventions that have been used in various contexts to enhance educational access and achievement by vulnerable children, it is worthwhile outlining the barriers to education that have been associated with orphans and vulnerable children. In Coombe’s view, some of the obstacles to schooling in areas that are heavily affected by HIV/AIDS include loss of family income, reduction in farming productivity, and high costs of health care (Coombe, 2004:2005). Apart from these obstacles that are specific to the pandemic, a lot of other obstacles documented in the literature include:

- Lack of affordable schooling
- Increased family responsibilities that increase the opportunity costs of going to school, especially if the quality of education is poor
- Family skepticism regarding the value of primary education
- Poor education quality
- Stigma and trauma of orphans
- Fear of HIV infection on school grounds and on the children’s way to and from school

(Coombe, 2004:2005)

Educational interventions discussed in this paper have largely been aimed at enhancing educational access by overcoming some of these identified obstacles.

As pointed out earlier on, strategies for increasing access are discussed under four main categories in this paper: those that are targeted at alleviating the cost of education, those that make educational provision more flexible, those that increase access to education through non-traditional methods, and those that improve the quality of education so as to make it more meaningful and more attractive to vulnerable children. It needs to be cautioned here that classification of these strategies is merely for analytical convenience, there is great overlap in most of the interventions that are discussed; generally no intervention is limited to addressing only one problem.

5.1 Subsidisation of school-related costs

An interesting intervention used in Brazil to increase school attendance by vulnerable children is the Bolsa Escola programme. This programme was primarily introduced in order to reduce child labour and encourage poor families to send their children to school by providing cash grants to families with children aged between 7 and 14 years, the basic education age. To qualify for the grant, the family had to ensure that the child attends school for at least 90% of school days in a month. Research has shown that this programme yielded positive results in terms of enhancing access to school for vulnerable children. It was observed that the rate at which children in beneficiary families were promoted to the next grade was 80%, compared with 72% in non-beneficiary households (World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:45). Guilherme, Nadeem, and Gustafsson also observed that a higher proportion of children from the beneficiary households enrolled in school at the right age (Guilherme et al, 2000 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:44). The Bolsa Escola programme provides a typical example of where access to school by children from poor backgrounds can be enhanced through a well planned incentive system

that reduces the opportunity costs of attending school by such children, one of the major impediments to schooling by such vulnerable children.

A similar incentive is implemented by the federal government in Mexico, through the Progresa programme. Unlike in Brazil, the Progresa programme reduces the cost of education by providing needy learners with a grant and monetary support for the acquisition of school materials. The programme targets learners in particularly poor geographical areas, and within those areas some means testing is done in order to identify the beneficiary households. There is positive discrimination of girl learners in awarding grants as girls are considered more vulnerable than boys. There is also the incentive to enrol in higher grades since learners in higher classes get higher grants than those in lower classes. Grants are awarded to mothers every two months during the school year and all children between the ages of 7 and 18 are eligible. To receive the grant, parents must enrol their children and ensure that they achieve a minimum attendance rate of at least 85%, both monthly and annually. After analysing data collected from the Progresa programme, and controlling for community household and school characteristics, it was observed that the enrolment rate was 2.2% higher in programme regions compared to the control regions. Like the Bolsa Escola programme in Brazil, the Progesa programme had a positive impact on enrolment and increased the proportion of pupils both continuing and returning to education from 61% in 1998 to 82% in 1999 (Guilherme et al., 2000 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002).

The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) introduced by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Zimbabwe is another need-based financial intervention meant to increase access to education by vulnerable children. The module is part of the Enhanced Social Protection Project funded by the International Development Association and is implemented nationwide (Guilherme et al., 2000 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:54). This intervention, which was initially meant to benefit orphans only, has of late been extended to all vulnerable children aged between 6 to 19 years. According to the World Bank and UNICEF report, these children fall into three categories:

- Children in school who are failing to pay or have difficulties in paying school fees and levies;
- Children who have dropped out of school for economic reasons;
- Children who have never been to school because of economic hardships and are still of school age

(World Bank and UNICEF, 2002)

Although this intervention does not necessarily isolate children affected by HIV/AIDS, they are subsumed within this provision.

In the Zimbabwean case, school authorities working with communities identify children whose families cannot afford to pay fees. The children remain in school whilst the school submits relevant statistics to the Ministry which, in turn, remits the funds into the school account. This programme has gone a long way in ensuring that orphaned and children from poor families remain in school for at least the first eleven years of schooling, which include 7 years of primary and the first 4 years of secondary education. The BEAM programme runs alongside policy that prohibits schools from denying any child access to education as a result of failure to buy uniform. It needs to be pointed out that whilst this intervention has for some years been yielding positive results in terms of enhancing access, there are a number of administrative problems associated with it. The process of identifying needy children is bureaucratic, cumbersome and not free of abuse. It often leads to funds being deposited in the school accounts very late in the year and this affects the smooth and effective running of schools, especially those in poor

communities that enrol a substantial number of such needy children. The government does not only take long to pay out the funds to schools, it also pegs the fees at well below economic rates and this results in schools running without basic learning resources. As one of the key informers indicated, such programmes may actually be counterproductive, as they may only provide physical access at the expense of epistemic access.

The Female Secondary School Assistance Project (FSSAP) in Bangladesh is another example of interventions that are meant to increase educational access by particular groups of learners considered vulnerable. As the name suggests, this intervention targets girl learners from Grade 6 to Grade 10, the secondary cycle of the education system. The FSSAP was started by the Bangladesh government supported by the International Development Association (IDA) in 1993 in 118 districts identified on the basis of their economic impoverishment, low female literacy rates, and low female attendance levels. Any girl in the project districts who had successfully completed Grade 5 was eligible for the grant that consisted of a monthly stipend paid directly into the beneficiary's bank account and tuition fees that were directed to the school in which the child was enrolled. Beneficiaries were also required to meet certain conditions in order to continue receiving the grant; attending school for at least 75 percent of the school year, obtaining a minimum of 45 percent marks on average in end of year examinations, and remaining unmarried throughout the Secondary School Certificate cycle (Bhatnagar et al., n.d.: 3).

Apart from stipend and tuition provision, the FSSAP also included extensive information campaign that was meant to raise community awareness on the social and economic benefits of girl education. In addition to this, various measures were taken to try and improve the attractiveness of the school environment for girl learners; enrolling more female teachers who could act as role models, improving water supply and starting sanitation programmes, and offering occupational skills development programmes in order to make girls more employable after school. The campaigns included mobilising the community to actively participate in the running and overall management of school projects, a strategy that was meant to foster positive attitudes towards girl education by the public (Bhatnagar et al., n.d.: 3).

By mid 2001 when the project ended, it had unrolled in 5 000 schools in 118 districts in the country. Enrolment of girls had risen from 442 000 in 1994 to over one million by the end of the programme. The intervention also succeeded in eliminating the discrepancy that existed in the secondary system in terms of enrolment between girls and boys. The percentage of girls leaving school for reasons of marriage also dropped quite significantly; in the 13 to 15 years old group for instance, marriage of girls declined from 29 percent in 1992 to 14 percent in 1995, and from 72 percent to 64 percent in the 16 to 19 years age group within the same period (Bhatnagar et al., n.d.: 4).

The FSSAP enhanced access for a culturally marginalised group in the Bangladesh society by reducing both direct and opportunity costs for attending school and by rewarding for maximising attendance. Through its advocacy programmes, the intervention also influenced communities to enforce school attendance by girls at primary level first so that they could benefit from the grant at secondary school level. It also enhanced educational achievement by making the school environment more attractive for girl learners and by introducing occupational skills training in the curriculum.

Orphaned and vulnerable children are generally associated with poverty and therefore with lack of means for meeting basic needs like food, clothing, and shelter. School feeding programmes have been introduced in many schools in South Africa in order to provide incentives for such children to come to school and as a way of improving the nutritional status of such children. It is a known fact that in situations where children are starved of food, the effect on cognition, short-

term memory, verbal fluency, and ability to concentrate is negative (Janke, 2001 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:52). In South Africa a number of such school nutrition interventions can be cited and these are organised differently in the different schools across the country.

School nutrition programmes provide an income transfer for households that have high opportunity costs for children's labour and the size, composition, and frequency of delivery of the rations should be sufficient to address the opportunity costs of the targeted families (Janke, 2001 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:52). Whilst they have been noted to have positive effect in attracting and keeping learners in school, and in improving their concentration during learning, such programmes have been associated with many problems in some contexts. In a study conducted by SAIDE in schools in Mpumalanga (South Africa), school feeding programmes were noted to be associated with a lot of stigma by learners. This constrained the effective running of the programme. In a similar study in other provinces in the country, it was also found out that most schools lack the capacity to manage the programme effectively enough, resulting in some deserving children failing to get food on some days of the week. Drawing from studies conducted in several schools throughout South Africa, one of the key informants used in this study expressed concern that though there is a primary school nutrition programme which provides food for some children in most schools, this is inadequate both in terms of the numbers of children who are provided with food and the quantity of food that these children receive. Janke notes that for long-term sustenance of such feeding schemes, it is necessary to plan the programmes for at least ten years and local communities should be actively involved (Janke, 2001 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:52). In Malawi, whilst the school feeding scheme has reportedly increased access at primary school level, it was noted that learners place priority on food rather than on learning, to an extent where they choose to go back home whenever they are told such food is not available. Like in South Africa, administrative problems were also noted to exist in the implementation of the programme.

Several similar interventions involving micro-financing and provision of funds for the vulnerable children are cited in the literature. The levels of success, however, vary from context to context. In Uganda and Eritrea, for example, it has been noted that the returns of such interventions were small compared to efforts and resources invested. Unless they are donor supported, financial support initiatives are very difficult to sustain in most African countries because of limited financial resources on the part of governments.

5.2 Flexibility in educational provision

One of the most common barriers to education by vulnerable children is the rigid nature of most formal school programmes that require learners to be in school within specified times of the day. Most of these learners, especially those who take responsibility for HIV/AIDS sick relatives in the home find it difficult to fit into such programmes. They need more time to nurse and cook for the sick, and sometimes to fend for the family. Such learners need greater flexibility in educational provision; flexibility in terms of daily schedule, in terms of the school calendar, curriculum, organisation, and technology of presentation (Kelly, 2000:79).

The Diphilana initiative in Botswana is an example of a flexible learning programme that caters for a particular type of vulnerable learners - girls who get pregnant during their course of learning. Pregnant schoolgirls at Pekenene School are allowed to return to school after giving birth, for as long as they wish. Previously Botswana law only allowed re-entry by such girls in certain circumstances, and where this happened, girls had to wait for a year after birth. During maternity leave, schoolwork and other resources are sent to girls' homes and the school has developed a curriculum with some distance education modules that learners can attend from home, without attending formal school. This makes it possible for pregnant girls to continue

learning from home instead of being marginalised as is normally the norm in most systems within the region. When they are certified fit to return to school by a doctor, they return with their babies. The school has crèche facilities, which can take babies as young as 4 months, and nappies and milk are provided. At break and lunchtimes the young mothers breast-feed their children. The Diphilana project requires that the father, if he is at school, shares the responsibility of looking after the baby at break and lunchtimes, so that he can develop a sense of responsibility (Unterhalter et al., 2004).

Through the Diphilana intervention, the double frustration brought about by getting pregnant prematurely and being rejected by the school system is greatly alleviated; hope is restored and a sense of being accepted by the society is instilled into the beneficiary learners. Such learners are likely to apply themselves conscientiously after the experience of childbearing and may realise great academic achievements in their lifetime. The benefits of providing such safety nets to the individual girl and her baby and to the wider society are immense. By making use of distance education support materials, keeping communication links with pregnant learners from their homes and giving them support, and providing extra facilities like crèches at school, the Diphilana initiative shows how flexibility in delivery modes and adopting a different conception of school from the traditional one can cater for some of the vulnerable children in developing societies. In most of the sub-Saharan countries, many girls terminate their education prematurely due to pregnancy and the Diphilana initiative is an example of good practice in terms of mitigating the effects of this problem on these vulnerable learners.

This initiative is also unique in that it demonstrates how concerns across a range of social sectors - health, education and social welfare - can be integrated to provide an imaginative response to the issue of schoolgirl pregnancy, one of the prevalent causes for dropping out of school amongst school girls, particularly those who live without adult care givers and who come from poor families.

Another example of enhancing access to education by vulnerable children through offering flexible learning programmes is the Mkombozi non-formal education in Tanzania. Mkombozi is one of the leading child agencies in northern Tanzania which works with over 1000 vulnerable children and parents every year in the Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions. Most of these children are out of school for one reason or another, and either live on the street or have been victims of trauma and abuse. This intervention offers non-formal education that is based on particular skills, knowledge, and attitudes that are believed to help channel these disadvantaged children into the mainstream society so they can contribute towards economic and social development. The non-formal educational curriculum is based on a deeply held philosophy about the nature of education and how children learn (McAlpine et al., 2007).

The underpinning value in this philosophy is that education is key to human life and human development; and this philosophy is well in sync with human rights discourses. Denying any child educational opportunities, for whatever reason, is in fact denying them the necessary nourishment they need in order to develop into well-balanced adults who can meaningfully contribute towards societal development. The curriculum is based on democratic teaching methods which are participatory, experimental, creative, and that promote active learning. This pedagogy encourages the development of critical thinking, creative and inquiring learners who are actively engaged in democratic living (McAlpine et al., 2007). The Mkombozi intervention works with street children and other socially excluded youth to assist them improve their educational, social and psychological well being by offering them flexible education.

An impressive case of flexible learning implemented at national level is the Namibian initiative dubbed the Open Learning Approach. This approach to providing alternative secondary education was developed by the Namibian College of Open Learning (NAMCOL) from two

separate programmes it inherited upon its inception; the Distance Education mode of learning that was heavily dependent on study materials and the face-to-face approach that was not supported by any study materials and where students enjoyed only a few hours of face-to-face contact per month. A number of shortcomings were identified in these two modes of delivery. The distance education mode, on one hand, offered limited choice of subjects for which study materials were available, lacked regular contact with tutors, and was associated with the demotivating effect of studying in isolation. On the other hand, apart from absenteeism by part-time staff, NAMCOL's inability to provide study materials or textbooks to face-to-face learners seriously limited the effectiveness of this mode of delivery. Thus on account of these shortcomings, an Open Learning Approach was adopted, where learners are provided with a basic package consisting of:

- A one-day orientation workshop,
- Copy of the NAMCOL Good Study Guide,
- Full set of NAMCOL study guides, and/or textbook (on loan) for each subject,
- Forty-five minutes of tuition per week in each subject,
- Three assignments that are set nationally and marked at NAMCOL Head Office,
- One mock examination set nationally and
- Self-supervised study halls

(NAMCOL, 2001:15)

This initiative provides learners with a lot of flexibility in terms of how and where they can learn. Learners who are independent use the learning materials provided and learn on their own from home. Those who need more support have the opportunity to consult with teachers and to engage in discussions with other learners at self-supervised study halls, which are optional. This alternative form of schooling caters for a wide range of learners with different learning preferences.

NAMCOL's OLA provides a good example of how flexibility in educational provision can enhance access at secondary school level. Another initiative in the same country meant to achieve the same goals but using information technology is NAMCOL's e-Learning Pilot Project. The project, formally known as Developing Effective ICT-Supported Distance Education Delivery Models and Methodologies in Namibia, was funded and supported by UNESCO. In this project, electronic learning materials are provided to Grade 10 and 12 learners in Mathematics and Science (NAMCOL et al., 2005:1). The e-learning project offers materials that support a parallel curriculum in the aforementioned subject areas. Although piloted in Namibia, this e-learning project sought to identify strategies that can be transferable to other countries within the Southern African region. Whilst Namibia chose particular subjects for the project, insights gained through project experiences in that country are very valuable for similar initiatives in different countries within the region and in different subject areas. Hints suggested in the NAMCOL Guide on e-Learning; like content treatment, instructional design, and learner support mechanisms can be valuable guidelines in any of the countries in the region. Apart from making learning active and therefore adding quality value to learning experiences at school, this approach gives learners who miss out on lessons an opportunity to catch up, by working on their own from home, as long as they have access to internet. E-Learning platforms support methodologies that cater for learners who are self motivated and who need to learn at their own pace in their own time (NAMCOL et al., 2005: 7).

As supplementary to conventional face-to-face teaching, it is also worth noting that the Namibian e-learning initiative has numerous pedagogical advantages. One of them is that the

electronic mode of delivery enriches teaching by simulating real world experiences that are not normally possible for learners to experience. Thus, as a multimedia mode, e-learning brings to the learning environment resources that are normally beyond the reach of the classroom, (NAMCOL et al., 2005:7) This makes learning more exciting and school life more attractive for learners. The NAMCOL e-learning initiative increases educational attainment by improving the quality of school learning and by enhancing flexibility in terms of how and where one learns.

There are several other innovations that aim at increasing access for various categories of vulnerable children by introducing flexibility in the learning programmes. Community schools in Burkina Faso and in Zambia operate on a more flexible timetable and are more flexible to accommodate the special needs of orphans, street children and those who have been forced to abandon formal school due to HIV/AIDS (Kelly, 2000:79). The same source also reports that in these countries, schools have also adapted their curricula in order to suit the specific needs of these children.

5.3 Mobilising community support

There are a number of reported innovations that try to increase access and attainment through community based educational initiatives. In almost all the reviewed cases in this section of the paper, communities play a very central role in the provision of education as well as in providing the much needed psycho-social support, although with some external assistance.

One of the most successful community-based educational interventions reported in the literature is the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) initiative, which started in 1972 as a resettlement initiative for refugees in one district in the country. The BRAC's Non-Formal Primary Education Programme (NFPE) was launched in 1985 with the prime aim of providing non-formal education to learners who had missed out on formal school education. The programme involves communities taking a leading role in providing children with education using community members as teachers. Communities take it upon themselves to ensure that all children attend school irrespective of their background, and they are taught by teachers from the same community who in most instances know them. To ensure quality of education, teachers are required to have completed at least nine years of schooling and are given 15 days training courses which are supplemented by monthly in-service training. Outside agencies are involved, but only as supporters and not to spearhead the development of such educational initiatives in communities. The responsibility lies upon the communities to identify areas where schools are needed and to ensure that all children are in school and teachers are provided. The community has the collective responsibility to make sure that all children participate in one form of education or another. It is also involved in agreeing on school timetables and in providing labour and materials to build classrooms. This intervention is associated with two types of schools; one that caters for children who have never attended primary school and the other that caters for older children who have dropped out of the formal government school system. After attending the flexible BRAC community schools, both groups have the option to continue their education by enrolling in formal government schools at appropriate levels (Ahuja, n.d.:1). This intervention has gone a long way in enhancing access to education by poor rural children, particularly girls. The initiative started with 22 pilot schools in 1985 and had expanded to 40 000 schools with an enrolment of over one million children by 2005.

An important aspect of the BRAC intervention is the seed of inclusive education that it has sown in the country. The government of Bangladesh appreciates the role the intervention has played in getting older children back into the formal school system and is adopting many of the curriculum and teacher training ideas pioneered by the intervention.

As alluded to earlier on in this paper, when a child loses parents through death and cannot be accommodated in the extended family, the community is the next safety net. The firmness of the social capital of a community becomes a critical resource for making it possible to be able to cater for the needs of orphaned and other vulnerable children. Chief Charumbira's Community-based Orphan Care program in Masvingo Province (Zimbabwe) is one example of how community mobilisation can mitigate the effects of orphanhood by ensuring that orphans continue to enrol in formal school. Formed in 1994, this intervention makes use of village committee structures to identify orphaned and other vulnerable children and ensure that they remain in school. Once the households are identified, the committees mobilize support from community members and see to it that the children are assisted with household chores, they are helped with crops and tendering animals, and home-based care is provided to the sick parent or relative so that the affected children are released for school. Community members also contribute for the payment of school fees (UNAIDS/UNICEF, 1999 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:47). Similar community initiatives are also reported in Nigeria where the River State Enhanced Care of Orphans project, for instance, has provided care to 500 households with orphans and vulnerable children (USAID, 2001 cited in World Bank and UNICEF, 2002:47).

In South Africa there are many community-based initiatives of varying forms that have evolved in various pockets and four examples are presented in this paper. The first one is the Thanadanani which operates in the Pietermaritzburg district of KwaZulu Natal. This initiative has established community child care committees through local elections. The committees do community profiles, identify vulnerable children, post them to caregivers in the community, oversee the children and advocate on their behalf. They lead campaigns in the area such as mobilising birth registration and ensuring that such children have food as well as adult custody. They regularly negotiate with schools for children's entry and for their reports and for protection against discrimination. Where such children do not have formal documentation, fees or uniform as per requirement by schools, the committees negotiate for such children to be admitted in school whilst they take it upon themselves to secure the requirements for the children (Loening-Voysey and Wilson, 2001).

The second intervention is called the Sunflower and it operates in the Empangeni district. Sunflower is the brainchild of one strong, visionary woman who was motivated by her faith and sense of social development. The woman started and runs this intervention with no funding, works off her own meagre pension as a retired teacher and motivates others into action. She has co-coordinated income generation projects, vegetable gardening, educational meetings, pre-school education, vocational skills training for youth and education on AIDS related issues. She visits these groups regularly and wherever possible liaises with outside resources. The main idea behind the project is to try and address the problems of orphaned and other vulnerable children from an economic as well as an educational point of view. Through the various community-supported income generation projects, such children are afforded basic needs like clothing and food. Through the various educational programmes, which include advocacy, access to some form of education is provided, both in the community as well as formally at school. Like the Thanadanani initiative, OVC benefit from any one of these initiatives, (Loening-Voysey and Wilson, 2001).

A third, much larger scale intervention, the Schools as Centres for Care and Support project, is being implemented in KwaZulu-Natal and the North West province in South Africa. The goal of this initiative is, within the four year life span of the project to reduce the negative impact of HIV/AIDS on 50 clusters of rural schools communities (400 schools) in the North West province and 91 clusters in KwaZulu-Natal (726 schools), with a particular emphasis on supporting orphans and vulnerable children. This initiative recognises that for schools to expand their role and become much-needed centres of care and support, they need both to draw on the

community for support and serve the community. At the end of the first year of the project in 2006, the clusters in the year 1 target group were in the process of undertaking an audit of OVCs, coordinating application for social grants, setting up school-based and cluster-based support structures and staff, doing home visits, and in some cases establishing school food gardens (SAIDE, 2006:32). Although this has mainly happened through the efforts of an NGO, the Media in Education Trust, links have been established with such government departments of Home Affairs and Social Development as well as local community based organisations. The intention is that the project will move from being NGO driven to being driven through the relevant provincial department of education. In KwaZulu-Natal the project will be mainstreamed through the plan for the implementation of the inclusive education policy: HIV/AIDS and its effects will be dealt with as one of the 'barriers to learning and development'. Thus far, there has been little direct curriculum support provided to OVCs; the focus has been more on meeting material needs. Considerable effort has, however, been expended in the development of a tool kit of support materials: a handbook for school support structures to guide the school in how to make schools centers of care and support, a book for caregivers, a first aid book, and classroom material 'Learn about healthy living' with learners' books, 'teachers' books, and posters. Relevant material from Soul City will also be distributed as part of the Toolkit.

A fourth innovation premised on community mobilisation in South Africa is the Soul City initiative on Circles of Support. The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication is an NGO that uses the power of the mass media to address many issues regarding HIV/AIDS. The Institute tries to convey its message through television, radio, print materials, advocacy and advertising. They try to reach young people through entertainment-education (edutainment), where the idea is to transmit knowledge, positive attitudes and behaviours through entertainment (Goldstein et al., 2002:4). Whilst Soul City's main focus is on creating awareness among young people, an important element of their innovations which can be valuable in learning is their notion of circles of support for children. The notion of Circles of Support is premised on the idea that it is through the creation of strong social capital within a community that children's needs can be met. Everybody in the community should see every child in the community as their child, and therefore should be concerned about the children's rights and needs. The many organisations and groups of people in a community, like the child's relatives and neighbours, the wider community members, and organisations and government services should constitute a strong network that should provide needy children with a safety net. Our framework of social capital explained at the beginning of this paper becomes very relevant in Soul City's idea of Circles of Support. The significance of this notion is that where such networks exist, different types of vulnerable children can rely on the support of members within the network to continue learning, to have food and shelter, and to have hope restored after they lose parents or when they suffer abuse. Such networks can be extended to learning where a child can belong to a group of other learners with whom discussions can be done and a lot of peer assistance with schoolwork can be obtained. Talking to other peers and playing with them, receiving constant care and support from adults, and avoiding a stressful lonely life at a tender age help children develop a sense of belonging and builds up their self confidence. This is the biggest contribution the Soul City initiative is making through the Circles of Support initiative. It is also worth noting that this initiative is used in other countries in the region, like Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi. Circles of Support is an adaptable approach that can be used to address particular problems threatening the welfare of vulnerable children in different contexts.

5.4 Improving quality and relevance of education

Learner retention and achievement can be achieved through improving the quality and relevance of educational provision. The Mkombozi Non- Formal education initiative in Tanzania, the Bangladesh Female Secondary School Assistance Project (FSSAP), and the Burkina Faso and Zambian flexible education innovations referred to earlier on in this paper are good examples of improving educational relevance so that the targeted learners find the experience of schooling more meaningful and more exciting and therefore choose to remain in school. Where the curriculum is perceived relevant, learners see more life opportunities arising from acquiring education than where such relevance is not obvious. Learning experiences that are of high quality also help in avoiding boredom and minimising drop outs. The Education Development and Support Centers (EDSCs) model developed and implemented by MiET in KwaZulu-Natal and the North West provinces are one innovation that is aimed at improving the quality of school services (this initiative is related to the Schools as Centres of Care and Support initiative described in the previous section). Such centers have facilities like computers, faxes, and possibly internet where educators can be trained in various skills that have a trickle- down effect on classroom teaching and learning. It is hoped that this will have the overall effect of improving the quality of teaching and retaining learners in the system. The education development and support centers also provide infrastructure that makes the school environment more attractive in terms of service provision to the community, and therefore an attractive place to be in.

Another example of improving the quality of teaching and learning is found in the various Mindset innovations, like the Mindset Cabanga and Mindset Learn. Both of these innovations make use of new communication technology to support learning at school. The innovations involve the development of digital learning materials that are delivered through satellite to schools. These high quality learning materials are developed at Mindset headquarters and sent to a digital storage device (DSD) that is installed at school. Teachers are able to access these materials any time from the school DSD through television sets or through computers installed in classrooms. The materials are used for enriching teaching and learning in the classroom, thus making learning more exciting for learners. There are also similar materials that are used by teachers for planning and preparing their lessons. A senior official at Mindset indicated that almost all senior schools in Western Cape have computer labs and access Mindset learning resources. She also said that in the Gauteng province, between 100 and 200 schools are using these learning resources. Apart from the pedagogical benefits derived from the innovation, modern communication infrastructure like televisions and satellite receivers put in the school makes school life more attractive to learners. Certainly this creates a sense of hope and purpose for learners who come from distressed home backgrounds, where nothing seems to work. The school becomes an important source of hope in the child's life.

Like Mindset Cabanga, Mindset Learn also makes use of similar technology to deliver high quality learning materials designed for Grades 10, 11 and 12. These materials are mainly in Business Studies, English Language, Life Sciences, Maths Literacy and Physical Science. Learners access these materials online and interact with them as individuals or in groups. They engage in activities that are specially designed for the project and they can get immediate feedback on their responses to the activity questions, thus making learning active. Like Mindset Cabanga, the advantage this intervention has is that it provides expert developed materials that weak teachers would otherwise be unable to provide. Apart from promoting active learning, learners also pick several computer skills that become useful in other activities during the learning process.

6. Discussion

Most of the innovations documented in literature and supplied by informers focus on reducing the cost of formal education and attracting learners to school through the provision of food to vulnerable children at school. Few of them specifically address how learners can make up for learning lost as a result of either being absent from school, being physically present at school but in a psychological state that prohibits concentration or being at school but without a teacher in front of them. Thus the plethora of educational interventions implemented in most contexts are based on the assumption that once vulnerable learners are relieved of the cost burden of schooling, their attendance and academic achievement will be guaranteed. Learning quality issues are clearly not at the center of most of these innovations. The success of most of the innovations discussed in this paper is therefore judged in terms of physical attendance rather than epistemic achievement. Investments made in attracting masses of vulnerable children to school cannot yield worthwhile returns if the learners fail to realise significant achievement in their education. In this regard, effective interventions should address both physical and epistemic access for such learners.

An important element emerging from most of the interventions is the prevalence of administrative inefficiencies. There are problems that are associated with the selection of the beneficiaries of grants, especially in communities where the majority of the learners become needy by virtue of the poverty levels of their home backgrounds. The selection processes tend to be riddled with corruption, abuse and bureaucratic red tape that have the sum effect of compromising the effectiveness of otherwise sound innovations. Due to the increasing numbers of vulnerable children, resources are also spread too thinly to be of meaningful benefits to schools. It is also noteworthy that most of the innovations are initiated and funded by external agencies. There is need for building local capacity if the innovations are to be sustainable.

With the exception of a few (e.g. The Diphilana initiative in Botswana, the Mkombozi project in Tanzania and the FSSAP in Bangladesh) most of the innovations identified are located within the traditional frameworks of conventional schooling and the conventional curriculum. There is little attempt made at re-conceptualising the notion of school and designing innovations that allow learning to take place in other places other than the formal school. It is precisely because of this scenario that the current project on exploring the possibility of expanding ODFL systems to support such unique forms of learning is important. In line with this thrust, use of new communication technologies, which is also noted to be minimally used, should be explored within the Southern African context.

7. Conclusion

This paper has reviewed examples of educational innovations implemented in different contexts to increase educational access and achievement by vulnerable learners. From the review of literature and through interviews and discussions with key informants, four categories of innovations have been identified: those that seek to reduce the cost of education on the part of vulnerable children and their families, those that seek to cater for vulnerable children by making learning more flexible, those that provide for the welfare of vulnerable children through community mobilisation, and those that address issues of educational quality and relevance. Drawing from Coleman's notion of social capital, it is concluded that effective innovations are those that are premised on sound school-community linkages and integration. Initiatives that have the strong support of the community, where the school has established and manages strong networks with the community stand better chances of being more sustainable. Such integration facilitates ownership and support of school innovations by the community.

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Appendix 1

Key respondents to the study

Name of respondent	Organisation	Date of interview
Glynis Clacherty	Clacherty and Associates	13/06/2007
Nancy Coulson	Health and Development Africa (HAD)	24/07/2007
Penny Dhlamini	Soul City	04/06/2007
Lynette Mudekunye	Caring Schools Network (CSNet) - Save the Children UK	15/06/2007
Ken Ndala	PhD student researching on impact of HIV/AIDS on education in Malawi (Formerly in Planning Division of Malawi Ministry of Education).	08/07/2007
Ellen Materechera	PhD student researching on Education Inclusiveness in South Africa.	10/06/2007
Uchena Medius	PhD student researching on the responsiveness of education to HIV/AIDS in South Africa	18/06/2007
Maryla Babybrazska	Senior Educationist/researcher at SAIDE- done extensive research on HIV/AIDS and education in South Africa	Several discussions
Paul Mphisa	Education Specialist/Researcher at SAIDE – done research on various projects on HIV/AIDS and education in South Africa.	Several discussions
Tendayi Mhlanga	Emerald Hill School for the Deaf (Harare)-has worked with vulnerable children.	02/07/2007
Nswake Senosi	Former researcher –Wits EPU. Worked on various projects on HIV/AIDS and education in South Africa	28/06/2007
Janet Thompson	SchoolNet South Africa	29/06/2007
Sakina Mohamed	Director of Poverty Eradication-South African Council of Churches	05/07/2007
Fatima Adams	PhD student- Former Director at Mindset	12/07/2007 and 16/07/2007
Sue Cohen	Director- Mindset	26/10/2007

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