

**NATION BUILDING IN MOZAMBIQUE: AN
ASSESSMENT OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL
TEACHERS' PLACEMENT SCHEME, 1975 – 1985**

BY

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KEY TERMS

‘Centro 8 de Março’

Cultural effects

Government of Mozambique

Education

Ethnic effects

Ethnic group

Ethnicity

Nation

Nation Building

Nation construction

Nation formation

Nation building in Mozambique

Nation formation in Mozambique

Nation construction in Mozambique

Nation-State

Political effects

Policy of secondary school/education placement

Practice of secondary school/education placement

Province of birth

Secondary school/education teachers

Secondary school/education teachers’ placement policy

Secondary school/education teachers’ placement practice

Teachers

Teachers born in the south

Teachers born in the north

Teachers born in the centre

Social effects

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the practice implemented by the government of Mozambique immediately after independence, from 1975 to 1985, of placing secondary school teachers around the country. Such practice consisted of putting teachers born in the south of the country to teach either in the central, or in the northern region, on the one hand; on the another, those who were born in the centre of the country were being placed to work or in the south, or in the north; and those born in the north were being sent to teach in the central or southern part of the country. The government's arguments in so doing were to mould a nation. The study explores whether this practices was a deliberate policy. The presupposition that it may have been a formal policy comes from the fact that during the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique, the then movement leading the war, Frelimo, had as its guiding principle to 'kill the tribe for the nation to be born'; so people from different regions of the country were compelled to work closely together in every activity of the movement. The theoretical framework includes a discussion of the concepts of 'ethnic group', 'nation', 'nationalism' and 'nation-state'. Throughout the literature review, the way nations have been historically constituted worldwide, the way African leaders tried to build their nations, the philosophy behind the idea of 'nation-states' they developed are discussed at length. Given that education has been considered as a key pillar to achieve this specific end, the contribution of this sector to the processes of building a nation is brought to the fore. The study is a qualitative analysis and exploratory in essence. Fifty persons – including high ranking officials and teachers – who designed and implemented or were involved in the practice, were interviewed as the main foundation of the research. The outcomes of the analysis as well as the analogy itself are multidisciplinary. It concludes that the practice was not a policy in the classical meaning, that is a core of written principles and practices approved by a competent social institution and followed in a certain community, it existed only in speeches. Secondly, that in fact the practice contributed to the nation building process, people involved in it gained awareness of the vastness and ethnic diversity of the country. Finally, it reveals that *de facto* the policy had unintended interpretations. Given that the majority of the people sent throughout the country were southerners – something which the headmasters of the practice apparently were not aware of –, the unbalance of educated cadres that

began during the colonial period were simply perpetuated and not critically addressed. As a result, “Southern dominance” in the administration of the country (in this instance the education system) provided the basis for dissatisfaction in other areas of the country. The study agrees with Connor (1990) that nation-building is a process, and concludes that Mozambique is on the road to nation formation, to which the practice contributed to a considerable degree.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: CONTEXT, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

While the dialectical process of political independence brought unquestionable “gains” (Davidson, 1983), it constituted a historical challenge for the emergent African political elites who assumed state leadership: the maintenance of boundaries inherited from the colonial administration, which, in most cases, were drawn arbitrarily and the bringing together of all ethnic groups that, while sharing the same geographical space and natural resources, had, nonetheless, specific ways of life, history and culture. It is a historical fact that it was the colonial process that brought about the configuration of today’s African nation-states. In many cases, different ethnic groups were thrown together and ruled by a single administration while in other cases the same ethnic group found itself living on different sides of the colonial borders (Hadjor, 1987).

As if that were not enough, the colonial rulers went on with policies of cementing rivalries among those groups. As Mamdani has argued (1996: 7), institutional segregation was a form of rule that the British Colonial Office dubbed “indirect rule” and the French “association”. In that process, according to Hadjor (op. cit), some ethnic groups were drawn into the colonial economy; others were relegated to the role of migrant workers, while still others on the margins of society were left to stagnate. In most colonies, the administrators picked one ethnic group for special attention. According to Mamdani (op. cit.: 7), the emphasis on differentiation “meant the forging of specifically ‘native’ institutions through which to rule the subjects...”

Along with the policy of ‘divide and rule’, the colonial rulers embarked on subsidising the ‘creation of ethnicity as a consistent ideology’ (Vail, 1989: 13). Ethnicity may have existed

in the past with other types of consciousness because people “were members of a particular ethnic group whether they liked it or not. It was a fact of existence” (ibid.: 10), but “the creation of ethnicity as an ideological statement of popular appeal in the context of profound social, economic and political change in Southern Africa was the result of the differential conjunction of various historical forces and phenomena” (ibid.: 11).

In that process of ethnic awakening, came into existence so many ethnic identities that scholars avoid talking about numbers. It is estimated that there are more than a thousand ethnic groups in Africa, distributed differently from country to country. In certain states, ethnic rivalries have been in hibernation, while in others they have come about, and in yet others violent confrontations are the next immediate scenario. The disputes behind rivalries are of diverse nature: some ethnic groups struggle for recognition within the national socio-political framework, others for equality and fairness in the access and distribution of national wealth, and others still for self-determination (Stavenhagen, 1996: 1).

Faced with such a picture, African leaders asked themselves the following question: how to turn these distinct ethnic groups into nations in the sense in which Stalin, for instance, defined the term?¹ To put the problem in a more clear words, “Every African state today faces the critical issues of nation-building,” (Rivkin, 1969: 8). Olukoshi & Laakso (1996: 13) accurately formulated the issue:

At independence, most African governments set themselves the task of undertaking a vigorous process of nation-building with aim of welding their multiethnic, multilingual, multi-cultural, and multi-religious countries into ‘one nation’. A central element of this official project of nation building was the assumption that only the state could constitute it (one nation).

¹ According to Stalin, “A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture” (Stalin, 1973; quoted in Hutchinson, J & Smith, A., 1994: 20). Looking at the ‘nations’ African leaders intended to build, it is clearly apparent that they were trying to adopt that former Soviet leader’s definition.

Let us emphasise the point with words of another author, “nation-building was obviously the top priority for the new independent states” (Legum, 1999: 14).

Strategies for nation-state building, however, differed among African governments. Some attempted simultaneously to form a nation and to construct a state in a very short period of time, a task which proved to be simply akin to "confronting Leviathan" (Hall & Young, 1997). Others dreamed of eliminating illiteracy - which was at the rate of more than ninety per cent - in just a decade. National political symbols were erected, national television channels and radio stations were set up; technically unfeasible national airlines were created, national armed forces apparently consisting of all ethnic groups were formed, as well as national universities and other mega-enterprises, regardless of their real costs, viability, social importance and sustainability.

Education was regarded as the magic path which would unequivocally lead to the much desired swift development. This, it was believed, would anchor a united nation (Cowan et al., 1965: 18). “Everywhere, attempts are being made to “Africanise” the school curricula ... to promote in the coming generation a sense of belonging to the new nation being developed out of what were formerly colonies” (ibid.). Other states sought to build their nations through culture. Different cultural initiatives were undertaken in an attempt to build a “national common culture” (Stalin, 1973).

The field of nation building is one that has attracted many scholars. My main interest has been to understand the process of nation formation especially in the vast African continent, where, as stated above, it can be found in the same territory many different ethnic groups with specific ways of living, in some cases co-existing peacefully, but in others quarrelling or even killing each others.

My motivation has deeper roots. Indeed, it stretches back to when Mozambique achieved its independence. I was just 10 years old in a distant southern village of Mozambique called Xipadja in the district of Chibuto, Gaza Province. My father was a primary school teacher.

He also used to preach three Sundays a month on behalf of the preacher who lived a hundred and fifty kilometres away at the Malehice Catholic Mission. Since the Mission was in charge of twenty other primary schools for which there were only two preachers, the preacher would only preach one Sunday a month in a particular primary school.

Many of the people living in Xipadja usually never knew other places in their province or in the country at large. They led a traditional way of life, practising subsistence agriculture and bartering their produce with shops nearby. They had no news about what was going on in the country. Every now and then, the *régulo*² would summon the men in charge of that village, who were known as *nwulume*³, to give them new instructions he had received from the colonial district administrator.

My father was on a par with the *nwulume* enjoying a privileged “status”. He used to go regularly to the Mission to receive instructions on what and how to teach as well as on what and how to preach. Together with the *régulo* he was the sole source of official information. He had a radio receiver with which he tuned in mainly to *Radio Clube de Moçambique*, which broadcast from the then Lourenço Marques, today Maputo. A few other people, mostly mineworkers, also had radio receivers brought from South Africa, but they were somehow underprivileged because they had no education at all and they did not receive any official instruction from the authorities.

The inhabitants of that locality just heard that there were other places; they had no idea whatsoever of the vastness of their country. As far as they were concerned there was just their ‘*tiko*’⁴ and ‘*matiko*’⁵. Their ‘*tiko*’ was where they were living, Xipadja; the rest was

² Headman. During the colonial period the State exercised its authority in rural areas through traditional political authorities.

³ A representative of the ‘*régulo*’ in that region; his tasks included the collection of taxes from the inhabitants.

⁴ ‘*Tiko*’ is an autochthonous territory, which can be translated as “nation”. It refers to the territory of a lineage or clan, but can also be translated as region, district, province or country.

⁵ The plural form of ‘*tiko*’.

abstractly the ‘*matiko*’ of others. When independence came, most of them did not even know that they were part of a wider notion of ‘the people’, or ‘the nation’. They did not know what Mozambique was. They had heard occasionally that they were part of Portugal, something which they also did not know. Such a notion of a nation, or country, was something completely unknown. They were told about independence, but they did not know what independence was. Their main point of reference was taxes⁶ and *xibalo*⁷ and they rejoiced when these were abolished. At midnight, on 25th of June 1975, one of the residents who had recently been elected Head of *Grupo Dinamizador*⁸, who barely knew other areas, had to explain to other hundreds of inhabitants gathered under the penumbra of cashew-nut trees to celebrate the country’s independence what it was all about!

After independence, the frame ‘changed’ somehow. Regularly, Xipadja residents were given information by delegations coming from the district capital, sometimes from the Province. They were explained what independence meant, about basic political concepts and the political situation in the country, in the region and in the world. Notwithstanding this, their framework did not change a lot, apart for those few inhabitants who had radio receivers like my father and the mine workers, the source of information continued to be mainly person-to-person and popular meetings. The number of people who could regularly visit the district/provincial/country capital rose significantly, but most of them continued experiencing their previous life. Xipadja is just 45 kilometres away from the district capital, Chibuto; and around 350Km from Maputo, the country’s capital. The consciousness of these people of being part of a nation was very small indeed.

When, as a professional journalist, I travelled throughout the country, I came to realise that Xipadja was certainly not uncommon: all over Mozambique there were plenty of ‘Xipadjas’.

⁶ People in the colonies were obliged to pay different taxes, ‘impostos’ in the Portuguese language.

⁷ Compulsory and unpaid work to which rural people of Mozambique were submitted by the colonial state.

⁸ The bottom representative of the revolutionary authorities that took over the country.

And the lack of awareness of the vastness and diversity of the country was not just typical of Xipadja residents. Even among those living in the country's capital there was a considerable number of those who had no idea of the size of the country. In Gaza Province, people would sing a choral song during solemn ceremonies and festive occasions which stated '*We will catch the enemies of independence and throw them in Musapa*'⁹. In the minds of the author of the song, Musapa was out of their country's territory. However, that place which was called Musapa was a small rural community in the extreme north of Inhambane province, still in the south of the country, six hundred kilometres away from the country's capital. These findings awakened my interest for the field of nation-building. The question I have been grappling with ever since is twofold: (i) how is a nation built and (ii) how do people like those of Xipadja become aware of the nation.

It is well known that it takes a lot of time to achieve national awareness and unity. Even in those nations which never knew colonial domination as such, questions of national unity have not been completely settled. The cases of UK (Northern Ireland), Spain (Basques), Portugal (Madeira) and recently Russia (Chechnya) are but a few examples. Still, there is a common understanding among scholars that Africa is an authentic failure. According to Olukoshi & Laakso (1996: 8):

... there is now little disagreement in the scholarly community that the entire nation-state project is, to varying degrees, in different forms, and with different manifestations and consequences, in a state of some disarray.

Africa Confidential (1995) referred to in Olukoshi & Laakso (1996: 8), states that "There are signs everywhere that the era of the nation-state is fading ..." My understanding is different. It appears to me that in many situations throughout the African continent two processes have been confused: one is nation-building and another is developing a country. In my view, these 'disarrays' and 'fading' do not mean necessarily that the process of nation building has been a 'complete failure'.

⁹As many songs and popular sayings in Mozambican oral tradition, this song was not recorded and the author is unknown.

Mozambique is a multiethnic society. How many ethnic groups are there in the country exactly is a matter still under debate¹⁰. One author has written the following words about this question:

“The People’s Republic of Mozambique, like most African countries, is a multilingual state. (...) Available information on these languages is not sufficiently accurate... Consequently little is known of the geographical distribution of dialects, the number of people who speak them, the degree of intercomprehension between the variants which distinguish between languages and dialects, the degree of commonness of languages that are reputed to be a common medium of expression, the areas where they are spoken, etc.” (Yai, 1983: 2).

Interestingly, there has been a tendency to look at the country in terms of regions: South, Centre and North. This tendency comes apparently from the times of colonialism and was taken over by the nationalist liberators.¹¹ Owing to historical reasons, economically these regions observe an unbalanced record of development, when compared to each other. Thus, the southern region appears theoretically much more developed than the others¹².

The idea of building a nation-state in Mozambique has its roots in the period before the country’s independence. It may be said that it was the internal dynamics within the

¹⁰ The issue of how many ethnic groups are there in Mozambique has not yet been settled within scholars; and a serious and open debate as such about the question is almost inexistent. The main question under discussion has been about the number of languages we have in the country. Given that it is a common understanding that the main expression of an ethnic group is the language, at the end of the day, the essence of the discussion is the same. Kathupa (1985) talks about eight grand ethnic groups, NELIMO found 18 languages and Zimba, B. et al (1993) point out “basically nine main population groups”; while Ngunga (1990) sees 24 languages spoken by the same number of ethnic groups. See also Liphola (1988) and others.

¹¹ This tendency seems to have been a way to avoid reference to a specific ethnic group given that in these geographic regions there was not only one ethnic group, but more.

¹² The southern part of the country benefited from an agreement between South Africa and Portugal for the South Africans to recruit the workforce it needed in exchange for the use of the railway and ports in Lourenço Marques, the name of the capital city at the time. This brought development to the southern region, as remittances from migrant labourers were used to create some infrastructure. The central part of the country was dominated by plantations. The northern part was dominated by concessionary companies, mainly interested in peasants’ cotton production. Both plantation and cotton production required little investment in industrial infrastructure.

Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), which led to the formation of a unitary nation-state in a future independent Mozambique. This was seen as the best way to hold ethnicity in check inside the movement. Within Frelimo there were different understandings of the strategies for liberating the country.

For example, in the definition of who is [was] the enemy, in the question of deciding on the strategic line to take... on the importance to be given to the armed struggle in relation to the other forms of struggle...¹³

Simango, a long term serving vice-president and a member of the Presidential Council of FRELIMO after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, president of the organization, in 1969, for instance, acknowledged these frictions:

There are people in the organisation who tend to give/develop a theory that there are two groups in the organisation, one led by Dr Mondlane and the other by Uria Simango. I refute this theory and say that there is one group, the first one... However, it should be said that there are many people in the party who think that some of our policies are not correct (In Braganca, A. & Wallerstein, I. 1982: 125).

Some of the combatants wanted solely to free their own place of origin, i.e. their ethnic group, leaving to the others the task of liberating the rest of the country.

For example, one of the most active representatives of one group was Lazaro Nkavandame... His attitude and mentality are typical of the group to which he belonged. Nkavandame was opposed to the strategy of protracted war. According to him, we should concentrate all our forces in Cabo Delgado, drive out the Portuguese from the Province and proclaim the independence of Cabo Delgado (Braganca & Wallerstein, 1982: 38).

There were others who held that the whole country should be liberated. They prevailed upon the others as they took over the leadership of the movement and managed to label the others as 'tribalists' (Machel, 1980: 73-80) who wanted to destroy it.

¹³ An editorial in *Mozambique Revolution* (Frelimo), 38, March-April 1969, following the meeting of the Central Committee on 11-21 April. In de Braganca, A. & Wallerstein, I. 1982. *The African Liberation Readers*. London: Zed Press Ltd. Vol. 2, p. 122.

These ethnic conflicts were of such grave momentum that they threatened the progress of the struggle for independence. The best illustration of that situation is the then movement leader, Eduardo Mondlane statement, before his assassination, according to which:

...in its session of October 1966, the Central Committee of FRELIMO re-examined the problems of tribalism and regionalism, and vigorously condemned the 'tribalist or regional tendencies shown by certain comrades in the execution of their work, reaffirming solemnly that such attitudes are contrary to the interests of the Mozambican people and impede the successful development of the people's liberation struggle. It emphasises that the battle against tribalism and regionalism is as important as the battle against colonialism, such a battle being the safeguard of our national unity and our liberty' (Mondlane, 1983: 165).

At the time of independence, there were some fears that the phenomenon of ethnicity could rise up. These fears seem to continue today, according to certain authors (Abrahamson & Nilsson, 1995: 193).

The hard socio-economic situation and the unbalanced development which originated during the colonial period and continued after the independence of the country appear to have given another emphasis to the question. "The preconditions for a politicised ethnicity which are developing in Mozambique have their roots in a historical inequality between three regions: southern, central and northern" (op. cit.). People of the north and the centre started feeling that the central authorities treated them unfairly (ibid.). These authors go as far as to warn that:

...there is a risk that the state-nation, if it is not decentralised, will come to be perceived more as an ethnocratic state, i.e. a state controlled by Mozambicans from the southern parts of the country. A widespread feeling that there is an ethnic monopoly of power, which cannot be broken by other elites, increases the possibilities for protest movements built on ethnic grounds to grow and gain strength. Political elites may exploit local dissatisfaction and attempt to develop political mobilisation on ethnic grounds. Separatist movements may grow and set demands for self-determination that cannot be accommodated within the framework of the state-nation structure (Abrahamson & Nilsson, 1995: 193).

It was, therefore, to avoid these risks and threats that the authorities opted for building a nation-state. As Machel was quite clear that this was not to be “a nation of tribes” neither of races (Machel, 1980: 77).

Mozambique had a trajectory similar to that of many other African countries. Its boundaries were drawn on the table by the colonial powers, its around twenty ethnic groups had already gained a certain ideological momentum and some of them were in open rivalry. There were clashes between *Ndaus* and *Senas* in Beira, Mozambique’s second largest city, early on in 1970s and soon in nineties and the relationship of hostility between *Makhuwas* and *Makondes* and between *Nyanjas* and *Yaos* had become increasingly tense.

And these rivalries held as ‘tribalism’ were seen as an evil that had to be eradicated by all means. The first Mozambican president used to say that it was necessary to kill the tribe for the nation to be born, and in certain phases of the struggle for national liberation he was totally convinced that the tribe had been killed, as he used to say: “We killed the tribe to give birth to the nation” (Machel, op. cit.: 77). The new government had “dreamed” (Egero 1987) of building a new society, following Mondlane’s proclamation to the effect that: “The purpose of our struggle is not only to destroy. It is first and foremost aimed at building a new Mozambique, where there will be no hunger and where all Men will be free and equal”(1983: 163). A ‘nation’, the ‘imagined community’, as Anderson (1991) would say, which should be developed on the basis and guidelines of socialist principles, free of illiteracy and poverty.

In fact, there was a co-occurrence of complex and multifaceted situations. There was the process of destroying the colonial apparatus and replacing it by what was regarded as ‘new society’. Secondly, there was an intense process of nation-state building. And thirdly there were attempts to build a socialist economic system.

Studies focusing specifically on the nation building process in Mozambique are almost nonexistent. Most of the important analyses of the country have focused on the attempts of building a socialist economy and/or on the strategies of development, combining political,

economic and social aspects. Others have focussed on the violent conflict the country experienced, elaborating on its social genesis and extensions. Take, for instance, Hanlon (1984); Egero (1987); Abrahamson & Nilsson (1995) and (1996); Hall & Young (1997); inter alia. Also, the most important studies on education linked to the nation construction, have tended to be of historiographic nature; or to analyse the content of curricula (Ngoenha, 2000) and teaching pedagogic techniques. Look at Germano (1995), Mazula (1995) and Gomez (1999).

Thus, it is not quite surprising that almost all analysts found negative results. For instance, Abrahamson & Nilsson (1995: 2) believe that:

Today, 20 years later, Mozambique is literally in ruins. At least a million people have died in war and a famine disaster... the gross national products per capita has fallen below \$100. Mozambique is today one of the world's poorest and most indebted countries. Large parts of the physical, social and commercial infrastructures of the rural areas have been destroyed by the war.

While for Egero (1987: 192), the “dream” has been “undone”:

There is no doubt, that the war that is carried out against Mozambique under the name of destabilisation is directed and supported by a strong and sophisticated enemy. Its purpose is evident: to undermine the very basis for the construction of a new society in Mozambique. Today the country is the scene of widespread suffering, caused not only by destabilisation agents but also by the whole complex of misdirected economic planning and insensitivity to the conditions of the majority, the peasants. We need to see the present crisis as a crisis of the whole society and indeed of the state itself .

And for Hoile (1989: 12-3), Mozambique is “a nation in crisis”. Scoring, the author underlines that

FRELIMO regime has made as many disastrous policy decisions as the Ethiopian state, with much the same effect in human misery, is now beyond question. Attempts to centralise control over Mozambique's population and economy, a key component of which was a creation of state villages and farms following the Ethiopian model, have failed dismally. And the price of failure has been famine, disease, escalating levels of political and military conflicts, and the loss of whatever claim FRELIMO may have had to legitimacy.

All these assessments, as stated earlier on, almost fit in well with the actual reality of Mozambique. But they have their foundations in certain analytical dimensions: the economic and developmental perspectives. In looking at the nation formation level, different assessment must be made.

Mozambique maintains the borders inherited from the colonial period; there is no indication of threat of country disintegration or collapse. Almost all the current political actors are in a solid consensus that the country is unique and so must remain. More Mozambicans are aware that their country goes beyond the limits of their village; there is a greater sense of belonging to a certain state. The war that ravaged the country seems not to have had an ethnic background, according to some observers: “The military destabilisation of Mozambique and Renamo’s progress has not thus far appeared to be an ethnic ‘project’” (Abrahamson & Nilsson 1995: 193).

Furthermore, it is important not to lose in mind that nation building is a protracted process “The point in the process at which a sufficient portion of people has internalised the nation identity in order to cause nationalism to become an effective force of mobilising the masses does not lend itself to precise calculation” (Connor, 1990; quoted in Hutchinson & Smith 1994: 159).

Therefore, the process of nation-state formation in Mozambique, as in other African countries in the same situation, continues, it is, as Saul (1985) puts it, “a difficult road”. What may have collapsed are the strategies adopted to pursue that objective.

2. Aims of the study

This study seeks to analyse the effects of certain practices deployed by the Mozambican government in the field of education in its attempt to build a nation. The intention is to look at the various effects of the practice of placing secondary education teachers along the period from 1975 to 1985.

During this period there was a great movement of secondary school and pre-university teachers. Those who were born in the south were sent to teach in the central or northern parts of the country; teachers born in the centre were sent to teach in the southern or northern parts of the country; and teachers born in the north were sent to teach in the centre or south. This policy had different but profound effects on the Mozambican society and on the actors (teachers, parents and pupils) involved. Policy-makers believed that they could reduce prejudice and lack of mutual knowledge among different ethnic groups through this policy. It is worth mentioning that this policy was not implemented exclusively in the educational sector. The health sector had experienced similar procedures; the army, the civil services and the national police as well. These areas, however, will not be discussed in this study.

3. Objectives

The study looks at the period from 1975 to 1985, the time when the policy was implemented. 1975 is the year of Mozambique's independence and marks the beginning of the implementation of programs directed to "build a new Mozambique". 1985 signaled, according to some authors (Egero, 1987; Mazula, 1995 and Ngoenha, 2000), the end of the utopia of revolution. It is the period of socialism, according to Dias (2002). The study is of considerable importance, as it seeks to explore and systematize part of what was developed in the process of building a nation. This seems to be an important endeavour given that, as stated earlier, studies focusing the ways through which Mozambique tried to erect its nation are incipient.

It is organized in six chapters. The introduction, the first chapter, defines the boundaries of the study. The second chapter is concerned with the methodological aspects and has a description of the nature of the study as well as the data-collection procedure. There is also a presentation of some remarks on how interviews were conducted. In the third chapter the theoretical boundaries of the study are presented with a discussion of such concepts as **ethnic**

group (ethny/ethnicity), nation, nation-state, nation-building. The chapter also discusses the relationship between **nation & ethnic group** and **ethnic group & nation-state**. The fourth chapter is devoted to presenting the country and its educational system. Part of the chapter is dedicated to a brief presentation of Mozambique. There are few remarks on the historical, political, economic and educational domains. Given that the study focuses on education, much attention is given to this particular area. The fifth chapter discusses the material collected. The chapter also examines the effects of the policy. The sixth chapter is dedicated to the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

2.0 Nature of the study

The study is an exploratory one based on a qualitative analysis. Monton and Marais (1990: 43) put it that an exploratory study has essentially the following objectives: (i) to familiarize the researcher with the basic facts, facts or phenomena, people and issues, (ii) to develop a mental image about the consistence of the subject, (iii) to supply more insights into the subjects, (iv) to originate conceptualizations about the subject, and (v) to make assessment about future research on the area. Very concisely, Runyon (1996: 2) points out that the objectives of the researcher may be to earn insights over certain phenomenon, social construction, community or individual, and such an exploratory study can be developed in face of absence of fundamental or basic information on a relatively new area. This study can be placed in this domain: it seeks insights over the nation building process in Mozambique. It is based in a qualitative analysis: this means that the focus is placed on the quality of the data collected, rather than on the quantity. The qualitative analysis is expressed in word, in a subjective meaning, not in numbers. It is characterized by a collection of data in a natural setting or environment. For this study, the process of data collection was conducted in Maputo, the country's capital. There were several reasons for this. First, the obvious fact that Maputo is the capital and, therefore, almost all the country's important dossiers and documents are deposited there. Secondly, the Ministry of Education is also in Maputo. All the material and policy concerning education in the country can be found in that Department. And thirdly and not less importantly, almost all of those who worked on the implementation of this and other policies and practices throughout the country are currently concentrated in this city. Interestingly, even teachers or other technicians who were scattered all over the country at that time went back to the capital city. During the phase of data collection I was told by those I talked to or interviewed about their former colleagues. I was told whether they had decided to stay where they were sent to teach, or to go to work in big cities.

2.1 Sources of the study

This research is fundamentally based on three documents of utmost importance for a reasonable understanding of the dynamic and evolution of education in Mozambique. One is that entitled *Indicadores Educacionais e Efectivos Escolares, Ensino Primário (1983-1994) e Ensino Secundário Geral (1983-1994)*. This document contains detailed figures about education in Mozambique during the years and levels under consideration. The number of schools in each region and province can be found there, as well as the number of pupils by region and sex during the period from 1983 to 1994, the evolution and dynamics. It also gives the number of teachers per level of education, in each region and province.

The second key document is the *Sistema Nacional de Educação - Linhas Gerais (1985)*. This document contains two important papers: the Education Bill and the Policy of Education in Mozambique. It provides information on the structure, definition, foundations, principles and objectives of the educational system.

The third is a printout containing data concerning 2500 secondary education teachers trained from 1977 - two years after the country's independence - until 1999. This document is not a public document, is the database only to be consulted in the Ministry.

The study, however, did not confine itself to analysing documentary material. Fifty persons were interviewed. Fifteen of them were former officials at the time of the policy, and thirty-five were secondary school teachers. It was my interest to combine and match the information gained from both perspectives. Most of these officials have left the positions they occupied during the period under study and even the education sector. Almost all the teachers interviewed had the experience of teaching in a different place from that where they were born. Very few - three out of 35 - cases managed to go back to teach in their place of origin. The list of people to be interviewed was not prepared previously, given that I did not have access to the information as to who had participated in the experience, where and how; in order to be in a position to select appropriate candidates I had to choose them randomly. The decision to interview a particular person was based on whether he had been affected by the policy or not.

To locate either the teachers or the officials was not a difficult task, mainly because those who provided the names of others usually knew almost exactly where the corresponding person could be located. Before starting the study, I had some meetings with some of the current officials at the Ministry of Education, namely, the Permanent Secretary, the National Director of Planning, the National Director and the Head of Human Resources Administration. These meetings were occasions for me to explain the study, its nature, purpose and objectives. These senior officials were very cooperative. They provided me with names of the first people I should meet, many of whom still working in the Ministry, or in universities as lecturers. And when I interviewed them, they, in their turn, gave me the names of their former colleagues and instructions on how to locate them. This was a typical case of a snowball methodological sampling.

Two different interview schedules were prepared for the two groups (see Annex II). In both of them there were only open-ended questions; the reason for this was to allow the interviewees to develop their answers. This does not mean that the interviews were limited to written questions; during the course of the conversation other questions were asked. I asked the officials to elaborate on the policy of teacher placement in the country in the period under study, its

objectives, where and when it was drawn, whether the teachers or the community were involved in the process of making decisions. I also asked them to tell me if during the implementation of the policy there had been assessments or reforms, whether the outcomes matched expectations and why the practice was abandoned by 1985-1986. One extra question discussed with all the interviewees was what explained the apparent social stability Mozambique seemed to be experiencing as compared to countries like Burundi, Rwanda and Nigeria. The aim of this question was to ascertain the factors behind Mozambique's stability.

As far as teachers submitted to the experience were concerned, I basically expected them to brief me on their feelings and assessment of what they went through during the lifetime of that policy. In the interview schedule designed for them, I asked them to point out where they were born, where they were sent to teach and for how long; furthermore, I inquired whether they had been given specific instructions when they were being sent to the places assigned to them; how they were received in those places given their ethnic affiliation and regional origin; I also encouraged them to talk about the relationship they had with the people of the places where they worked, what they think they added to their awareness of the world as far as their way of life is concerned, and what they learned from them. At the end, I asked them – both the officials and the teachers - to make an assessment of their experience, namely what they thought that the country had gained from it - whether it might have helped to overcome ethnic prejudice and in that way enhance 'national consciousness'.

2.2 Methodology of data collection

All the interviews were recorded and then transcribed on the same day or the following. On average, they lasted forty to fifty minutes. The shortest and the longest interviews lasted twenty-five and ninety minutes, respectively. The first thing I did was to contact potential interviewees, explaining to them what the research was all about and giving them the written summary (see annex I) of the research and the interview schedule; secondly, I asked them to give me a brief

account of their professional career to ascertain whether they met the study's profile. If they did, I, then, asked for a formal interview. We set the date and venue for the interview, depending on the informant's own schedule. Care was always taken to ensure that interview partners were aware that the interview would be recorded.

It is interesting to note that the average age of my interview partners was 41. The youngest was 38 and the eldest 44 years old. All of them hold a university degree, the lowest being a B.A. Many have honours' degrees, some master's and a few PhDs.

It is also important to mention that there were quite a few rejections. Mostly they declined directly, but in some instances they just failed to react to my request for a meeting. There were those who could not be interviewed because they refused to be recorded.

After the interviews and transcription, I proceeded to do the analysis of the data, which I had previously coded. The analysis was based on the following up of pre-established content patterns.

Apart from this, I also drew from studies and papers produced by other scholars, analysts or institutions. Throughout the text I have acknowledge my debt accordingly. Further references can be found at the end of this dissertation.

A final word in this section should go towards what may appear as a weakness of the study, namely the absence of figures. In fact, it was my intention to display the figures of teachers from the south who were sent to teach in the centre or in the north; teachers born in the central part of the country sent to teach in the south or in the north; and teachers born in the north sent to teach in the centre or in the south. Unfortunately, however, such figures do not exist, either in the Ministry of Education or elsewhere. There are no records about the placement of teachers

during that period. In the chapter where data analysis is carried out, this aspect is explained in detail.

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the way the study was conducted. Attention was drawn to the size of the sample, its general and specific make-up as well as the techniques that I deployed to access to it. I briefly discussed some of the problems that I encountered, particularly refusals and how I, subsequently, dealt with the collected material. In the next chapter I will discuss the literature on the subject.

CHAPTER III

THE CONCEPTS OF ‘ETHNIC GROUP’, ‘NATION’ AND ‘NATION-STATE’

3.0 The concepts

This chapter discusses the following concepts: ethnic group, nation and nation-state. All of them are central to this study. I deal with each one of them separately.

3.0.1 The concept of ‘ethnic group’

The definition of an ethnic group is a very sensitive endeavour. According to Du Toit (1978), “ethnic boundaries, in spite of their implications, are fluid and flexible. They have social, biological, and interactional implications and for that reason may be manipulated to serve given ends at a particular place, and time” (p. 9). Thus, as this author states,

ethnic and its derivative ethnicity is a matter of social definition and that they are based on ideological criteria. Such a social definition will always involve a self-definition and a categorisation by others with whom one is in contact. The ideological criteria will almost certainly include socio-behavioural, phenotypic, and spatial criteria (ibid).

Du Toit (1978) identified “at least five meanings” (p. 4) of the concept of ethnic group.

In the first sense, the term was equated with race [...]. The term was also used to refer to specific major races, as was done in the point seven of the United Nation statement. The third reference is to a socio-cultural group, such as the French; either in France or in another country [...] some writers have... set ... that *ethnic* really refers to a subgroup living among others in a foreign country. The fifth meaning uses ethnic group when a group of people contrast themselves or are contrasted by others, on the basis primarily of sharing certain cultural criteria such as language, beliefs and values, religion, or history (1978: 4).

Stavenhagen (1996) argues that Du Toit's criteria for identifying ethnic groups are fluid and flexible. He classifies the elements involved in terms of 'objective and subjective categories' (p. 26). By objective categories he means those attributes of a group that are independent of an individual's volition that ascribes him to his group at birth or through the process of socialisation.

They serve to identify the group as such and to denote individual and collective membership in the group ... are sometimes externally visible markers, such as racial characteristics, material culture or group activities (ibid.).

Language, religion, territory, social organisation and culture are the most commonly observed objective criteria. The subjective categories refer to

the psychological, affective, individual, mental and emotional processes by which specific persons identify with a culture or an ethnic group, through which they assume a particular ethnic identity, and which guide their actions and behaviour as members of such groups (pp. 26-7).

The most important thing to notice is the emphasis given to the status of the mind, a subjective factor *par excellence*.

Phadnis (1990) admits the existence of subjective and objective elements in the definition. However, he emphasises a new different element, the 'common past'. He sees an ethnic group as

a historically formed aggregate of people having real or imaginary association with specific territory, a shared cluster of beliefs and values connoting its distinctiveness in relation to similar groups and recognised as such by others (p. 14).

This definition, in the author's words, encompasses five elements: 1) subjective belief in real or assumed historical antecedents; 2) a symbolic or real geographical centre; 3) shared cultural emblems, like race, language, religion, dress and diet; 4) self-awareness of distinctiveness and belonging to the group; and 5) recognition by others (ibid.).

Another author worth mentioning is Reminick (1983). He discusses the concept of ethnicity, 'ethnic culture' and 'ethnic identities' and presents the following elements that can be identified in an ethnic group. First the high degree of shared distinctive features - physical, cultural, social and psychological - that are most often ascribed through cultural tradition. Secondly, the high degree of proximity within the members of an ethnic group. Thirdly, a common history and a shared destiny. Cultural pattern continuity is the fourth element. The fifth is the "intensity of communication" (p. 8) among the members of an ethnic group. The "boundary-impermeability where a considerable amount of resistance is generated against the intrusion of socio-cultural elements from the outside" as the sixth element (ibid.). The seventh element has it that ascribed status categories of different groups will emphasise the particular status of a given ethnic group; while the eighth emphasises that demographic balances of different groups in a large population will create population pressures of varying degrees that can intensify identity differences. The following feature argues that resource competition mobilises various ethnic populations in their respective quest for scarce but necessary resources. Linked to that there is the element emphasising "adequate and effective role performance" of the ethnic group members as vital to make possible the competition for resources. The last two features include the "adequate satisfaction of identities needs that will derive from political effectiveness, economic access, and the freedom to achieve certain desired cultural goals" (ibid.: 9), and the political discrimination and oppression "which effectively isolate a group" (p. 10).

To close this section let us quote Southall (1967) who argues that “dozens of definitions could, of course, be quoted from authoritative anthropological [and from other areas of knowledge] writings, but for the most part, they add nothing to understanding and vary only in emphasis, one stressing language, another politics, another self-identity, and so forth” (p. 39).

3.0.2 The notion of ‘ethnicity’

From the many ethnic rooted words, “the most important derivative concept is *ethnicity* (Du Toit, op. cit: 4)¹⁴ [...] Instead of its initial meaning of “class-consciousness”, “group pride”, or “racism”, the concept of ‘ethnicity’ has for the time gained recognition as “a neutral, unemotional referent to those characteristics and qualities that mark an ethnic group, irrespective of whether the group is defined basically on socio-cultural or basically on phenotypic grounds” (Du Toit, 1978: 4).

From the above statement, it is worth retaining the understanding of ethnicity as “...characteristics and qualities that mark an ethnic group...” (ibid.: 4). This demarcation between ethnic group and ethnicity is important, given, to quote Burgess (1979: 80), “the confusion between ethnic group and ethnicity”. Some writers seem to use, or define the two interchangeably. “Ethnicity is a synthetic term and cannot be understood, nor has it meaning, apart from ethnic groups” (ibid.).

Burgess (op. cit.), however, does not establish a rigorous distinction between the two concepts. Rather, he focuses on ethnicity. He “organises” (p. 80) the different meanings of ‘ethnicity’ in two sets of criteria: rational and non-rational, and subjective versus objective.

¹⁴ Italics in original.

The rational/non-rational dichotomy concerns the search for the sources of ethnicity in human nature. It reflects philosophic questions about ‘instinctive’ forces as opposed to purposive forces of ‘reason’ as these are related to ethnic behaviour, goals and so on. Objective-subjective proponents differ in the weight they attach to structural as opposed to social psychological dimension¹⁵ of ethnicity, and reflect differing levels of generalisation, theoretical, or methodological orientation (1979: 80).

In the non-rational level,

ethnicity is viewed essentially as a primordial, innate, or ‘instinctive’ predisposition, [...] involuntary; one is compelled to have basic group identity, a sense of belongingness and self-esteem, but he has no control over the membership affiliation (pp. 80-1).

The rational criteria stresses on the voluntary, functional, pragmatic, situational or changing nature of ethnicity. Thus, ethnicity “is seen as a rational group response to social pressure and a basis for group action...” (p. 81).

In the objective field, ethnicity is viewed as one type of some broader sociological phenomena, a type of group allegiance, one class of group membership, one kind of link or bond between individuals, one type of social diversity and one kind of social behaviour. “In this sense ethnicity becomes the character, quality, or condition of: (1) belonging to an ethnic group and/or (2) the ethnic group itself” (ibid.: 82). The subjective core emphasises the social psychological aspects or the affective ties of ethnicity. “Identity is a key subjective variable for contemporary students of ethnicity [...] [it is] the psychological category essential for individual motivation” (p. 83). Ethnic consciousness is held as another subjective factor, “consciousness of belonging/or being different” (p. 84).

¹⁵ Emphasis in original.

For Du Toit (1978), the ideological criteria that include socio-behavioural, phenotypic and spatial aspects, hold that ethnicity would refer to

the characteristics and attitudes of those that consider themselves and are considered by others to form a distinct ethnic group. Such a group may not satisfy empirical measures nor have any temporal permanence, but it does have sociological importance at the ethnographic level” (p. 9).

Phadnis (1990) acknowledges “the divergent explanatory approaches and perspectives on ethnicity...” (p. 16) and establishes a four dimensional frame of analysis of the concept: *primordialist*, cultural pluralist, modernisation and development, and Marxist and neo-Marxist.

To the *primordialist*, culture plays a capital role upon the individual; accordingly, ethnic identity is not chosen, it is given, it “proceed[s] inexorably from the cultural givens of the past” (p. 16). The cultural pluralist approach encompasses within a single society the coexistence of various groups having institutional system (p. 17). In the modernisation and developmental approach, ethnic conflicts need to be viewed as part of an ongoing process which has to be coped with and managed, but cannot be resolved once and for all except through the total assimilation or elimination of a particular group (p.18).

Finally, the Marxist and neo-Marxist analysis explains “ethnic conflict as emerging: a) at a general level in which ethnicity is viewed as a device detracting from the consciousness of the class interests and manipulated by political leadership and vested interests, and b) in a situation where there has been a ‘cultural division of labour, when members of an ethnic group are placed in a subordinate position within a given state (internal colonialism) or in the global context (international division of labour)” (p. 18). In this approach, ethnic identity is viewed as a reactionary impulse, antithetical to the development of class-consciousness and class solidarity.

Allen & Thomas (2000) establish a three-dimensional level of analysis of ethnicity. “Ethnicity as social instrument” (p. 492), “ethnicity as relational boundary (p. 493) and “ethnicity as a primal essence” (p. 494). At the first level, ethnicity is seen as a social instrument for attaining certain interests. Linked to that interpretation are Glazer and Moynihan (2000) who wanted to explain why people in New York who were descendent from immigrants continued to assert their separate ethnic identity, though they were not living their lives in a way similar to that of their parents or ancestors. Glazer & Moynihan, quoted in Allen & Thomas (2000), point out that “people recognised that asserting an ethnic identity was a mean of obtaining jobs and resources” and then they maintained that “the ethnic in American society become not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form” (p. 492). Therefore, the major conclusion of the two scholars was that “members of an ethnic group are connected by ties of family and friendship, but they are also an interest group...” (ibid.).

The second level of Allen & Thomas’ (op. cit.) analysis maintains that an ethnic group does not exist independently, but in relation to one another. “Thus ethnicity is not so much the character or quality of an ethnic group, but essentially an aspect of a relationship” (Eriksen, 1993; quoted in Allen & Thomas, 2000: 493). Because of that relational view, ethnicity came to be regarded “as an aspect of social relations, linked to the maintenance of boundaries” (p. 493) between ethnic groups.

The third degree of analysis places ethnicity as “primal essence”; that is, it is essential for one individual to be part of a certain social group in order to experience the essence of belonging to a community.

After this introduction into the concept of an ethnic group, particularly its origin and definition, we should now turn our attention to how and why ethnicity shows itself.

3.0.3 Reasons for the manifestation of ethnicity

The literature on ethnicity does not establish a hallmark for the emergence of ethnicity. Ethnic groups are constituted and identities established through complex and distinct historical and social processes. Some ethnic groups are said to have ancient origins and are able to trace their ancestry continuously from their early times to the present. While others are referred to as having been formed recently. And yet others are said to have disappeared in the socio-historical process. An ethnic phenomenon is as old as humanity itself, however, ethnic formation can be said to follow different paths under different circumstances and as a result of differing factors and complex interrelationships (Stavenhagen, 1996).

Stavenhagen's understanding is, however, disputed by other scholars. Glazer & Moynihan (1975) quoted in Burgess (1979: 88) point out that we are in the face of a new concept and find ourselves in a new reality. "The new word is 'ethnicity' and the new usage is the steady expansion of the term 'ethnic group' from minority and marginal subgroups at the edges of society-groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivals, exotic or troublesome - to major elements of a society" (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975 in Burgess, 1979: 88). Burgess himself seems to corroborate with this position, when he says "Not only does ethnicity represent something new, but it also represents something common among the contemporary forms of group expression and group militancy throughout the world" (Burgess, 1979: 88).

Moynihan (1993), in Allen & Thomas (2000.), is of the opinion that ethnicity is a phenomenon of the end of the twenty-century. "It appeared to me that the world was entering into a period of ethnic conflict, following the relative stability of the cold war" (p. 486). As he says, this could be explained by the fact that the large formal structures have broken up, and ideologies have lost

their consistencies, so it was foreseeable that “people would revert to more primal identities” (ibid.).

In his analysis of what he termed “the creation of tribalism in Southern Africa” Vail (1989) strongly suggests, however, that this phenomenon dates from the last two hundred years. As one can tell from the title of his work, he is quite sure about it: ethnicity is a “creation”. As he states

The creation of ethnicity as an ideological statement of popular appeal in the context of profound social, economic and political change in Southern Africa was the result of the differential conjunction of various historical forces and phenomena...”(p. 11).

According to this author, three such variables may be discerned in the process of “creation and implanting of the ethnic message” (ibid.). The first is a group of intellectuals involved in formulating it - a group of culture brokers is extremely essential. The second was the widespread use of African intermediaries to administer the subordinate peoples, “a system usually summed up in the phrase ‘indirect rule’, and this served to define the boundaries and texture of the new ideologies” (ibid.). The last, but not least, is the real need that ordinary people had for the “so-called ‘traditional values’ at a time of rapid social change, thus opening the way for the wide acceptance of the new ideologies”(p. 11).

While this issue is of utmost importance it will not be pursued here, as it would take us farther than we envisage within the framework of our study. We should, rather, turn our attention to the factors influencing the dynamics of ethnicity.

Du Toit (1978) states that “several authors refer specifically to the emergence of ethnic group consciousness, and all of them see ethnicity emerging from a situation of stress, situations in

which identities were threatened” (p. 10-1). He also identifies threats on an economic level and discriminatory treatment as inspiring the awareness of ethnicity.

Burgess (op. cit.) agrees with Du Toit’s point of view. He establishes two core factors “facilitating the resurgence” of ethnicity. One is what he terms “changing institutional structures and arrangements” (p. 90), and the second are “some unanticipated consequences of modernisation” (p. 94). Amongst the first, the author includes the ‘changing role of the polity’, the ‘changing class interests’, ‘erosion of the old authority structures’, and changes on ‘norms, inequality and the new equality’. Within the second factors he includes migration, effects of communication and education, and an increase in organisational scale, centralisation and alienation.

3.1 The concept of ‘nation’

3.1. 1 The origin of the term ‘nation’

The term ‘nation’ comes from Latin ‘natio’ as past participle of *nasci*, meaning ‘to be born’. Hence, the Latin name *nationem* connoting ‘breed’ or ‘race’. ‘Natio’ was used to designate a ‘group of foreigners’, those who did not belong to a given community, to the pariahs. The exact meaning was ‘uncivilised’, ignorant. In the Middle Ages, ‘natio’ was used to distinguish communities of foreigners at a newly formed university in refectories of the great monasteries and at the reform councils of the Church (James, 1996: 10).

Around 1220, half a century after the establishment of the University of Paris, ‘natio’ was a designation of certain ‘community of opinion’. Thus, ‘*nationes*’ *du France* indicated the native

speakers of the Roman languages; *nationes di Picardie* referred to the peoples of the Low Countries; *nationes du Normandie* was how scholars from north-eastern Europe were called; and *nationes du Germanie* included people now called German and English (ibid.). At the University of Bologna thirty-five *nationes* were considered that gradually aggregated into two, namely Citramontanes and *Ultramontano*; at Oxford, there was talk of two *nationes*, the *Northerner* and *Southerner* (James, 1996: 10). Another meaning was religious. In church councils, ‘nation’ had a specific meaning, signifying ‘elite’. After the Middle Ages, it was used to designate the ruling classes, in opposition to the ‘*peuple*’ (ibid.).

The evolution and extent of the meaning of ‘nation’ did not stop; very soon, ‘nation’ came to mean ‘sovereign people’, the population of a specific country. It was applied to the population of England, for being at the time a sovereign people. Note should be taken of the fact that England was considered to be the first ‘nation’ of the world. It is from this last meaning - ‘population of a specific country, - that the concept acquired its present day meaning. “The word ‘nation’, meaning ‘*sovereign*¹⁶ people’, was now applied to other populations and countries which, like the first nation [England], naturally had some political, territorial, and/or ethnic qualities to distinguish them, and became associated with such geopolitical and ethnic baggage (Greenfeld, 1992: 167). As a result of this association, ‘nation’ changed its meaning once again, coming to signify ‘*a unique* (ibid.) sovereign people.

3.1.2 The concept of ‘nation’

Hutchinson & Smith (1994), in introducing the discussion about the definition of a nation, warn that questions of definition “have bedevilled our field of study”, given that it has proven very hard to reach agreement among scholars.

¹⁶ Italics in original.

As early as 1882, Ernest Renan conceived 'a nation' in psychological terms. "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle", he wrote in his monumental *'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?'*¹⁷. In Renan's words, two elements constituted this 'soul': the collective past and the present. "One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all holds in common"(p. 17). For this thinker, the nation is the "end product of a long period of work, sacrifice and devotion" (ibid.).

Renan values the "worship of ancestors" as understandably justifiable, given that, in his words, "our ancestors have made us what we are". As he affirms, a heroic past of great men and of glory is the foundation of the nation: "To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together, to wish to do so again, that is the essential condition for being a nation" (ibid.). Still, the writer sees also a nation in terms of solidarity: "A nation is a grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which one has made and those that one is disposed to make again" (ibid.: 17).

Joseph Stalin was one of those who also made an outstanding contribution to the field. His understanding of 'a nation' goes in a different direction from Renan's "spiritual principle". For Stalin, 'a nation' is not a subjective or abstract entity.

A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture" (Stalin, 1994: 20).

¹⁷ Excerpts from this article are reproduced in Hutchinson & Smith (1994), pp. 17-18.

The starting point for this author was community, as he put it, “A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people” (ibid.) – an objective reality indeed. That community is “a historically constituted and stable community of people”. It should be noted that emphasis is on the ‘common past’ and on the ‘stability’ of that community; this suggests that if a community is not stable and does not hold a common past, it does not qualify to be held as a ‘nation’.

However, in Stalin’s definition of what a nation is, a common language is also one of the main “characteristic features” (ibid.: 19). But to have a common language, he warns, does not mean necessarily that those different nations always and everywhere speak different languages. An example is that of England and the United States. Nor does this mean that all who speak one language belong to the same nation. Examples here could be the Portuguese language or again the English language; there are different nations having Portuguese or English as national languages, but they do not constitute the same and unique nation. Joseph Stalin also places emphasis on objective aspects. As he notes, “a common territory is one of the characteristics’ features of a nation” (ibid.), though, as he equally observes, a common territory does not create by itself a nation. In his explanation, this historically constituted and stable community must not only speak a common language and live in a common territory; it must also have a common coherent economic life and a common psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a common culture. Stalin, however, ends his definition underlining that “none of the above characteristics taken separately is sufficient to define a nation. More than that, it is enough for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and a nation ceases to be a nation” (Stalin, 1994: 20).

Max Weber (1994: 21) is another author who saw the nation in a subjective perspective, but not exactly in the same ‘words’ as for instance Renan saw it. Weber conceived the question of a

nation as linked to the notion of 'prestige'. "It [the nation] is based upon sentiments of prestige, which often extend deep down to the petty bourgeois masses of political structures rich in the historical attainment of power-positions" (ibid.: 21). According to Weber, these petty bourgeois masses comprise especially

all those who think of themselves as being specific 'partners' of a specific 'culture' diffused among the members of the polity. Under the influence of these circles, the naked prestige of 'power' is unavoidably transformed into other special forms of prestige and especially into the idea of the 'nation' (Weber, op. cit.).

Because of that, as he goes on, the reasons for the belief that one represents a nation vary greatly:

"The 'national sentiments' of Germans, Englishmen, North Americans, Spaniards, Frenchmen, or Russians do not function in an identical manner" (op. cit.). Weber is aware of the implication of his definition, namely, of the social and material stratification, and states that the significance of the nation is usually "anchored in the superiority, or at least the irreplaceability, of the culture of values that are to be preserved and developed only through the cultivation of the peculiarity of the group" (p. 25).

In Weber's words, the notion of a nation cannot be started under empirical qualities similar to those who count as members of the nation, but it has to be seen as belonging to "the sphere of values" (ibid.: 22), and it is "not identical with the 'people of state'"(p.22).

All these considerations led Weber to conclude that "a nation is a community of sentiments which would adequately manifest themselves in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which

normally tends to produce a state of its own” (p. 25).

Another author introduced a focus on the component of ‘communication’. For Deutsch (1994: 26), “effective communication” plays a capital role to hold certain people together. “The community which permits a common history to be experienced as common is a community of complementary habits and facilities of communication [...] *A larger group of person linked by such complementary habits and facilities of communication we may call a people*¹⁸.” By communicative facilities, the author refers to the language, “and any number of auxiliary codes, such as alphabets, systems of writing and painting, calculating” (p. 26), and the “individual who have these complementary habits, vocabularies, and facilities are what we call people” (Deutsch, op. cit.). The writer warns, however, that the most important aspect is not the presence or absence of any single factor, but the sufficient communication facilities with enough complementarities to produce the expected result. Deutsch exemplifies with the case of Switzerland where people speak four different languages and still act as one people, since each of them has enough learned habits, preferences, symbols, memories, patterns of land holding and social stratification, events in history, and personal associations, “all of which together permit him to communicate more effectively with other Swiss than with the speakers of his own language who belong to other people” (ibid.: 27).

So, to this author, membership of some people consists essentially of the ability to communicate more effectively about a wide range of subjects with another member of the same group:

People are held together ‘from within’ by this communicative efficiency, the complementarity of the communicative facilities acquired by their members [...] and are linked to these centres and leading groups by an unbroken chain of connections in communication, and often also in economic life (Deutsch, 1994: 27-8).

¹⁸ Italics in original.

Deutsch (1994) arrives at the conclusion that

...a nationality is a people pressing to acquire a measure of effective control over the behaviour of its members. It is a people striving to equip itself with power, with some machinery of compulsion strong enough to make the enforcement of its command sufficiently probable to aid in the spread of habits of voluntary compliance with them [...] Once a nationality has added his power to compel to its earlier cohesiveness and attachment to group symbols, it often considers itself a nation and is so considered by others (ibid.: 30-29).

Giddens (1994: 34) seems more objective than Deutsch. He conceives a nation as a power-container, a ground where power is exercised (Giddens, 1994: 34) “A ‘nation’, as I use the term here, only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which its sovereignty is claimed” (ibid.). This definition, as stated earlier on, is clearly based on objective aspects, namely, a geographical space held as territory. This territory has clear demarcated borders, and this is why Giddens (1994: 34) insists that “a nation-state is, therefore, a bordered power-container [...], [and] it involves processes of urban transformation and internal pacification of states”. The author underlines that

The nation-state, which exists in a complex of other nation-states, is a set of institutional forms of governance maintaining an administrative monopoly over a territory with demarcated boundaries (borders), its rule being sanctioned by law and direct control of the means of internal and external violence”(ibid.: 35).

Connor (1994: 92) begins by warning about the difficulties in defining the notion of nation.

Defining and conceptualising the nation is much more difficult because the essence of a nation is intangible. This essence is a psychological bond that joins people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all other people in a most vital way.

The author goes on to state that even if one attempts to restrict a nation to its proper, non-political meaning of human collectivity, “the ambiguity surrounding its nature is not thereby evaporated” (p. 93). But he ends up concluding that “what ultimately matters is not *what* is but *what people believe is*” (ibid: 92). Perhaps Connor’s definition can be better understood from the example he himself gives: “When one avers that he is a Chinese, he is identifying himself not just with the Chinese people and culture of today, but with the Chinese people and their activities throughout time” (p. 93). Implicit in this statement is Renan’s concept of ‘common past’ and ‘common present’. So, one may be justified in asserting that these two elements are part of Connor’s definition.

Another important contribution is that of Hobsbawm (1999). He saw a nation as an ‘invented tradition’. According to him,

... the ‘nation’, with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest. All these rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative (Hobsbawm, 1999: 14).

As the author argues, whatever the historical or other continuities embedded in modern France, and the French, these concepts must include a constructed or ‘invented’ component (p. 14)¹⁹. Hobsbawm names three major invented elements. The first is the development of a secular equivalent of the church - primary education, imbued with revolutionary and republican principles and content, and conducted by the secular equivalent of the priesthood (ibid.); the second is the invention of public ceremonies, in France’s example, the most important being the Bastille Day; and the third is the mass production of monuments. All these elements solidified the nation. Therefore, in Hobsbawm's words,

¹⁹ Inverted commas in original.

...just because so much of what subjectively makes up the modern ‘nation’ consists of such constructions and is associated with appropriate and, in general, fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourse (such as ‘national history’), the national phenomenon cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to the ‘invention of tradition’ (p. 14).

This understanding of the concept of a nation as ‘invented tradition’ is close to that of Anderson (1994). In his understanding, nations are imagined communities.

We can summarise ... by saying that the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for modern community, which in its morphology set the stage for a modern nation (Anderson, 1994: 89).

According to the author, the potential stretch of these communities was inherently limited, and, simultaneously, bore none but most fortuitous relationship to existing political boundaries (p. 95).

Anderson’s view is that what made the “new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communication (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity” (p. 93) [...] [and] “ These print languages laid the bases for national consciousness in three distinct ways” (ibid.: 94). First “and foremost”, they created a unified field of exchange and communications below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars; thus, speakers of the huge variety of languages (French, English, Spanish, etc.) who might find it difficult or even impossible to understand one another in conversation, became capable of comprehending one another via print and paper. Secondly, print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which helped to build that image of

antiquity “so central to the subjective idea of the nation” (ibid.: 94). And lastly, print-capitalism created languages of power of a different kind from the older administrative vernaculars (ibid.).

This section reviewed the definitions different authors gave to the concept of a nation. Following is a discussion of the immanent process of rising nations.

3.2 The concept of ‘nation-state’

The concept and the *de facto* ‘nation-state’ are not an outcome of the modern era. As Cobban (1994: 243-50) puts it in his comparative analysis of the European process, by the end of the Middle Ages, “a number of nation-states existed, in which political unity was combined with greater or less degree of cultural unity”(p. 246). During the early modern period, the concept of a nation gained an additional significant feature, as it came to be used to describe the inhabitants of a country, thus becoming a substitute for the categories of ‘people’ and ‘citizen’. The existence of a separate government became the criteria of nationhood, thus, making ‘the people’ and ‘the state’ almost synonymous (ibid.).

According to Connor (1994), “more detrimental to the study of nationalism, however, has been the propensity to employ the term nation as a substitute for that territorial juridical unit, the state” (p.95). Nevertheless, the same scholars admit the likelihood that “the habit of underutilising *nation* and *state* developed as alternative abbreviations for the expression *nation-state*²⁰” (Connor, 1994: 95). As the author argues, the very fact of coining this hyphenate illustrated certain appreciation of the great difference between nation and state (ibid.).

²⁰ Italics in original.

Connor (op. cit.) defines ‘nation-state’ as a territorial-political unit whose borders coincided or nearly coincided with the territorial distribution of a national group. “More concisely, it [the nation-state] described a territorial distribution of a national group” (ibid.: 96). The author goes on to underscore that

[W]ere all states nation-states, no great harm would result from referring to them as nations, and people who insisted that the distinction between *nation* and *state* be maintained could be dismissed as linguistic purists or semantic nitpickers. Where *nation* and *state* essentially coincide, their verbal underutilisation is inconsequential because the two are indistinguishably merged in popular perception (ibid.).

Phadnis (1990) agrees with Connor’s definition. In his view, nation-state refers to the “situation in which the boundaries of a state are approximately or are perceived to have approximated that of the nation” (p. 21). According to the argument of this author, the “one nation-one state formula” (p. 21) had entailed the coalescence of diverse social collectivities within an institutional framework, “equating the ‘nation’ most often with the numerically dominant ethnic group and also with the state” (ibid.: 22). Thus, as the author concludes, the very basis of “nation-state” was “mythical rather than real” (ibid.). For him, what is at stake is not the absence of delimitation between the notions: “The analytical difference between state, nation and nation-state has not been in dispute. A nation is not the same as a state. The state is primarily a politico-legal concept whereas the nation is a psycho-cultural one. A nation may exist without a state and a state may exist without a nation” (op. cit.). For instance, the ethnic group Zulu in South Africa is held as a ‘nation’, but they are not a state. The opposite are the numerous African countries, where there is a state, but there is no nation as such.

Despite these apparently clear definitions, the term nation-state has come to be applied indiscriminately to all states throughout the world, mainly in Africa where almost no state

coincides with national boundaries. Connor (1994) presents a survey, which, though from the distant year of 1971, illustrates the complexity of the situation.

According to the survey, of the 132 “entities generally considered to be states” (p. 96) or nation-states, only 12 states could justifiably be described as nation-states; twenty-five “contained a nation or potential nation” (ibid.) accounting for more than 90 per cent; another 25 contained a national or potential nation accounting for between 75 and 89 percent; in 31 states, the largest ethnic element accounts for 50 to 74 percent of the population; and in 39 cases, the largest nation or potential nation accounted for less than half the population.

Thus, the

discipline of International Relations should be designed *Interstate* Relations. One listing of contemporary organisations contains sixty-six entries beginning with the word *International* (e.g. the International Court of Justice and the International Monetary Fund), none of which, either in its membership or in its function, reflects any relationship to nations. International Law and International Organisation are still other significant illustrations of the common but improper tendency to equate state and nation. National income, national wealth, national interest, and the like, refer in fact to statal concerns [...] it is perhaps not too surprising that *nationalism* should come to mean identification with the state rather than loyalty to the nation” (Connor, 1994: 97).

Having cleared what he considers the “confusion” of underutilisation of the concepts of state, nation and nation-state, Connor asserts that the “syndrome of assumptions and terminological confusion ... is reflected in the early self-description of its endeavours as ‘nation-building’” (p. 98), and underlines that “the ‘nation-building’ school has in fact been dedicated to building viable states. With a very few exceptions, the greater barrier to state unity has been the fact that the states each contain more than one nation, and sometimes hundreds” (ibid.). In Phadnis’s (1990) words, “in most of the countries it is problematic for the ‘nation’ and the state to blend

into an inseparable whole because of their multiethnic character and as such, all of them can hardly be described as ‘nation-states’”(p.22).

Neuberger (1994: 232) suggests that both nation and state are incomplete if they are not linked to each other. “Nations demand the existence of states as living nation-states...” (Neuberger, 1994: 232). For this author, in Europe, states established nations and nations established states. In Britain and France, states created nations by separation from other states, by communication and economic integration, by administrative penetration, educational-cultural homogenisation, linguistic assimilation and the enforcement of one law and thus transformed the multiethnic and non-national kingdoms into nations-states (p. 233).

This procedure of nation-state building was taken to different parts of the world.

This “official”, essentially European notion of culturally homogenous and modernising nation-state was carried over to Africa during the course of the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the forces of European colonialism changed the political map of the continent. Driven by an overwhelming economic logic, European colonialism resulted in the creation of nation-states which were largely multiethnic from the outset, with many ethnic groups finding themselves divided among the different jurisdictions... (Olukoshi & Laakso, 1996: 12)²¹.

Paradoxically, the mission of formation of nation-states was wholly assumed by the new rulers at the moment of conquering self-determination:

A number of countries which achieved independence in the process of decolonisation during the nineteenth (Latin America) and twentieth (Africa and Asia) consciously adopted the model of nation-state to organise their political life” (Stavenhagen, 1996: 16).

²¹ Inverted commas in original.

Obviously, the African leadership embarked on that endeavour for reasons different from those of the colonial rulers. As Olukoshi & Laakso (op. cit.) put it, “At independence, most African governments set themselves the task of undertaking a vigorous process of nation-building with the aim of welding their multiethnic, multilingual, multi-cultural, and multi-religious countries into “one nation”(p. 13). To use the words used by the UNRISD (1995), quoted in Olukoshi & Laakso (1996: 13), the “central element of this official project of nation-building was the assumption that only the state could constitute it [a unique nation]”.

This option was not, however, *sui generis*. According to Neuberger in Hutchinson & Smith (1994: 233), the African situation of states without nations has its parallel and analogies in European history, the process of nation building initiated by the state, within the state. “They clearly and consciously followed the Western European way and aim to achieve a nation-state ‘from state to nation’” (ibid. 235).

In Africa, in the leadership’s mind, the connection between state and projected nation was a true obsession, as the quotes from certain African leaders the author presents show. Zambia’s President Kaunda has said that “our aim has been to create genuine nations from the sprawling artefacts the colonialists carved out”. For the late Cameroonian President Ahidjo, “national integration means citizens’ adaptation to the different state structures”; while for the equally late Senghor, “The state is ... primarily a means to achieve the nation”, and for Guinea's Sekou Toure, “in Africa it is the state that builds the nation ... because the state exists before the nation is shaped” (p. 235). In this respect, Olukoshi & Laakso (1996) conclude that the “nation-building project was, therefore, state-driven from the outset, often relying on a top-down approach that carried far-reaching centralising implications” (p. 13). The big difference is that while European nations achieved their personality and identity Africa is just starting.

3.3 Nation-State Formation in Africa

3.3.1 Nation-state formation in History

The formation of a nation-state as an option is, as seen in the previous section, anything but new. The Israelis and Palestinians were confronted with the same challenge of nation-state formation three thousand years ago (Rivkin, 1969: 7).

Then, in different parts of Europe, the idea caught up and developed to the contemporary realities. “The modern nation-state project arose out of the social and political crises in Europe associated with the rapid national territorial spread of capitalist social relations and productive forces during the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries”(Olukoshi & Laakso, 1996: 11). There was a need in the already existing countries of the European continent for “homogeneity”, for cultural and linguistic similarities of the kind that could further the rapid spread and development of capitalism and its inherent industry. There was a belief that this ‘homogeneity’ would only come with the formation of a single ‘high culture’ which would absorb all existing different communities (ibid.).

Later on, according to the authors, the option of nation-state formation was brought up and introduced in Africa by the same Europeans. This “official”, essentially European notion of a cultural homogenous and modernising nation-state was carried over to Africa during the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the forces of European colonialism changed the political map of the continent. Driven by an overwhelming economic logic, European colonialism resulted in the creation of nation-states, which were largely multiethnic from the outset (ibid.: 12).

3.3.2 Nation-state formation in Africa

When the territories under colonial rule became independent, they inherited a reality that was, to say the least, very harsh. “What the nationalists of the 1950s inherited was thus a crisis of social disintegration” (Davidson 1992: 191).

Stavenhagen (1996:2) puts it forcefully, when he says that

... within the borders of most of these states there exist numerous ethnic, national, racial, linguistic or cultural groups who either do not identify with the dominant model of the nation-state, or are not accepted as full members of this state or the nation that it purports to be present, or who are actually excluded from it...

And that ‘non identification’ is held by this author to exist among ethnic groups sharing the same borders and often was (and continues to be) translated into different kinds of disputes; as Olukoshi & Laakso (1996) highlight, this is one of the major reasons for conflicts in Africa. According to them,

In several cases, ethnic groups which prior to the arrival of the forces of colonialism had been in conflict with one another as part of the autonomous state formation process that was underway on the continent, were welded together under new state (p. 12).

So, and to conclude with the authors, “The domestic ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of the countries or the continent was therefore seen by the post-independence governments as a source of weakness, the representation of which had to be suppressed in the political arena” (ibid.: 14).

Faced with such framework African leaders sought the solution in the building of a 'nation-state'. For Olukoshi & Laakso (op. cit.), "At independence, most African governments set themselves the task of undertaking a vigorous process of nation-building to weld their multiethnic, multilingual, multi-cultural, and multi-religious countries into "one nation"(p. 13).

In this endeavour of nation-state building, most African governments adopted single party rule or slide into military rule and made spirited efforts to push a unitary state project (pp. 13-14). As the authors, the critical point was that, in "eliminating political institutions which keep ethnic divisions alive, the hope was that the task of achieving national unity and economic development would be made easier..." (ibid.). But what was observed was that conflicts, quarrels and disruptions between those arbitrarily agglutinated groups continued to be noticed.

Some ethnic groups began struggling for recognition, others for equality, and others yet for autonomy or independence. Many of these conflicts appeared in the form of confrontations between ethnic groups, but more frequently "between politically mobilised ethnic groups and existing state" (Stavenhagen, 1996: 1). This author presents, without indicating the exact date, a "recent" survey of 233 ethno-political conflicts. In 81 cases, certain groups pursued separatism; in 45 disputes, groups were demanding more equality; in 83, there were demands for autonomy while 66 were fighting for power and 49 were pursuing different objectives.

And he states: "In fact, the majority of independent states existing today are composed of more than one ethnic group, and this diversity poses challenges to governance and to the prevailing concept of the nation-state itself" (p. 2).

Our purpose in this section, however, is not exactly to assess the reasons the project did not succeed, but rather, to describe the path that led to the project and what actions made up that

‘project’. This is why the attention turns to the strategies pursued by African governments to achieve their much desired project.

3.3.3 Strategies of nation-state formation in Africa

After independence, with great enthusiasm, a core of audacious activities was noticeable from country to country, much more vigorous in one and less in another. Olukoshi & Laakso (1996: 13) state that

In pursuit of their goal of top-down nation-building, post-colonial African government embarked on programs of vigorous economic and social modernisation which, it was hoped, would weaken ethnic consciousness and ties, “secularise” the society, and promote a new sense of nationhood just as the experience of industrialisation had supposedly done in Europe.

In fact, what was seen in different countries was entirely top-down projects; that is, programs conceived centrally by the government without effective coordination with local communities. What was also widely observable was a great desire to achieve certain stage of development that necessarily takes time, as Rivikin (1969: 8) puts it: “The new states are in hurry and seek to compress into a single generation what has taken the older states many generations, and for some of whom there remains important “unfinished business”...” Among the different strategies throughout Africa, there were Senghor’s doctrine of *negritude*, Nkrumah’s ‘African socialism’ and Toure’s ‘socialism’, Mobutu’s ‘authenticity’, Nyerere’s ‘*Ujamaa* socialism’, Kenyatta’s *Harambee*, and Kaunda’s ‘humanism’ (ibid.: 14). In spite of all this philosophic creativity, what was seen was the creation of “national symbols”, elements aimed to identify the new sovereign state.

Invariably, all the nations strived to forge national political symbols and national personalities or

heroes. Where there were none, de-merited people were elevated and conferred such a status. And national monuments were erected and holidays instituted. It was the process of ‘inventing’ the tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1999). Secondly, there were some tireless efforts to build up some strong national armed forces, aimed to defend national sovereignty; to this end existent and nonexistent resources were mobilised to have a national army in place. Almost all the nations sought to have a national airline company with the aim of establishing national unity through air connections between the country’s provinces - it did not matter whether those air companies and connections were commercially and financially viable as far as the economy of the country was concerned. As in fact most of them were economically unviable, these companies lived at the expenses of state subsidies. Colossal efforts were also made to establish a national radio station and, shortly later, national television services - everything was done to that end. Every country endeavoured to have a national university so that the country would train its own people in ways that were consistent with the nationalist principles propounded by the authority.

The second most important front that was put in perspective by the new ‘elites’ was the economic domain. The greatest desire was to have, immediately, a fast and giant economic growth. As an author put it several years ago,

... for the African states, economic development has become inextricably and indistinguishably intertwined with nation-building. It is not only a question of using economic development as a technique, or regarding it as a factor, in nation building. It is something more. It is viewing economic development as a goal inseparable from that of nation-building” (Rivkin 1969: 9).

Whether they termed it socialism or not, the fact was that they wanted a robust economic growth and development that would heal the national problems of misery and poverty and cement the state-nation formation.

Thus, a set of measures were introduced in the country economy - needless to say that most of the measures were unsustainable, others without practical social foundations, and a lot more simply economically unviable. Whether under some nationalisation measures or not, mega-projects were drawn and carried out, independently of their adequacy. Often, this was done against the background of political decisions, rather than economic ones aiming at correcting country regional development imbalances, or creating the sense of national identity. To push the much wanted economic growth forward, there were successive crusades, which neither knew frontiers nor distance with the objective of mobilising investments. Different countries from differing political and economic ideologies and institutions of varied nature were approached and asked to invest. In this perspective, economic growth was being held as a synonym of development.

This inaccurate approach, however, is not surprising. Todaro (2000: 14), for instance, has written that

In strictly economic terms, development has traditionally meant the capacity of a national economy, whose initial economic condition has been more or less static for a long time, to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross national product (GNP) at rates of perhaps 5% to 7% or more [...] In short, during the 1970s, economic development came to be redefined in terms of the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality, and unemployment within the context of a growing economy.

The third front considered was the social front. It covered the domains of health and education. In the health arena, giant efforts were made to face the shortage of hospitals, of equipment in the few existing hospitals, of medical doctors, nurses and other health personnel. But, at the same time, there was the desire to provide medical assistance to all citizens in remote areas. It was in that light that medical assistance was declared almost completely free, for all citizens. The

network of hospitals and health centres was amplified tremendously. The number of medical centres increased dramatically after independence. Remote localities came to know a health centre, even if it was been built from precarious (not conventional) materials, and even if no equipment was available to be put there and even if there were not enough nurses - not to mention doctors - to be placed there and there were not enough drugs, apart from aspirin, to put there. In many African countries, medical doctors were brought from several countries, interestingly enough from countries with different and differing ideological orientations. Medical doctors from USSR, Korea, Cuba, China, Spain, Italy, etc. and other foreign technicians crossed many African countries as “development workers”, providing medical or other types of social assistance. Needless to say that while this measure may have made sense as an intermediate goal in the long run it makes much more sense to rely on building and enhancing local capabilities.

Another great front that the African leaders conceived as a special player in the process of nation formation was education. For this reason I shall dwell at some length on the subject in the following section.

3.4 Education and the nation-state formation

Invariably, in the mind of all African leaders who took over their countries after independence, education was conceived, at the beginning, as the player with a special role. The political future of the African states was seen as very dependent on the educational system. This was not without reasons. Literacy had become the key to widen communication with people and the place to provide literacy to people was education; as Cowan et al. (1965) put it,

The political leaders of the new African countries saw in education not only the key to technological modernisation but also an effective force for imparting a sense of African dignity and for promoting political integration (p. 18).

Thus, education was, in several countries, designed to further political integration, making known to the people the ideology and the views of the governing party. The reason, according to these authors, was clear, “By early indoctrination of the youth, the party [that is, the government] could create fuller acceptance of its ideological teachings and of the principles upon which its leaders sought to remodel the national society” (p. vi). Nevertheless, this is not the sole reason these authors point out, for education to have become the major concern of the new independent African states. They assert that in every process of modernisation taking place anywhere, education is the critical factor, for without it people would not be able to enter the modern technological world; and the third argument is that to “millions of Africans, education is the key that will open the door to a better life and the higher living standards they were promised as the reward of the struggle for national liberation” (ibid.: v).

The thought of African leaders meets what has been the realisation of certain scholars. Gellner (1994), for instance, states clearly that “The minimal requirement for full citizenship, for effective membership of a modern community, is literacy [...] But only a nation-size educational system can produce such full citizens...” (pp. 55-6).

Three major measures with far-reaching consequences were taken immediately after independence in many different countries. One was that the number of schools was dramatically increased. Almost all over the country, even where schools had never been seen, these were built; often primary schools, but also secondary schools or even both. Consequently, the number of school children also increased dramatically. In fact, the educational system was extended to many more Africans.

At the same time, colonial syllabuses were almost completely removed from schools; new curricula were drawn and introduced, from primary school to pre-university. As Cowan et al. (1965: 18) wrote, everywhere, changes were made

to 'Africanise' the school curricula ... to the needs and desires of contemporary African society and to promote in the coming generation a sense of belonging to the new nations being developed out of what were formerly colonies. In the new school curricula, emphasis has been put on the study of African history, ethnography, and vernacular languages, and, where it exists, vernacular literature...

The third measure was that education was also declared almost completely free; this was the so-called nationalisation of education. In many African countries, education as profit-oriented activity was abolished and private schools were forbidden. Only public schools were allowed to operate. The real cost of education offered to children was not covered by what parents were paying. Fees were symbolic. However, because of the political enthusiasm behind the practice, the real cost was not seen as an important matter. Primary education was totally free, while secondary, pre-university and universities charged token fees.

These were the general procedures observed by many African countries to put education at the service of the endeavours to form nation-states. These procedures varied, as we shall see in the specific case of Mozambique.

3. 5 The nation-state project in the 1980s

In the 1980s, Africa witnessed a deep socio-political crisis as the result of economic troubles: most African countries' economies simply stagnated or declined. Hunger and starvation went hand in hand with abject poverty. This is not to mention the increasing incidence of wars! Almost everywhere there were armed conflicts.

Mainly because of that crisis, the legitimacy of the state and of the project of the nationalist generation to bring a better future and prosperity in the quality of life of their people began to be questioned. The nation-state endeavour began also to be doubted, as Olukoshi & Laakso (1996: 16) write:

Battered by the economic crisis, the legitimacy of the state, and the model of nation-building which it pursued, was called into question as various groups began to devise strategies and mechanisms for coping with the deteriorating domestic economic environment...

As a matter of fact, as these authors explain, the international context began to change. Two important developments had occurred. The first centred on the shift in the Western countries from welfare principles to neo-liberal principles. And the neo-liberal principles placed greater weight on market forces and on the struggles against inflation. The second, but taking place concomitantly, was the acceleration of the process of economic globalisation.

These two processes had tremendous implications for the management of national economic policies all over the world, particularly for the developing countries. The collapse of the Soviet Union meant also the collapse of the “third pole” (p. 17) in world affairs. As a therapy for the devastating crisis manifested in economic decrease, widespread abject poverty, hunger, famine, escorted by political unrest and often wars, many countries had no alternative but to adopt the policy of structural reforms demanded by Breton Woods institutions.

As a consequence of the adjustment measures of the IMF and the World Bank for the reform of the African political economy, the post-colonial state was gradually exposed to a growing legitimacy crisis. With years of economic crises and structural adjustment having undermined

the capacity of African states to meet the social and economic needs of their citizens, people had increasingly to fend for themselves. Some resorted to tapping “traditional social and spiritual resources, others sought solace in new or resuscitated/reinvigorated ethnic or religious association” (ibid.: 20).

These authors conclude that there were several consequences from the socio-political crisis which structural adjustment either triggered or deepened. These also had implications for the nation-state project in Africa. Among others, the conscious curbing of the developmentalist orientation of the post-colonial state undermined the delicate process of the construction of a hegemonic multiethnic alliance involving a coalition with moderate religious leaders that had sustained the political process in most African countries, without replacing it with an alternative hegemony. As in many countries, ethnic and religious leaders who had been placed on the sidelines of the nation-building project suddenly found themselves in the forefront of struggles expressing popular discontent against the state. Many of them became vocal opponents of state power in their demands for democratisation, accountability, and the taming of corruption (ibid.: 20).

For the authors,

A viable path towards the reconstitution of the nation-state project in Africa must begin with a recognition of the plural, multi-cultural character of their societies and of severe difficulties posed by economic decline/disintegration as manifested by the complicated dynamics of informalisation and globalisation and exacerbated by the structural adjustment programs of the IMF and the World Bank (Olukoshi & Laakso 1996: 32).

The aim of this chapter was to review the relevant concepts to be used in this study. Thus, a *voyage* through the notions of ethnic group, nation and nation-state was undertaken; also it was

looked into the history, the definition and the debate over these concepts. In the following chapter a brief review of the Mozambique's history is made.

Vail (op. cit.), while not using the same terminology, agrees with both authors. In analysing the factors “facilitating the emergence of ethnicity” in Southern Africa, he realised that “What was common for all the region's peoples... [who enhanced ethnic consciousness ideology] was that many of them were gradually losing control over their lives as control over those most basic factors of production, the land, slipped from their grasp. No longer were rural communities ... able to exist autonomously, beyond the reach of capitalism and colonial administration. At the same time that this rural transformation was occurring, the region's mixed-race (...) was suffering an erosion of their positions” (1989: 9). Faced with the threat to their identities, “People of all these groups fought against the erosion of their positions. For many involved in this struggle, land and access to land come to stand at the very centre of their consciousness...” (ibid.).

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN MOZAMBIQUE: ITS HISTORY AND ITS ROLE

In the previous chapter, the concern was to review the relevant concepts of the topic - strategies of nation building in Mozambique. The present chapter is dedicated to the presentation of education in Mozambique and to the different roles it played across different historical phases. As a methodology, phases of education in Mozambique will be delimited and its main role, objectives and characteristics presented and discussed. Education during the colonial phase, education in the liberated zones and after the independence will be analysed. However, for a better understanding of the paths education followed in the country, I shall briefly introduce the general history of Mozambique.

4.0 Brief introduction to Mozambique's History

It seems that there is no consensus as to the original history of today's Mozambique: "Little is known about the original inhabitants of present-day Mozambique. From about AD 200-300, however, Bantu-speaking peoples started entering the region, gradually absorbing or displacing nomadic bands of hunters and gatherers" (Torp 1989:10). These Bantu people had occupied the whole southern African region. Little is also known about the first inhabitants, namely, who they were and what their way of life was.

“The arrival of Portuguese on Mozambique Island, in 1498, meant little or nothing to the Bantu people, who lived in the eastern Africa interior” (Abrahamson & Nilsson, 1995:15). However, that was the beginning of a new, long, intricate and hard chapter in the history of the country. According to these authors, “for a long time... the Portuguese presence, that aimed to create some bases for the growing maritime trade between Europe and Asia, was limited to a few strongholds along the coast” (ibid.). Notwithstanding Europeans had come to stay.

The importance they attached to their own settlement can be learnt from the fact that they even fought against other foreign forces in order to preserve their interests and secure their presence. “During the seventeenth century the Portuguese competed with Arabs for the trade in slaves, gold and ivory, and set up agricultural plantations and estates” (Torp, op. cit.).

Although gold and ivory were much appreciated at the time and, therefore, were the most wanted products, the business that flourished was the slave trade. Many Africans from the territory that we now call Mozambique were sold mainly by the Portuguese, but also by Arabs, to different destinations. “Conniving with local chiefs and Swahili merchants, the Portuguese probably sold at least one million Mozambicans into slavery before the trade finally died out at the turn of the nineteenth century” (Waterhouse, 1996:4).

As Abrahamson & Nilsson point out (op. cit.: 16), the modern history of Mozambique begins towards the end of nineteenth century, when the region’s economic centre moved from northern part of the country to the south. However, “it was actually more than 25 years after the Berlin conference that Portugal managed to assert political and military control over Mozambique” (ibid.:17). “In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, however, the *de facto* power over the entire area... was not the Portuguese, but rather the regiments of Soshangane, and Nguni ...” (Hall & Young 1997:2). Soshangane's rule extended from Incomáti, about ninety kilometres

south of Lourenço Marques, then the capital of the colony, all the way up to Mussoril, in the Zambézia province. That is, almost the entire south and a considerable portion of the centre of the country

was under the control of the Gaza Nguni , who were originally from South Africa.

After the Portuguese established political and military control over the territory, they granted administrative powers to concessionary companies. “The *Companhia de Moçambique*²² occupied the area of present-day Manica and Sofala provinces and a small part of northern Gaza, while the *Companhia do Niassa*²³ covered Niassa and Cabo Delgado. Other companies, the most important of which was the *Companhia da Zambézia*²⁴, were granted rights over extensive areas of Zambézia and Tete... Portugal revoked the northern most concessions in 1929, but the last of these charters south of the Zambezi did not lapse till 1941. Only subsequently was Mozambique brought under a single unified system of administration” (Hall & Young, 1997:3).

During their rule, the colonial authorities did not do much in terms of developing the economy of the colony, according to Abrahamson & Nilsson (1996: 22): “The Portuguese central power prioritised industrial development in Portugal and had formulated a development strategy that satisfied the centre’s political power base”. This may explain why this southern African state has been and remains without a visible economic infrastructure. Another analyst corroborates this view: “Throughout the first 400 years of colonial penetration, the Portuguese invaders brought virtually no new technology to Mozambique. Their one-way process of extracting resources had already laid the foundations for long-term underdevelopment” (Waterhouse, 1996:5). “In the 1930s, Mozambique’s economy acquired a pattern that lasted, more or less unchanged, until

²² Created in 1891.

²³ Created also 1891.

²⁴ This one was created in the following year, 1892.

1975" (Abrahamsson & Nilsson 1995:18). This pattern rested upon two sets of foundations. One was "Mozambique's services function for other countries in the region... The second was the export of goods... consisted mainly of agricultural products in the form of crops plantation, such as sugar, tea and copra, as well as groundnuts, timber and shrimps" (Abrahamson & Nilsson 1995:19).

As an extension of the independence waves throughout the continent, in the second half of the last century - twentieth-century - there emerged liberation movements to fight against Portuguese colonialism for the independence of the country. "The opposition to colonialism drew on both political and ideological discontent among educated strata of Africans and on the grievances of the peasantry" (Hall & Young 1997:11). Earlier on in the 1960s, a considerable group of Mozambicans assembled over a movement named Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and started, in 1964, the struggle to expel the foreign occupation. "FRELIMO which was founded in exile in 1962, launched a guerrilla war for independence on 25 September 1964" (Torp, 1989:13). Ten years later victory was achieved. National independence was proclaimed in 1975. However, the legacy of colonialism was not particularly encouraging for an emergent nation-state. Indeed, the Mozambican economy has been one of the poorest in the world.

Worse still, "the honeymoon, however, was short" (Waterhouse, 1996:10). "The ten-year war that led to independence in 1975 was followed in 1976 by undeclared war, which targeted economic installations, waged against Mozambique by the Rhodesian racist regime in retaliation for the former's support to Zimbabwean guerrillas" (Chingono, 1996:1) But it was not just the Rhodesians who were threatened by Mozambique's independence. For apartheid South Africa, Mozambique with its multiracial and socialist politics was a threat by setting an example others would want to follow in the region. Therefore, and according to Abrahamson & Nilsson, the

“most important instrument employed by South Africa for its military destabilisation [a movement of guerrilla named Mozambique National Resistance - MNR] was formed by the Rhodesian security service at the end of the 1970s in an attempt to prevent Zimbabwe’s independence” (ibid.: 59).

And it could not be as destructive as like the author describe:

In the last war, the reciprocal destruction of the conflicting forces [Mozambican government forces and MNR guerrillas] took place with the establishment of the peace of the graveyard, and yielded considerable social, economic and political damage. Reversing FRELIMO’s successes, the war undermined the state and heralded the demise of authoritarian populism” (Abrahamson & Nilsson, op cit.).

This war would last until 1992, with a Peace Agreement signed by both Frelimo’s Government and Renamo, in a ceremony held in Rome, Italy on 4th of October. It will be difficult if not impossible to make a final accurate assessment of the effects and consequences of that war in Mozambique. But that it had caused tremendous social harms it is an undisputable fact:

... [The] war in Mozambique had been one of the longest running conflicts in Africa, socially and economically devastating the country: ninety percent of Mozambicans are said to live in poverty, sixty percent in conditions of absolute poverty. Several hundred thousand Mozambicans have died during the conflict. Half a million of Mozambicans are [were] estimated to be living in exile in Mozambique’s neighbouring countries: another two million people are believed to have been internally displaced by the war” (Hoile 1994:1).

Mozambique is held, according to Waterhouse (1996:15), to be among the poorest nations in the world and moreover to be one of the most heavily indebted.

Presently, eleven years after the end of the war, the situation has changed to a great extent. The country has made considerable efforts to improve the living standards of the people. Nearly all those who had sought refuge from the war and hunger in neighbouring countries have come back home. The internally displaced returned to their homes. Destroyed infrastructure is being rebuilt just as new is under construction. The school and hospital networks are being brought back to life and extended. Roads are being rehabilitated or improved. According to official figures, since the end of the conflict in 1992, the economy has grown at a rate of between five to ten per cent a year.

4.1 Mozambique's education system: its history and its role

Mazula (1995: 65) suggests that in writing the history of Mozambican education with the aim of contributing for an organization of a rational educational system, one needs to start from the colonial period. This is an obvious suggestion given that the kind of formal education we are talking about in the country had its inception in the colonial period. Therefore, while it is not our intention to write the history of Mozambican education, we subscribe to Mazula's opinion and find it appropriate to start our discussion in that period.

4.1.1 History of the education system

The main studies [(Mazula (1995), Gomes (1999) and Ngoenha (2000)] analysing education in Mozambique throughout its history divide it into three important periods. One is the education administered during colonial rule; the second is the education carried out during the struggle for Mozambique's independence in the "liberated zones"; and the third is that introduced immediately after the country's independence²⁵. Education during the colonial period spanned

²⁵ Liberated areas, 'zonas libertadas' in Portuguese, were those areas where Frelimo guerrillas had wrested control from the Portuguese colonial administration.

the period 1926 to 1974 as far as Mazula (1995) and Gomez (1999) are concerned, but for Ngoenha (2000) it stretched back on the period before 1834 until 1974. Mazula called it ‘colonial education’ (p. 78); Gomez considered it as a form of ‘education to civilize the African’ (p. 39). As for Ngoenha, it was a ‘colonial-missionary education’ (p. 60). The second period comprises the type of education administered in the liberated areas during the struggle for the country's independence. This type of education lasted until some years after the independence. Mazula (p. 108) and Gomez (p. 145) call it simply ‘education’ whereas Ngoenha calls it ‘nationalist education’ (p. 77). The third component is that education introduced in the country after independence.

4.1.1.1 Colonial education, its role and objectives

‘Colonial education’ begins, according to Belchior (1965), quoted in Mazula (1995: 78), with the Decree of October 13, 1926, by Joao Belo, then General Governor of Mozambique, and lasts until 1974, when Mozambique became independent. The main role and objective of that education was, according to Ngoenha (2000: 75-6), the assimilation of indigenous people. In this sense, therefore, it “consisted of an effort to make Europeans out of the dominated people, to change them through education”²⁶(*ibid.*) .

These assertions are consistent with what Mondlane (1983) had stated. For this author, colonial education was aimed at “submission” (1983: 58). As he writes, “The whole system of African schooling [during the colonial period] is [was] designed to produce not citizens, but servants of Portugal” (*ibid.*: 75). Two important statements from two former General Governors of colonial Mozambique substantiate the understanding of these analysts to a large degree. One was Freire

²⁶ “... consistindo num esforço de europeizar os povos dominados, nacionalizando-os através da escola.”
My translation.

de Andrade, quoted in Gomez (1999), who asserted, “the only education to provide to the African is that which makes him a worker”²⁷ (p. 41). The second was Mouzinho de Albuquerque, for whom “the few existent [in the colony] schools were too many” (p. 41). Also the former General Governor said: “For me, what we need to do in order to educate and civilize the native is to develop in practical forms their abilities for a manual profession and to take advantage of their work in the exploitation of the Province [of Mozambique]”²⁸ (Gomez, 1999: 41). To underscore the point with Buendia (1995: 87), “... education for Africans was devoted to and legitimated, in its structure, objectives and content, the inequality, the economic, political and social discrimination of the African population. Education envisaged the submission of the Africans... and never their cultural and scientific development”.

4.1.1.2 Education in the “liberated zones” and its role and objectives

In the course of the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique, formal education was implanted both for the children of freedom-fighters as well as the fighters themselves²⁹. This education comprised three levels: the pre-primary (*pre-primário* in Portuguese) level; the primary and the secondary level. In the primary education level, the subjects taught were the Portuguese language, Arithmetic, Geography, Science, History, Practical Work, Politics, Artistic Education and Physical Education. In the secondary level, the subjects were Portuguese, English, Politics, History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Practical Works, Drawing and Physical Education. Close to 30,000 children are said to have passed throughout this education system.

²⁷ In the Portuguese original, quoted in Gomez (1999: 41), it reads: “...a única educação a dar ao africano é aquela que faça dele um trabalhador.”

²⁸ The Portuguese original, quoted in Gomez (1999: 41), reads: “Quanto a mim, o que precisamos fazer para educar e civilizar o indígena, é desenvolver-lhe de forma prática as habilidades para uma profissão manual e aproveitar o seu trabalho na exploração da província.” My translation.

²⁹ The majority of the combatants were not very educated.

The education administered in the liberated zones always reflected what the struggle was all about: the element of negation and break (Assembleia da República, 1981:12). That is, the main role and aims consisted in the creation in the pupils and the country's future leaders the foundations for a revolutionary spirit; it was to inculcate the mentality of rejection and negation of colonial values and principles, a mentality that would be geared towards a New Mozambique. This passage is quite illustrative: "The swift development of the war created within a short time liberated areas, which constituted a secure basis for the advancement of the people's war. In those areas, there was an obligation for organizing an educational system that could liberate Man from the negative concepts of tradition and colonial values and form a New Man, i.e. people able to further the liberation struggle" (ibid.).

Since the beginning of the movement, education had been given strict priority, as Mondlane (op. cit.) wrote:

When FRELIMO was formed, we gave first top priority jointly to two programs: the military and the educational. We have always attached such a great importance to education because, in the first place, it is essential for the development of our struggle, since the involvement and support of the population increase as their understanding of the situation grows; in the second place, a future independent Mozambique will be in need of educated citizens to lead the way in development" (p. 175).

Machel (1975) would confirm this thinking:

In the course of our struggle... We felt particularly that the struggle for the creation of new structures was running the risk of failing without the creation of a new mentality (...). This new mentality depended mainly upon the kind of education to provide specially to the new generations that would continue the revolution (...). At the education level there was a need of a political battle to demarcate the traditional or colonial education from that of ours and to turn it into an instrument of revolution (...). Within this frame, the FRELIMO leadership defined that the main education task was ... to

inculcate in each of us an advanced, scientific, objective and collective ideology that would allow us to progress in the revolutionary process (...). Education must give us a Mozambican personality that, without any subservience, assuming our reality, should know, in contact with the external world, to assimilate critically the ideas and experiences of other peoples, transmitting to them also the fruits of our reflection and practice³⁰ (p. 233-4).

Thus, education in that period was aimed at different goals, as the FRELIMO Education and Culture Department in its Second Conference held from September 26 to October 3rd, 1970 outlined:

... to create, develop and consolidate a new society, based in a new mentality that leads attitudes and practices to build a unitary Mozambique, internationalist, self-sufficient economically, politically and militarily; and prosperous and independent; to contribute to the destruction of the old mentality based on and enhanced by the conservatism and traditional statism and colonial corruption; to form a new man, free from superstition and subjectivity, aware of the power of his intelligence and of the power of his work to transform society and nature; to create in the pupil the Mozambican personality that, without any subservience, assuming our socio-cultural reality, should know, in contact with the exterior world, to assimilate critically the ideas and experiences of other peoples, transmitting to them also the fruits of our reflection and practice; to create a conscience of responsibility and collective solidarity, free of individualism and corruption; to create new attitude in the woman, to emancipate her conscience and behaviour, and in the man a new behaviour and mentality toward the woman; to awake the necessity of serving the people, of participating in the production, of respecting the manual work, of freeing the capacity of initiative; and to create and develop a scientific attitude, open, free of all superstition influences, dogmatic traditions so that the science

³⁰ From the original, it reads: “No decurso da nossa luta ... sentimos particularmente que a luta pela criação de novas estruturas corria o risco de fracassar sem a criação duma nova mentalidade (...) Esta nova mentalidade dependia, em grande parte, dum tipo de educação que déssemos, em especial às novas gerações de continuadores da revolução(...). Ao nível da educação havia pois necessidade de desencadear uma batalha política, que a demarcasse da educação tradicional ou colonial e a transformasse num instrumento da revolução(...) Dentro deste quadro, a direcção da FRELIMO definiu que a tarefa principal da educação e, no ensino, nos livros de textos e programas, inculcar em cada um a ideologia avançada, científica, objectiva, colectiva, que nos permite progredir no processo revolucionário(...) A educação deve dar-nos uma personalidade moçambicana que, sem subserviência alguma, assumindo a nossa realidade, saiba, em contacto com o mundo exterior, assimilar criticamente as ideias e experiências de outros povos, transmitindo-lhes também o fruto da nossa reflexão e prática.” My translation.

gains prevalence before superstition, a condition for implantation of an prosperous and advanced economy.³¹

For Mazula (1995), that education was an ideological education, as it gave a privileged place for the inculcation of FRELIMO ideas: critical and revolutionary education articulated with work; patriotic, envisaging the development of a national consciousness and building of national unity, open education, because it should establish contacts with the world; scientific, once based in knowledge of reality (p. 111). And for Buendia (1995: 88), that education had “as fundamental goal supporting national unity building. It was considered important for the cultivation of the sentiment of national identity and consciousness, as well as a space for the acquisition of the foundations of the scientific-technical knowledge, needed to advance the war and to develop production”.

4.1.1.3 Mozambican education since 1975 and the construction of a nation

The year 1975 is the year of the “Great Revolution”, as it were. Everything became different or was turned upside down. Every social sector experienced the effects of the revolution, some fully others softly. The education sector was one of those which experienced great changes.

³¹ These objectives are quoted in Gomez (1999: 152), in Portuguese reads: “criar, desenvolver e consolidar uma sociedade nova, assente numa mentalidade nova que oriente atitudes e práticas para a construção de um Moçambique unitário, internacionalista, económica, cultural, política e militarmente auto-suficiente, próspero e independente; contribuir para destruir a mentalidade velha sustentada e alimentada pelo conservantismo e estatismo tradicional e pela corrupção colonialista; formar o homem novo, livre de concepções supersticiosas e subjectivas, com plena consciência do poder da sua inteligência e da força transformadora do seu trabalho na sociedade e na natureza; criar nos alunos a personalidade moçambicana, que, sem subserviência alguma, assumindo a sua realidade socio-cultural, saiba, em contacto com o mundo exterior, assimilar criticamente, as ideias e experiências de outros povos, transmitindo-lhes também o fruto da nossa reflexão e prática; criar uma consciência de responsabilidade e solidariedade colectiva, livre de todo o individualismo e corrupção; criar nova atitude na mulher, emancipá-la na sua consciência e comportamento, e no homem um novo comportamento e mentalidade em relação à mulher; fazer assumir a necessidade de servir o povo, de participar na produção, de respeitar o trabalho manual, de libertar a capacidade de iniciativa; criar e desenvolver uma atitude científica, aberta, livre de todos os pesos da superstição, condição para se implantar uma economia próspera e avançada.” My translation.

From a situation where it was a privilege for a few and aimed at creating a spirit of submission, it turned into a right for ordinary people. As Mondlane wrote, “Very few Africans received any schooling at all, with the result that in Mozambique between 95 and 98 per cent of the African population is illiterate” (1983: 65). From the time of independence, education experienced a true explosion. For instance, in primary education, from around a thousand primary schools in 1975, the figure reached the staggering number of 5 730 schools in 1980. The number of secondary schools rose from 26 in 1975 to 99 schools in 1980 (Mazula, 1995). In terms of the number of pupils, “Between 1975 and 1981 there was a significant increase in the number of pupils in primary education, which grew at an average annual rate of 15.6 per cent, rising from 600,000 pupils in 1975 to more than 1.4 million in 1979” (UNDP, 2000: 34); on the secondary level, the number of students tripled from 20.427 in 1975 to 79.899 in 1980 (Mazula, 1995). For a better understanding of this ‘revolution’ in education it is worth to go a little bit back and to look at the philosophy of the Frelimo’s revolution. The main objective the movement was claiming to pursue was to free the Men and the land, and, as it is demonstrated in the previous section Frelimo regarded education as the key front to achieve the objectives it subscribed. Apart from nationalization and liberalization of the education, mega-programmes aimed to eradicate illiteracy were undertaken immediately after the independence covering all over the country. Centres of adult education were opened in many corners of the country, such as the enthusiasm of the revolution – the idea was to eradicate illiteracy in ten years time!

However, the revolution in the sector did not just mean the growth of the number of schools and of the school population. It also meant a shift in the roles and objectives of education. In this new phase, the new aims and objectives for education were very clear: to build the Mozambican nation. In this context, a core of dramatic and profound measures was drawn and implemented. One was the nationalisation of education. Most schools in the colonial period were under the control of churches or private enterprises. There were very few official schools. With

independence, all educational institutions became state property. As already indicated earlier on private schools were forbidden.

The second measure was the extension of access to education for a considerable majority of Mozambicans. “The educational project of independent Mozambique intended not only to broaden access, but also to expand the educational experience of the national liberation struggle. School for all should contribute to rescuing the dignity of the Mozambican people, valuing their culture and their history. It should be a privileged social space for the formation of the nation, cultivating national identity and national unity” (UNDP, 2000: 34). The third measure was to make education free of charge. Many Mozambicans began to have free access to education. The number of schools and the school population tripled, if not quadrupled between the year of independence and 1987 (UNDP, 2000 and Mazula, 1995). Many schools - both primary and secondary schools - were built in many parts of the country where previously none had ever existed.

Another significant measure consisted of a total change and reformulation of the whole textbook contents from primary school to pre-university levels, including even some university courses. The subjects that were mainly affected were history, geography and Portuguese. Some subjects such as the History and Geography of Portugal and Christian Religion and Morals were abolished. They were replaced by the History and Geography of Mozambique and Africa and Political Education. The great objective was clearly to “Africanise” (Cowan et al., 1965) education, incorporating items related to the past and recent country and Africa’s continent history; and in the subject of geography the idea was also to include aspects of the country and of the continent’s environment.

The Mozambican education system was then organised into five subsystems: general education, adult education, technical-professional education, teacher training education and higher education. It was structured in four levels: the primary level, from standard one to standard seven; the secondary level, from standard eight to standard ten; the pre-university or medium level, comprising standard eleven and twelve; and higher education, comprising graduation and post-graduate studies.

The role and objectives of education in this new phase, the phase of building a nation, were somehow a continuation of the role and objectives pursued in the liberated areas: laying down a foundation for the construction of a nation. But, the aims and goals of education in the post-independence period can be ascertained easily from Resolution no. 11/81 passed by the People's Assembly³², as well as by Law no. 4/83 issued also by the same institution. The resolution defined four general principles for the new national education system as follows: 1) Education as a right and duty of all citizens, comprising equality of opportunities of access at all levels and the permanent and systematic education of all people; 2) Education as a reinforcement of the leadership role of the working classes and the peasants, its main allies, through science, technology and cultural appropriation and a driving force of the country's economic, social and cultural development; 3) Education as a main way for the creation of the New Man (*Homem Novo*); 4) These are the foundations of the educational process in the People's Republic of Mozambique the national experiences and the scientific, technical and cultural heritage of humanity.”³³

³² This is how the single-party Parliament was called at the time. Members stemmed from the ruling Frelimo party.

³³ These principles, in Portuguese, read as follows: “1) A Educação como direito e dever de todo o cidadão, traduzindo-se na igualdade de oportunidades de acesso a todos os níveis de ensino e na educação permanente e sistemática de todo o povo; 2) A Educação como reforço do papel dirigente da classe operária e do campesinato, seu aliado principal, pela apropriação da ciência, da técnica e da cultura é um factor impulsionador do desenvolvimento económico, social e cultural do país; 3) A

The Act no. 4/83 details the objectives of education in that phase:

To eradicate illiteracy; to introduce compulsory and universal schooling according to the country's development, as a way of granting basic education for all Mozambican youth; to grant all Mozambicans access to professional training; to train teachers as educators and conscientious professionals; to train scientists and experts to high qualifications to carry out research according to the needs of the country; to spread, through education, the use of the Portuguese language as a factor of national unity; to infuse in the younger generations the sense of aesthetics, the love of art, the taste of beauty; to deeply ingrain teaching institutions in the community, turning them into a revolutionary basis for the consolidation of people's power.³⁴

In the words of Gomez (1999: 223), education after independence was designed as the

fundamental instrument to redeem the dignity of the Mozambican people, its culture, and at the same time, to serve as a pillar to FRELIMO's socio-political project (...): education to turn viable a project of national unity, of building the Mozambican nation.

In the interpretation of Ngoenha (2000: 78),

With the independence, education should participate in the creation of the Mozambican nation... the aim of education was Mozambican nationalism, the Mozambican nation, the sense of belonging to the Mozambican nation.

As Ngoenha observes, however, the “Mozambican Nation” was an identity to be invented,

Educação como instrumento principal de criação do Homem Novo; 4) São fundamento do processo educativo na República Popular de Moçambique as experiências nacionais e o património científico, técnico e cultural da humanidade.” My translation.

³⁴ These objectives, in Portuguese, read as follows: “Erradicar o analfabetismo; Introduzir a escolaridade obrigatória e universal de acordo com o desenvolvimento do país, como meio de garantir a educação básica a todos os jovens moçambicanos; Assegurar a todos os moçambicanos o acesso à formação profissional; Formar professores como educadores e profissionais conscientes; Formar cientistas e especialistas altamente qualificados que permitam o desenvolvimento da investigação científica de acordo com as necessidades do país; Difundir, através do ensino, a utilização da língua portuguesa, como factor de unidade nacional; Inculcar nas jovens gerações o sentido estético, o amor pelas artes, o gosto pelo belo; Inserir profundamente as instituições de ensino na comunidade, transformando-as em bases revolucionárias para a consolidação do poder popular”. My translation.

therefore or rather because of that education should play a primordial role in the creation of that new historical actor (ibid.).

Upon the shoulder of education was the arduous task to cement the axiomatic assumptions of belonging to the Mozambican nation, of the fight against tribalism, and to root each man and woman in the Mozambican land (...) With independence, Mozambique should be Mozambique because it was Mozambique.

Having presented the history and discussed the role, aims and the objectives of education in the country through different historical phases, I now turn to the discussion of the role of teachers in the same periods. This exercise is justifiable in that the main focus of the study is the teachers themselves.

4.2 The role of the teacher in ‘different’ types of education

In the section analysing the different strategies of nation building, it was stated that education was given a key role. According to one author, “it is not mere rhetoric to say that the destiny of the country is being made in the classrooms and the teacher has an important and vital role to play in the total program of national development and social change” (Shah, 1981: 4). Thus, a further word needs to be added with regard to the role of the teachers. In fact, as Shah (op. cit.), says “The teacher has an important vital role to play in our effort to relate education to national development and social change. It is the responsibility of the teacher to guide and inspire his students; to enrich his discipline; to inculcate values that are in consonance with our cultural heritage and our social objectives.”

Brubaker & Simon (1993) talk about the different “functions of schools” (p.4). They understand that the school performs several functions. The first is that of *confinement*. The second is *training* while the third is *indoctrination*. The fourth function is *sorting*. And the last is that of *providing the conditions for personal or self-development*. Confinement is to be understood as a

process according to which “a person must be in a certain place for a specific period of time, regardless of his or her personal wishes about being there” (Brubaker & Simon, 1993: 4). Training is designed “to make students more proficient in the skills they are expected to perform”. Indoctrination postulates that the “student’s schedule is filled with activities designed to promote the school’s goals and objectives” (ibid.: 5). This means that through schools it is possible to shape mentalities, inculcating in them what is seen or held as convenient. The last function is formulation which aims at providing personal or self-development (ibid. 5). All these functions are, par excellence, key-elements of the nation-building process.

The importance of a teacher, therefore, should not be underestimated, as the following authors demonstrate. Let us underscore this with different statements: Evans (1981: 14) saw teachers as “agents of national development” and schools as “agents of political socialization”. Von Dyke (1981: 26) says, “Knowledge may be gained from books but the love of knowledge is transmitted only by personal contact”. Mahatma Gandhi (1981: 33) is much more romantic: “A teacher must touch the hearts of his students”, and Radhakrishnan (1981: 43) writes that “A teacher must be a committed man, committed to the future of man, to the future of humanity and to the future of his country and the world.” Finally, in Tagore’s words, “Man can learn only from a man” (1981: 46). Thus, it is not surprising that throughout the different historical phases of education in Mozambique teachers have been given a special role and treatment. During the colonial period, teachers and the school were used to make the colonised subservient to his masters (Mondlane, 1983; Mazula, 1995; Gomez, 1999 e Ngoenha, 2000).

In FRELIMO’s strategy, the main function ascribed to education - both the school and the teacher – and its very pre-eminent role can be ascertained from the vigour of Samora Machel’s words in his speech in Maputo, in February 1982, at the opening of the academic year. “The teacher is the decisive factor in the triumph of our educational program. The school is the main

centre of activity during a citizen's childhood, adolescence and youth, and the teacher, the master, is the main modeller of the student's personality and the inspirer of his view of the world" (Machel 1982: 137). He further stated and underlined: "The country's future is born at school" (ibid.).

The first Mozambican president went on to reassert what has been a monumental statement of the whole revolution, namely that the

school is where we prepare the good worker of the future, the conscientious person, the New Man (...) It is the school that shows the true scale of the integrated man or woman, conscious of mankind's conquest and victories, it is the school that awakens talent, intellectual curiosity, inventiveness, a clear approach to research and debate (...) The school is the unifying centre of the nation. It is there that patriotic feeling and national unity are forged and tempered. There is no place at school for tribalism, regionalism or racism. Education is not merely teaching the curriculum, no matter how important that was; it is also moulding the citizen's personality and worth (ibid.: 135).

For Machel (op. cit.), teacher training was not merely a technical question, it was "a matter of training an agent of social change" (p. 137), given that "the teacher is the lamp that illuminates us out of the darkness, obscurantism, prejudices and complexes of social origin"(ibid.). In talking about the school itself, Machel (1982: 137) emphasised the point by saying that the

school is a fundamental battlefield. The youth offer fertile ground where all seeds will flourish (...) Whether right or wrong ideas triumph in each generation will depend on what that generation's education was... the school is the essential element of education.

Finally, in the "new" Mozambique, the capital role given to the teacher can be understood by the creation, within the national system of education, of a subsystem of teacher training alongside the subsystem of general education, adult education, technical and professional education and higher education. In the document instituting the Mozambican Education National System,

according to Mazula (1995), to the teacher is assigned the “fundamental role as an agent of education, formation and transformation” (p. 182).

The objective of this chapter was to present the Mozambican education system and to relate it to the nation building process. In the light of that principle, the history of the country was presented in a brief manner; then, the different education phases were presented and discussed against the backdrop of their characteristics and objectives. The main purpose of the brief history of the country was to ease the understanding of the different phases under which different types of education went through. The chapter closes highlighting the meaning and role of the teacher in society. In the next chapter I shall present the policy of placement of secondary education teachers and the results which ensued thereof.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRACTICE OF PLACING TEACHERS TO NATION BUILDING

This chapter aims to look at the effects which the practice of placing secondary education teachers implemented from 1975 to 1985, had upon the varied sectors of life of Mozambicans, namely, in the political, ethnical, social and cultural fields and how this contributed to nation building. For a better understanding of the practice, I find it important to look initially at the general social context surrounding that period in terms of state policy, the kind of economy which was developing in the country, the prevailing governing philosophy and the overall policy of placing manpower. Following this I will move on to a description of the essential details concerning the way in which the placement of secondary education teachers was implemented. Finally, I will provide a detailed discussion of the effects of the practice in Mozambican society.

5.0 The socio-political context in Mozambique during the period 1975-1985

The year 1975 marked a dramatic break in Mozambican society: the end of the colonial occupation of the country. Independence had been won. Many things in the different life spheres of the country had to change or were changed in the light of the subsequent transfer of power from the colonial administration to the nationalist liberators. The social project the new authorities brought with them was completely different, or better still it was philosophically the opposite, the negation of that of the colonial rulers. The new power holders were keen to construct a identity, what they saw as a “new society” - characterised by equality, opportunity

for all, a society without exploitation, where social justice should prevail. As Machel put it, the fight was “to build a new society, a new outlook, a New Man... to destroy exploitation... and to build socialism” (Machel, 1980: 90).

During the implementation of the project, the new authorities faced serious constraints. Apart from the scarcity of material and financial resources, the major one was the lack of trained people to carry out their intended mission. Taking into account the framework of the time, saying ‘to build’ was probably to wish for a lot; there were very few trained and qualified people to keep the country running normally, let alone to build it! The fact was that the new authorities had not enough trained manpower to meet the demanding needs of running a state.

This lack of a qualified work force was made worse by the fact that the few trained technicians were Portuguese and had fled the country massively at independence, fearing acts of repressive vengeance by the new regime. Many important sectors such as politics, economy, health, education and even public administration were left without qualified technicians in many cases without technicians. Inadequately trained people had to take responsibility over very sensitive areas and positions. There were people who were appointed to ministerial positions without having even completed secondary education. Others with just primary education were given positions of national directorates, provincial governors, mayors and district officers. In many areas, experts and technicians had to be brought from other countries. In the health sector, medical personnel came from different Eastern European countries and from the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and North Korea. Some Western countries, like Italy, Spain and The Netherlands also provided medical personnel. But in the mean-time nurses were serving as doctors in many hospitals. In the education sector, teachers had to be “imported” from Cuba, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Guinea Conakry, Spain and The Netherlands. This was, probably, one of the most difficult stages faced by the country.

In the economic domain, prior to independence, the country had what authors call a ‘colonial economy’. This was mainly characterised by subsistence agricultural production and by services provided to neighbouring landlocked countries. It was not a synchronised economy. The period from 1975 to 1985/6 was one in which Mozambique experienced an economy of central planning, a ‘socialist epoch’ (Dias, 2002: 137). In this kind of economy, it is the state that determines what to produce, in which quantities, in which areas and where to sell. It is the state that determines what kind of education is to be given to the citizen; how many people should be trained and in which areas. That is, primacy is given to the planning mechanism, instead of to the market. All the sectors are coordinated centrally. In the case of Mozambique, there used to be an institution with the sole objective of planning the country's development in the different sectors. This institution was called *Comissão Nacional do Plano*, the National Planning Commission. Its major task was to identify needs in all areas of society in terms of trained people and then send information to the Ministry of Education, which was responsible for the training of manpower, to supply the sectors in need with qualified people. These sectors could be public services, companies or others, like the army and the police.

In the light of the then prevailing socialist economic system in Mozambique, the education sector was completely centralised, responding to a carefully planned strategy. It was the state which decided on the *curricula*, what kind of education to be administered, which level of education to be introduced and what to introduce, how many and what courses to offer, following which *curricula*, and where; how many schools of which education were to be built and where. How many teachers should be trained for which level and how many teachers should be sent to teach where. The few secondary education schools teaching standard 10 and 11 were under the direct control of the Ministry. The examination sheets for all levels, including hundreds of primary education schools, were designed centrally in the Ministry by senior

officials and then distributed all over the country. The school material was also sent to all schools from the Ministry. Some of these practices continue to be observed even today.

5.1 The practice of placing secondary education teachers

As stated in the previous section, it was the responsibility of the then Ministry of Education and Culture at the time to train people in a variety of specialisation areas and to place them in different areas of the country's life, from public services, defence, economy, health, to education itself and others.

One of the difficulties faced by someone doing research in some areas in Mozambique is the paucity of sources, written material and documents are simply lacking. In the course of this research, I could not find the material from which I should have learned the philosophy that governed the placement of manpower in the country, particularly of teachers. Arnaldo Nhavoto³⁵, a former deputy-minister and also former minister of Education from 1989 to 1994 and 1995 to 2000 respectively, acknowledges the absence of written documents comprising the procedures toward the placement of trained people and particularly of secondary education teachers:

... there has never been any written document on the varied strategic and critical options taken in the country [at the time under scrutiny]. Probably, they were never written as such. Nevertheless I am convinced that if we read the speeches of that period, especially the speeches of then Head of State, the documents of the Central Committee [of the FRELIMO Party], we can get a sense of that policy. But actually

³⁵ Arnaldo Nhavoto has worked in Education in Mozambique since 1976. He started as a teacher, from 1976 to 1979, then as Education planner, and soon as national director of planning. In that capacity, he participated in the process of teacher placement. In 1989 he was appointed deputy-minister, and in 1995 minister, a position he kept until 2000. Currently he is a senior lecturer and a consultant. [Interview. 12.09.02].

there is not a single document summarizing these principles [Interview. Nhavoto, 12.09.02. Emphasis added.].

The current national director of Planning in the same ministry, Virgílio Juvane, supports this statement³⁶. As he says, **“It is important to make it clear that although there was a policy; such was not a policy to be found in a written document** [Interview. Juvane, 01.08.02. Emphasis added]. It was a policy declared in official speeches...” [ibid.] The current head of the Department of Personnel Administration also shares this opinion. Daniel³⁷:

The big problem [as far as our country is concerned] is that the major part of administrative procedures between 1975 and 1986 were simply practised, but there was very little formal information, in documents... most of the decisions taken did not have a documentary basis, there were not written documents; it is not possible today to prove these decisions on the basis of documents [Interview. Daniel, 12.09.2002].

Nevertheless, the practice of placing secondary school teachers can be summarized and the philosophy behind it learnt in the following words: there was a single institution in the capital Maputo to train secondary school teachers. People to be trained in that institution were being brought from different provinces of the country, after having completed grade nine or standard eleven. The students were accommodated in a place called *Centro 8 de Março*³⁸.

According to my interviewees, in that centre, rooms were shared between six to twelve students. In each room, it was expected that there be people from different provinces; it was not allowed

³⁶ Juvane has been working in Education since 1978. He was trained as a teacher and now is the national director of Planning in the Ministry. [Interview. Juvane, 1. 08. 02].

³⁷ Daniel, Antonio Patrício has been working for the Ministry of Education since 1982; he was a teacher and now, holding a degree in law, is the head of the Department of Personnel Administration. [Interview. Daniel, 12.09.2002].

³⁸ These were a Catholic Church premises where this congregation used to train its personal during the colonial period. After independence, the premises were nationalized and turned into a place to accommodate students being trained to be teachers in the Eduardo Mondlane Education Faculty.

that people from the same province and origin be in the same room. Initially, the training courses took one year, but soon the duration was increased to two. On successful completion of the training, there followed the placement. Those who were born or came from a given part of the country were sent to teach in another. For instance, if someone had been born in the north he was placed in the south, and vice-versa. There were a very few cases where people born in a given province were sent back there for teaching.

But let me use the words of my interviewees to flesh out the practice. The former Minister of Education, Arnaldo Nhavoto (op. cit.), describes the observed practice in the following manner:

... if someone had been trained to teach a certain subject and in a given school in any province there was a need for a teacher of that subject, he was sent to work there, regardless of his place of birth.

But, he also notes very clearly that

... there was a need to show Mozambicans the true dimension of their country. With colonialism, they had never had the opportunity to learn how big and diverse their country was. So the procedure was that some people of the north should come to the south or centre, and people from the south should go to teach in the north or/and the centre and those of the centre should go to work either in the north or in the south; all this was exactly to show the true dimension of the country... Given the fact that the development of the north was low and that these imbalances can be observed until today, if you are going to look at the structure of the education you will find that, in spite of the fact that Nampula and Zambézia are the most populous provinces of the country, their contribution to the total school population is lower. More than 40 percent of the school population comes from the southern provinces. Therefore, when we talk about the years 1980, we must assume that, in these years, there were very few people of the north attending school or trained and ready to be allocated to teach in those places [Interview. Nhavoto, 12. 09.02].

Let me take that point of the dimension of the country the former minister made. In fact, a lot of Mozambicans – comparatively fewer today because the coverage of the media and the communication technology developed much more today than twenty, thirty years ago - are not aware of the vastness and diversity of their country. In my place of origin, Xipadja, as I mention in the Introduction, people are still wondering how big and diverse the country is. Most of them have never travelled throughout, even through their province of birth. And the country media and communication technology coverage despite the mentioned considerable growth is still poor, so they continue lacking information on the vastness and diversity of Mozambique.

For Juvane (op. cit.):

... if we had a teacher who was born in Chibuto and was trained after the training at least he was not placed in Chibuto... and I put my hands on the fire, the situation we had was like that. From the point of view of statistical expression, the majority of cases will be of teachers who went to teach in provinces other than their own [Interview. Juvane, 1.08.02].

According to Virgilio Juvane's explanation, this way of dealing with trained people can be seen as the important teaching FRELIMO³⁹ brought from liberated zones where it had a very strong educational structure and a solid experience of conducting education in a war situation. During the struggle for independence, no working or socializing group, no matter how small it was, would be composed of people exclusively from the same origins; it was a must to join people from different provinces. In Juvane's view, it was not by chance that the person appointed as National Director of Education immediately after independence was exactly the person who had headed education during the struggle for national liberation⁴⁰. "The intention of the Government

³⁹ It is worth recalling that Frelimo is the movement that liberated the country.

⁴⁰ This personality was Matias Kapece, the first national director of Education in the Ministry of Education of Culture.

was that this experienced man would pass on to the newly independent country the experience of organization of education in the liberated zones”. Another interviewee said:

... there is no doubt that the big intention was that... in thinking about national problems we should not look at our own individual origin, from where we come... so many were placed in places completely different from those of their origin. For instance, those from Zambézia [centre north] either were sent to Niassa [extreme north] or Cabo Delgado [extreme north], or Inhambane [south], or Gaza [south]. Those from Inhambane were sent to Sofala [centre], or somewhere else. In other words, there was always the concern of exchanging identities and of avoiding that people should work in their own place of origin... [Interview. Daniel, 12.09.2002].

It would have been highly relevant to illustrate this movement of teachers with figures. Unfortunately, however, the data is non-existent. During data collection, I went everywhere in a search of data related to the secondary teachers placements. The Mozambican Historic Archive and the Mozambique National Bibliotheca, the main depository of documents in the country are some of the relevant places I visited. Also I went several times to the now Ministry of Education⁴¹. I visited the National Directorate of Planning, the National Directorate of Training, the National Directorate of Human Resources Administration, the National Directorate of Secondary Education, and the National Directorate of Technical Education. All of them were supposed to have data on teachers, namely when the teachers entered the profession, where they were trained and under which curricula, for how long, in which schools they taught immediately after the training, and in the following years up to this stage. With regards to secondary education teachers during the period 1975 to 1983 there is simply no data.

The former minister Arnaldo Nhavoto also acknowledges and assumes the non-existence of such important information:

⁴¹ Initially, that portfolio was the Ministry of Education and Culture, almost ten years later it came to be just the Ministry of Education.

It is impossible [that information that a given teacher taught in a particular school could exist]! **...In the Ministry of Education, there is not a single individual file!... (laughs). I remember...** I worked some time in the Commission for the Placement of Graduates, I remember that lists came in mountains from secondary schools and we had other lists of needs from different schools or services, and we were drawing other lists for placement. We kept the first lists... but I doubt that there is any archive of these lists... but they were just lists! [Interview. Nhavoto, 12. 09.02. Emphasis added].

From the words of Daniel, the current head of the Department of Human Resources Administration, there is no doubt that:

...there is no information that someone who concluded the course in a given year and was immediately placed in such school... We do not have that information. It is not possible to get that kind of information, for the simple reason that we just do not have it [Interview. Daniel, 12.09.2002. Emphasis added].

Although my main objective was not to discuss the practice of secondary school teachers' placement itself, but rather how it has contributed to nation building in Mozambique, I found it suitable to illustrate with figures the dynamic it had. As a final say on this point, just to add that during some years after independence, many of the decisions the government was taking were not elaborated in any formal legal instrument. For instance, the decision to nationalize schools, hospitals and other social assets was not issued in the form of a legal instrument, but in form of a public speech uttered in a public meeting, therefore is not so surprising the absence of written material concerning specific area.

Having said that, now I move on to the next section consigned to a detailed analysis of the interview findings.

5.1.1 Interview findings

As stated above, I interviewed fifty people exclusively for the purpose of this study. Before dedicating attention to the effects of the practice referred to, I will look closely into what emerged from the interviews. Out of the fifty people interviewed, fifteen are officials or former officials. From this number, ten are still in office while five are no longer working in the Ministry of Education. Almost all of the former officials entered the sector in 1974, 1975 and 1977, exactly at the moment of political transition, when there was a dramatic shortage of qualified people. The other 10 entered between 1975 and 1982, some were even teachers who, therefore, experienced the practice of teaching far away from their province of origin.

Table 1: Number and distribution of respondents

Number of people interviewed by occupation	
(Former) Officials	15
Teachers	35
Total	50

Their provinces of origin are varied: three were born in Maputo, two in Gaza, four in Inhambane, one in Sofala, two in Cabo Delgado, one in Niassa, one in Manica and the last one in Nampula. Their age varies from 39 to 44 years. Two aspects seem to corroborate previous statement. First is the relative abundance of people from the south: of 15 causally selected, nine were from the south. Secondly, all these people were recruited in the period the country was facing crisis of trained personnel.

Map of Mozambique



Caption: In the map can be seen the three different regions of the country. At the top, the Northern Region comprising Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces; then the Central Region, comprising Zambézia, Tete, Sofala and Manica provinces and the Southern Region, composed of Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo.

Table 2: The provinces of birth of the officials interviewed.

Province of birth	No. officials
Maputo	3
Gaza	2
Inhambane	4
<i>Manica</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Tete</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Sofala</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Zambézia</i>	<i>0</i>
Nampula	1
Cabo Delgado	2
Niassa	1

Before I proceed, it is of utmost importance to explain the ‘question’ of regions. In the **Table 2**, on the previous page, the first three marked in bold, Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane are the provinces comprising the South part of Mozambique; the four in italic, Manica, Tete, Sofala and Zambézia constitute the Centre of Mozambique, and the last three at the bottom of the table fill the northern region of the country. As I stated in Chapter I, people – scholars, politician journalists, analysts, ordinary people, etc. – talk about regions: South region, Centre region and North region (See the Map of Mozambique on page 84). The exact motivations are still to be investigated. But it will suffice to explain that this terminology comes from the colonial period. The Portuguese also used to use these designations. The apparent reason may be that in each of the regions there is not just one single ethnic group, there are several ethnic groups. And to avoid calling all the people of the South for instance as *Machangana* or *Bitonga* – two of the ethnic groups in that region – or designating the South as the region of *Machangana*, while in fact they are not all *Machangana*; or to call all the people of the Centre as *Vandawu* or *Vasena*, while not all of them are one thing or the another, or still to call all the people of the North as *Makhuwa* or *Makonde*, or *Ajawas*, while not all of them are one or the others things, there were

adopted these terminology: South, Centre and North. And what is the case in point is the fact that the South is apparently much more socially and industrially developed than the others regions. The capital city – the bigger urban centre of the country – is located in Maputo, many important social and economic infrastructures are situated in Maputo, and all political institutions are based in Maputo. So statistically and by extension all the South ends up being much more developed than other parts of the country. This apparent development dates from the late nineteenth Century, when South Africa under an agreement with Portugal had an green light to recruit a cheap workforce it needed in exchange for the usage of the railways and ports in the then Lourenço Marques (Abrahamson & Nilsson, 1995: 194).

Having said that let me proceed with the examination of the data. All of these 15 officials acknowledged that there was in the country a practice that consisted of placing teachers in different provinces and not in their province of origin. In answering the question about the main goals and objectives of that practice, they overwhelmingly converged in saying that it was to build a new society, where national unity was predominant, a new consciousness of the nation, i.e. a New Man, as formulated in the National Education System Act. Only one answered differently. In his response it was implicit that he saw the practice as a way of perpetuating south domination over the rest of the country. With regard to the question of where and when that practice was designed, they were not able to answer; they confessed not knowing where the practice was designed. They said that there is no single document with details of the practice of which they were aware. All they could say was that the philosophy behind the practice could be found in official speeches by the head of State and other bodies like Frelimo Congresses and Central Committee and Parliament sessions. The teachers concerned as well as the students and their parents were not consulted, according to the interviewees. The practice was a top-down policy: the government just took a decision and implemented it. And even during the course of the experience, no evaluation of the experience was undertaken. Similarly, nothing has ever been

said as to whether the practice yielded the expected results. Asked whether the practice should have been abandoned, most of them suggested that it should not. For them, it was a rational way of distributing manpower throughout the country. Still on this question, namely what the country had gained from the practice, the answers of my interviewees were elaborate. They all expressed the opinion that the country had gained a lot, that tribalism had been removed from the main catalogue of problems bedevilling the country, and that the stability the country is experiencing today was, in part, a result of the policies the Frelimo government had introduced in the country on the different fronts, including in the educational sector. This outcome is interesting because of the fact that many of them are academics, hold university degrees, therefore able to take an independent approach and in a position of being more critical and/or divergent in their analyses. But they were in agreement. One of the issues almost all of them did not note – apart of the unique exception referred to above - is the fact that the majority of the people involved were southerners and this could have awakened the spectre of “national colonialism”, that is one part of the nation colonising other parts of the country. Even Frelimo’s thinkers behind the practice apparently did not foresee this way of looking at the experience.

Resuming the data appreciation: the remaining thirty-five people interviewed were teachers at the time of the implementation of the practice. All of them had been submitted to the experience. Ten were born in Maputo province; seven were born in Gaza and five in Inhambane. From the centre, there were four born in Sofala province, two in Manica, three in Zambézia and a further two in Tete. From the northern region of the country, one was born in Nampula and the last one in Niassa. Their age ranges from 37 to 44 years. As stated earlier, there was no substantial criterion for the selection of interview partners other than their status as former teachers who had undergone the experience of central placement. I often approached them upon hearing from someone that they had been teachers. In the case of them showing evidence of confirming their participation, and their accepting, the interview was set up.

Table 3: Distribution of the teachers interviewed, according to their province of birth.

Province of Birth	No. Teachers
Maputo (south)	10
Gaza (south)	7
Inhambane (south)	5
Manica (centre)	2
Tete (centre)	2
Sofala (centre)	4
Zambézia (centre)	3
Nampula (north)	1
C. Delgado (north)	0
Niassa (north)	1

Table 3 shows clearly the predominance of people from the South in the data. In the following subsection this issue occupies the centre of the discussion.

According to our data, summarized in **Tables 4, 5** and **6**, below, out of the ten from Maputo, two were sent to teach in Niassa, two to Zambézia, two to Nampula, three to Sofala, and one to Tete. None has remained in his place of birth. The seven of Gaza: one was sent to Manica, another one to Quelimane/Zambézia, two to Niassa, one to Maputo; one to Nampula, and the last one to Sofala. Again, none remained in his province of origin. Out of the five from Inhambane, one went to work in Manica, one to Maputo, another one to Nampula, yet another to Gaza and the last one stayed in Inhambane.

As it can be noted, out of a total of 35, 22 teachers from the southern part of the country, just one remained in his province of origin; all the others were placed all over the country, specially in the central and northern parts of the country, as **Table 4**. This seems to confirm that it was most

people of the south who were mainly spread to different parts of the country, and not a vice-verse movement. And again, we are in face of the evidence that there were more offers of trained people in the south rather than in the north. It is to note that even the one, who remained in his province of birth, it is not Maputo, but Inhambane, in the border with the centre.

Table 4: Distribution of the 22 teachers born in the South

<i>Region sent to</i>	South	Centre	North
<i>Region of birth</i>			
South	3		
South		10	
South			9
South			

Table 5: Distribution of the 11 teachers born in the Centre

<i>Region sent to</i>	South	Centre	North
<i>Region of birth</i>			
Centre	2		
Centre		5	
Centre			4

Table 6: Distribution of the 2 teachers born in the North

<i>Region sent to</i>	South	Centre	North
<i>Region of birth</i>			
North	1		
North		0	
North			1

As for the central region, out of the two from Tete one was sent to work in Nampula and the other one remained in Tete. The one from Manica was sent to Beira. Out of the four from Sofala, one was sent to Maputo, one to Zambézia; another one to Niassa and the last one to Manica. The one born in Manica was sent to Beira, Sofala. Just one of the seven was put in his home's province, the rest were scattered throughout the country.

A careful look at this data of central region bring into perspective at least two interesting issues. One is that it appears that people from the Centre were not being sent to the south, especially to Maputo in the same proportion as the reverse. A possible explanation – and this is the second issue – could be that as some of the interviewees noted, that in the south there were more secondary schools than in the centre or north. But even taking into account this argument, the consistency of the policy seems to be weakened. If the idea was to shift people from south to the centre and the north, and vice-verse, or if it was to send people from the south to the centre and the north, and people from the centre to the north, this is at least questionable. In other words, whether *de facto* it was a policy or not, more people from the South went elsewhere than the other way around. If it had been a consistent policy could be assumed that greater cases would have been taken to ensure balance.

With regard to Zambézia, of the four of this province, one was sent to Maputo, and one was sent to Nampula, another to Niassa and the last one remained in Zambézia. In the north, the one from Nampula was sent to Gaza. The one from Niassa remained in his province. Out of those from the north, it can be noted that just two remained in their province of origin; the rest was scattered all over the country. Here again it can be noted that teachers from these provinces were not being sent in large numbers to the south. Once more, it can be said that possibly it was because the number of schools in the south was larger than in the centre or north; this is a possible explanation for this unbalance.

The results of the interviews suggest strongly that out of the snowball selection of 35 teachers, 22 were from the south, while the remaining 13 were from the rest of the country. There is a clear imbalance that can be construed to mean that there will have been many more people from the south to go to the centre and north, than the opposite. Secondly, there might have been a stronger likelihood for people from the north to remain in their region. This is, once again, contradictory with the whole philosophy of the initiative, which was getting people working in other parts of the country so that they could be aware of other country's realities. And also can be seen as an argument for those like Raimundo (Interview. 05.09.02) who argue that the movement of teachers was not two ways directed, but was only one, south to north.

All of these 35 teachers confessed having noticed a *sui generis* way of allocating teachers after their training. They said that they were being trained to work whenever if needed, under the motto "what matters is not what I want or what you want, but what the country wants". In this sense, they were expected to be able to go to work very far from home. They said they experienced being sent to work very far away from their province of origin. They also stated having witnessed a lot of their colleagues being allocated in very different places which were, moreover, far from their places of origin. Often, they had never been to those places and had never thought of ever setting foot there. In spite of this, according to them, when they arrived at the place where they had been sent to teach, they were well received by local people. A minority mentioned some organizational problems affecting the school management, but local people welcomed them very well. They also indicated that they did not have any cultural problems in classrooms with pupils. Apart from scientific knowledge they were to teach, they feel that they also taught some cultural aspects of their own culture and learnt some from the local culture. Despite having considered the experience very difficult, all of them were of the opinion that it was the right thing to do at the time when independence was attained. At that time it was very

important to keep the country together. Some were hesitant when asked to evaluate the practice, but most gave their opinion as reported above. Why some were hesitant it is a question that merely can be speculated given that there are no apparent reasons for that. May be they were fearing that their opinions would be made public which could probably bring them problems. But things in the country are no longer working as before when to give an opinion could be dangerous.

On the fundamental question whether the practice had helped overcome the problem of tribalism, the answer was overwhelmingly affirmative. However, a few of them noted that it was not just the practice that helped to overcome tribal prejudice, but a combination of a profound measure and phenomena that occurred in the country in the years preceding the independence of the country and in the years immediately after. This argument has been raised by few of the interviewees, needs to be noted. The fact is that, the process of nation building comprises a set of policies, procedures, attitudes and activities so that it is impossible to state categorically that it is just one of them that leads necessarily to the formation of a nation. The same should be said about the country as a whole, it is not a single factor that has led to the creation of a nation. It has been a combination of policies, procedures and activities that has contributing to the formation of a nation. As the interviewees have said, though tribalism is not threatening the country's social stability, as it has in many countries throughout the world, there are still some ethnic problems in different institutions.

Having looked at the findings of the interviews, I would like to look very closely at the different effects the practice just described had on Mozambican society.

5.2 Effects of the practice of teacher placement

The main goal of this study is to look at the effects the practice of secondary school teacher placement had in the process of nation building in Mozambique. By effects it is understood the impact the practice had on or caused in Mozambican society; that is, what has been affected by and/or changed because of the implementation of that practice. The effects are broken down into four areas: ethnic, political, social and cultural, which I regard as the main areas to be considered.

5.2.1 Ethnic effects

As stated earlier, most of the policies implemented with the objective of building a nation, had very strong effects on Mozambican society. One major effect might have been that the question of ethnic consciousness became less important. Almost all of the interviewees are of the opinion that with that kind of practice, the problem of tribalism in the country has at least been postponed and that unlike in other countries ethnicity is not a big issue in Mozambique. Using the words of Francisco Cossa⁴²,

... from what happened by putting a person from the Makonde ethnic group together with another one from a different ethnic group, a Changana, or someone else, ... really what happened is that tribalism and regionalism became weaker throughout the country. I myself have an interesting experience concerning that, I married a woman from the Nyanja ethnic group... but the policy also helped to overcome prejudices, one of them was that people from the south were held – or considered themselves - superior to others, but it was shown that people from the south can live and work in the north and also people from the north can work in the south, provided that they have the necessary skills. But there was also that aspect of marriages. People from Manica married people from Zambézia, the Ndaus married Makyuwas, etc.... it is true that our children have lost our languages, they do not speak their fathers or mothers native language... [Interview. Cossa, 29.08.02]

Dias comes to the same conclusion:

⁴² Cossa, Francisco. Interview. 29.08.02. Cossa was born in Cheringoma, Sofala (centre of the country), was trained in Maputo (extreme south) and sent to teach in Lichinga/Niassa (extreme north). Now, Cossa is among the prominent Mozambican authors.

I think it is a fact and no one can deny that this practice helped to overcome ethnic prejudices... for instance, I am from the ethnic group Chuwabo (in the central province of Zambézia), I am married to a man from the Mwani ethnic group (in the northern province of Cabo Delgado)... my children were born in Maputo (in the south). And if you ask me where my family is from?, the obvious answer is that we are from Mozambique (laughs)... we are from Mozambique. It is exactly that which contributes a lot to the stability of the country, I look at this issue that way, almost all my generation [submitted to that experience], we have learnt to live with other cultures and this made us lose some radical roots and identify ourselves in favour of one much bigger and wider region - which is the country. [Interview. Dias, 05.09.02].

In Daniel's view (op. cit.), the country gained a lot from that practice:

I understand that one of the actions that put the so-called national unity into practise was precisely that policy of shuffling trained people around throughout the country. It was not just the fact that these trained people would go and stay in a certain place which leads to national unity, it is also the fact that this contact between ethnic groups enabled a development of cultures, an exchange of ways of living, a better understanding of how the others are and live... these contacts allowed to overcome some prejudices... we from the south used to call people from the north *swingondo*⁴³, warriors, uncivilized... and what not.. Our presence in the north created an opportunity to understand that there is no difference between the people from the north and us... on the contrary; we discovered elements we do not have in the south, for instance that in Tete, in a far-off village, people speak Portuguese, something that does not happen in the south! [Interview. Daniel, 12.09.02].

Paulo Antonio Junior⁴⁴ is much more emotional in expressing what he as a person has gained from that experience:

What I have learnt from that experience is very simple: for me the difference that someone is from the north and another one from the south does not exist anymore... for me, we are all people: that is an added value. I have learnt to deal with the people of the north, it is not easy, but I managed to understand them thoroughly, and I realised that

⁴³ A word from one of the languages of the north meaning war; its meaning has been corrupted to "people of war" in the south.

⁴⁴ Junior was born in Manjacaze, sent to teach in Messangulu, Niassa, in the border with Tanzania, then to Maputo province. Currently he has left the education. Interview. Junior, Paulo A., 30.08.02.

they are very sincere, their friendship is sincere, when they are friends, they are really friends, here in the south people are not honest, you think that they are friends but you then discover that they are not. There people are honest! [Interview. Junior, 30.08.02].

Nhavoto (op. cit.) describes his experience in the following statement:

What the country has earned from that experience is valueless, it very, very important. These youngsters submitted to that experience get a dimension of the country different from that of those people who have never left their birthplaces. There are cases of people that initially were reluctant to go and teach far away, but ended up feeling very comfortable in those places so that they decided to stay there... I think that this process has contributed to the fact that people feel that they are Mozambicans not only at their place of origin, but anywhere in the country. And this has contributed to the development of the country. [Interview. Nhavoto, 12.09.02].

For Machili, although there was not a policy of teacher placement, the country has gained much stability. “What keeps the country united is that generation... this generation that sung the revolutionary songs that matured very quickly and identify themselves with the country.”

Filimone Meigos (op. cit.) concedes that national unity has been moulded through this practice, but feels that it was in the army where national unity was shaped:

To be frank, in my opinion, the experience that brought more results was that made in the army. Education tried to move people from one place to another and contribute in that way. However, the sector where there were more results was in the army. I was in the army. The organization of the army is battalion brigade, company, platoon and section; this one is the smallest unity comprising eleven members. The members of the section should be from the eleven provinces of the country... all provinces should be represented in the section... and I can say that empirically the objective has been achieved, but to build a nation much more needs to be done. [Interview. Meigos, 18.08.02].

Despite the fact that almost all of the interviewees agree that tribalism has been reduced, it should be mentioned that this spirit seems to persist somehow with some vigour in certain parts of the country and in certain institutions and in other areas of society. For instance, currently,

the southerners are not welcome in many central and Northern provinces. A southerner is looked as if he was a foreigner, a stranger, someone who came to dominate, or to cheat. There are situation that people from the south nominated for positions in central or Northern provinces were not allowed by the governor of these provinces to occupy the seats, and sent back to Maputo. This at least happened in Sofala, in the beginning of 1990s⁴⁵.

Also, there has been what may be called a “hidden war” in different parts of Mozambican society. This ‘hidden war’ consists in the fact that there have been some ethnic confrontations in different social sectors, but such confrontations were never formally declared, that is, the problem of tribalism in the country has never come to be discussed publicly. So disputes are there going on, and people tend to ignore them potentially. Some of the interviewees were clear that there is in the country domination in every social sphere or area of development by people originating from the south. Maybe or not because of this dominance there has been what I termed hidden war. There are no data to support this understanding, but it has been a matter of fact that most of the people who has been appointed for ministerial positions, or other senior positions, as for instance provincial governor, national director or for another position surrounds himself mainly by advisor and assistants coming from the ethnic group he comes from. Hardly any people from other ethnic groups are invited to be part of the team. This practice is wide-spread, in certain institutions, public or private, to a higher degree in some than in others. Even in certain universities, to be recruited for lecturing, to be from the centre or north is an advantage.

There are no major political parties consisting exclusively of members of a specific ethnic group. It has been said that Renamo, the major opposition political party, has its dominance in the centre and in parts of the north, but it has got support from all over the country, especially

⁴⁵ This issue has never been publicly reported.

from the south and from Maputo, particularly. Also this can be understood in light of what some interviewees, for instance, Nhavoto (op. cit.) and Ngunga (op. cit.), explained, that the number of schools and education opportunities were more abundant in the south than in the north or in the centre; and this has caused qualified people to be more abundant in the south and less in the centre and the north.

5.2.2 Political effects

One of the interesting facts on what Frelimo brought about is the fact that the then guerrilla movement consistently held innovative ideas. Frelimo's project was modernist in that it wanted to create a society based on science; that is, based on a developed society, where modern technology was the key factor. The society they were dreaming of was not that emanating from traditional roots, governed by obscurantism, ignorance, illiteracy or 'backwardness', but one where scientific knowledge would prevail, where the major feature was a careful planning mechanism in accordance with scientific standards.

The second aspect to mention is that, like most of Frelimo's projects during the period under analysis, this was a top-down decision. The perspective of the then 12 million Mozambicans to be involved and affected was not taken into account. It was the state that decided about all social aspects of people's lives without asking them. The very fact of building a nation through the Portuguese language – to the detriment of national languages - reflects this top-down decision-making process characterising Frelimo's party and government in that era. There was consultation involving ordinary Mozambicans about the country's language question, the decision had been taken (by Frelimo). Although there had not been any kind of questioning of that, it may be stated that this option of the Portuguese language has excluded the majority of the population from the new project and from day-to-day life; despite the growth of the number of

Portuguese speakers since the independence, the overwhelming majority of Mozambicans continue not to use that language.

The practice of secondary education teacher placement seems to have created some resentment among certain Mozambicans, as some interviewees pointed out (Raimundo. Interview, 05.09.02). Probably, the reason for that can be found in the fact that it came from a top-down decision making system, where people are usually not consulted. In fact, as it was found out from the interviews, that the practice was not discussed anywhere, it was just imposed by the central authorities for the whole country. All of the interviewees states that. Not even the opinion of people directly or indirectly involved – teachers, pupils and parents – was heard; they were simply given instructions to follow.

Secondly, from the data collected, it can be asserted that there was an overwhelming majority of people from the south who were sent to teach in the north compared to people from the north being sent to the south. As seen in our snowball selected data, from 35 casually selected teachers, far less than half – just 13 – came from the centre and the north; adding to that, these few were not sent to the south, but to the north, if they were from the centre, or to the centre, if they were from the north. These resentments are brought out clearly by José Raimundo. As he put it,

The practice of human resources allocation was positive for the country. I cannot say whether it was an official policy or not, I did not see anything written anywhere and no one told me about the matter. Only we had forms and each of us filled them and chose what he wanted to follow. But, from the experience of my day to day work, I came to know many more things that at the time I did not know and I arrived at the conclusion that, in fact, with the process of post-independence development, the distribution of human resources throughout the different provinces of the country started obeying to a certain criterion which I do not know... I will not say there was an exchange; I will say that there were more people from the south who went to different regions of the country.

This is what I have seen. There were also people coming from different realities, under which criteria of selection I also did not know!” [Interview. Raimundo, 05.09.02].

In fact, as explained in the previous section, there is kind of hateful, odious and distrust of people of the south from those of the centre and the north. This is traduced, as I stated, in a ‘hidden war’, in a silent conflict going on in the Mozambican society. But, once again, the explanation seems to be the same. Nhavoto (op. cit.), Langa (op. cit.) and Ngunga (op. cit.) are some of those who elaborate on the point. As far as Nhavoto is concerned,

Given the fact that the development of the north was low and that the tendency of imbalances can be observed until today, if you are going to look at the structure of education you will find that, in spite of the fact that Nampula and Zambezia are the country’s most populous provinces, their contribution to the total school population is lower. More than 40 percent of the school population comes from the southern provinces. Therefore, when we talk about the years 1980, we must assume that, in these years, there were very few people of the north attending school or trained and ready to be allocated to teach. [Interview. Nhavoto, 12.09.02].

Langa says:

...I think that this imbalance was due to the opportunity that people from the south had to go to school, because of the availability of schools. Just in Maputo, there was more capability of having pre-university schools than in any other part of the country; there were some institutions that you could not find in Beira or in Nampula. So, in terms of quantity, people trained in Maputo were in larger quantities than those trained in other parts of the country. That was the framework at the time. It changed soon because more pre-university schools were opened in the centre and north; but what caused figures to be imbalanced in that process was the non-availability of pre-university schools throughout the country [Interview. Langa, 03.09.02].

Ngunga starts by clarifying that

I do not think that the people who were placing teachers deliberately allocated people of the south in the north or the north in the south...or more people from the south in the centre or in the north! I think what happened is that there were few people from the north being trained, but there were many people from the south in schools... I remember that

there was one school teaching standard nine in Niassa... but there were some more in the south. Thus, to make up for the fact that the north had a greater need in terms of teachers and schools, many people from the south ended up in the north or in the central part of the country... [Interview. Ngunga, 16.09.02].

In spite of all these explanations it is clear from the statements of some of the interviewees (Raimundo, op. cit.), that the procedure did not please everyone. Notwithstanding this suggestion that it was not a deliberate policy, I can conclude with Taju⁴⁶ "... that practice has helped in the building of a Nation in Mozambique; the nation was moulded in all that procedure..." [Interview. Taju, 09.09.02].

5.2.3 Social effects

Probably, what can be held as the greater effects of that practice are those phenomena related to social aspects, though it is not easy to draw clear boundaries as to where the political aspects end and the social ones start. Although most of the interviewees avoided referring to that aspect with many details, it can be said that throughout this process there were a lot of inter-ethnic marriages. Many of the people placed far from their home province got married with local people. These marriages are plenty in Mozambique ranging from teachers, nurses, medical doctors, policemen to military personal. Most people practising these professions are married with people from a different, often geographically distant ethnic group. This may be the single most important factor behind bringing together most of the country's ethnic groups.

Although there are no studies showing this, there is a sense in which inter-ethnic marriages became more pronounced with the arrival of the revolution: first, in the struggle for national liberation between the combatants and later through the practice of placing manpower. And this

⁴⁶ Taju, Gulamo. Taju was born in Inhambane (south of the country), sent to teach in Manica and Beira (in the centre) he has a MA degree in Sociology and an Honor's in History. Currently, he is a lecturer at the main Mozambican university. Interview. 09.09.02.

will have been the major means through which ethnic prejudice was overcome, as Dias, quoted above, put it.

Another social impact of the practice has to do with how marriage works in different regions of the country. In the more patrilineal south, it is the woman who goes to live at the husband's home and the husband is the head of the family. He is the breadwinner, takes care of the wife, of the children and of the children's education. Patrilineal values are quite strong. In the more matrilineal north, however, it was – and it still is - the husband who had to move from the home of his parents to the home of his wife's parents; it falls upon the woman to manage the family with the man merely as labour force. With inter-ethnic marriages matrilineal societies have had to undergo changes. There is a growing tendency towards patrilineal forms. In that particular aspect, those of the south who went to work in the north came to know how matrilineal societies work. On the other hand, those born in the north that went to work in the south had the opportunity to see how patrilineal societies work. Bangy Cassy⁴⁷ refers exactly to that aspect he learnt in the distant Messangulu, close to Malawi (Niassa province): “In that part of the country young women used to be more active, open and outspoken than boys... the society was matrilineal. There were some colleagues who married and had to go and live in homes of the young women they were marrying, a practice contrary to that in the south” [Interview. Cassy, 12.09.02]. The way these marriages work in the northern part of the country has had, as stated already, the tendency to change to the kind of marriage practised in the southern part of the country. It is hard to know to what extent the change is a direct consequence of the practice. All that can be said with certainty is that the way of living and doing things in the north or centre has influenced the way of living and doing things in the south, and vice-versa.

⁴⁷ Cassy, Bangy. Cassy was born in Xai-Xai, Gaza province, south part of the country, and was sent to teach in Massangulu, Niassa, in the border with Tanzania, extreme north, and then he was sent to Beira, in the centre of the country. Currently he is a senior lecturer at the main university of the country. Interview. 12.09.02.

Lobolo is another social institution, which came to be known throughout the country⁴⁸. The practice is very common in the southern part of Mozambique. Despite the fact that it has not been introduced in the centre or north yet, at least people from these regions came to know it. Januário Língua is one example of those people who came to be familiar with *lobolo*, as he confesses: “The other aspect I knew during my experience in the south was the ceremony of *lobolo*, it was totally a new issue for me, and in our region we do neither have nor know this practice.”

And finally, the practice made some people realise what kind of priorities people set themselves. Education, for example, was not always high on the list of priorities as Januário Língua⁴⁹ came to realise, “My great astonishment was to find that not everybody took schooling seriously; for certain families the major priority was for their sons to go to South Africa to work in the mines. This way of looking at life from the mines of South Africa was something I did not know; in our region we always assumed that the future was prepared at school” [Interview. Língua, 20.09.02].

5.2.4 Cultural effects

Culturally, the country has also enlarged its horizons according to the interviewees. Songs and dances from a specific part of the country became known, sung and/or danced in another part. Meigos⁵⁰ had to learn to dance *Makwaela* and *Makwai* for the first time in his life, two dances

⁴⁸ The scientific term for *lobolo* is bridewealth, that is the ceremony taking place in the woman’s parents in which the fiancé thanks with material sets or money the parents of his fiancée.

⁴⁹ Língua, Januário. Língua was born in Nampula (north) and sent to teach in Mangunze, somewhere deep inside Gaza, and then in Namaacha, extreme south. Currently, he is a lecturer at the second major university. Interview. 20.09.02.

⁵⁰ Meigos, Filimone. Interview. 12.08.02. Meigos was born in Beira, centre of the country, and then he went to teach in Manica, second province of the centre, after that he went to work in Nampula, north of the country and currently he is working at Eduardo Mondlane University as a lecturer.

from the south of Mozambique, in Manica, where he was teaching [Interview. Meigos, 18.08.02]. Cossa (op. cit.) says: “I came to know the dance called N’ganda, [from Niassa] which I had never heard about” [Interview. Cossa, 29.08.02]. Dances like Makwaela, Makwai and Xingomani are today known and appreciated by people of the north. Junior (op. cit.): “I have learnt to dance *Katana*, a very exciting dance... we used to organize pupils and in the evenings we danced that kind of dance. I enjoyed it a lot... but also I taught some dances from the south, *makwayela, makwai and xingomani*” [Interview. Junior, 30.08.02].

Cooking is another particular sphere of society that was affected by the practice. People came to eat and enjoy specific dishes from certain regions other than theirs. Tajú: “... myself, for instance, I had never eaten *sadza* (cornmeal porridge) before going to Manica, but today I eat it with great pleasure” [Interview. Taju, 09.09.02]. Dias⁵¹ confesses that she had true contact with southern culture when she went to work in Xai-Xai, Gaza province. She had to know that for one to go to a certain family to convey condolences you were required to wear a scarf on the head and a colourful cloth around the waist. “They said that it was a matter of respect and of conferring solemnity to the act”, says Dias. And she concludes:

I think that they inculcated on me perhaps all the habits that I did not have before, I learnt to cook *xiguinha*⁵², *mathapa*... and I think I have taught them some habits of my region, Zambézia. But the main thing I learnt is that we are all equal in Mozambique... and that is the most important aspect.” For Língua, this was another fascinating experience he had in the south: “I was not familiar with dishes like *xiguinha, kakana, mathapha*, for instance. It was through these experiences that I realised that our country was complex and had very fascinating things! [Interview. Dias, 05.09.02].

⁵¹ Dias, Hildizina I.P.N. Dias was born in Quelimane/Zambézia (centre-north) and sent to teach in Maputo (extreme south) and Xai-Xai, Gaza (south). Now, she has got a PhD degree and lectures at the second main public university. Interview. 05.09.02.

⁵² A mixture of cassava and beans or kakana.

Having arrived thus far, an assessment needs to be done. As it can be realised from the affidavits of the interviewees, there is no doubt that the practice of secondary school teachers' allocation had different effects in the varied spheres of life, from politics to the cultural field, better put, touched deep the life of the Mozambicans. The question to be raised at this final stage of the analysis may be whether all these effects will have been those Frelimo leaders had expected when they thought up the policy. Even if we assume that this was not official policy it is hard to imagine that they could have thought of all the consequences. If one assumes that the practice ensued from a deliberate policy, as many of our interviewees have suggested, we may be forced to conclude that some of the effects were in fact expected.

We should recall Machel (1975: 15) when he said

When I, say from the Nyanja ethnic group, cultivate side by side with a Nguni, sweating with him, working the earth with him, I am learning with and from him; I assess his sweat, I feel united to him. When I, from the centre, together with a comrade from the north discuss how to farm, we plan together, we face difficulties together, we crop together, I and the comrade get strongly united and we love much each other. When I, from the north, have learnt from a comrade from the south how to do a small farm; when I from the centre have learnt from a comrade of the north to grow cassava, which was unknown to me, I was getting united to these comrades. I was experiencing the unity of our country in practical terms, the unity of our working classes. We were fighting and destroying tribal, religious and linguistic prejudice, all secondary aspects but ones which divided us.

With Machel's thoughts in mind, it can be stated that given the fact that people have worked side by side, faced and overcome difficulties together, sweated together, and learnt from each other throughout the process, tribal prejudice, the lack of mutual knowledge has diminished. There are still some focuses of tribalism, as the hate of people from the south in the central and northern provinces, and also as the case of those who surround themselves with people from their ethnic group. Nonetheless, hatred and rivalries do not seem to have reached a stage in which they could

be said to be unmanageable. There are enough reasons to believe that Frelimo leaders were, in fact, expecting people to get united, the nation to be moulded and unified.

In final conclusion, I should recognise that it is difficult to measure very precisely the impact the policy had within the Mozambican society. A wider study covering more sectors like the health, and the police and the army, with more people interviewed, and field visits to a number of important places where people were placed, would probably give more insight to the question.

But it is beyond dispute that it has contributed to the outcome of nation building. As our interviewees highlighted, those who were involved had more vision, understanding and awareness of other realities, cultures, ethnic groups, i.e., of the country, Mozambique. But it is also fair to recognise that the dominance of the southerner on the political, social and economic life of the country continues, it was not addressed by the policy of teacher placement. Other policies are needed to correct this particular unbalance.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

When I first formulated the research proposal, I had established 1985 as the latest year to be considered within the framework of my historical sweep. As referred to earlier on also, this year marked the turning point of the Mozambican revolution; many socialist policies were abandoned or/and reconverted. The country abandoned the centrally planning economy along with the general practice of concentrating decision making. Obviously this meant that the policy of placing teachers had to be changed. However, and to speak with Juvane (op. cit.), it was not only the education sector which dropped policies,

dropping policies came from the fact that the global orientation of the state had changed. We started implementing the new national education system in 1983, but from 1986 we started abandoning many things in the light of the Economic Rehabilitation Program. With that program many things languished, including the training and the allocation of teachers, given the imposition that public expenditure should be contained... but also then the war intensified and made a lot of other policies and programs unviable... until the new Constitution of 1990, which states that the citizens are free to choose a profession and where they want to work... in conclusion, it was not education as a sector that changed, but rather changes in the superstructure which led to changes in education.

The former minister of Education Arnaldo Nhavoto subscribes to this line of thinking. As he says, "... the placement policy only stopped in 1985, with the Program of Economic Rehabilitation. The program imposed a set of budget restrictions that led to a stoppage of certain practices, not only in the sector of education or in the area of teacher training and placement, but in other areas of the State and the society in general" (Nhavoto, op. cit.).

There is no consensus among the interviewees, as indicated: some think that the practice should not have been abandoned because it was the only way people from different ethnic groups had to meet and live together – thus, the spirit of belonging to a nation should continue to be cemented and consolidated. However, it should be improved and its negative aspects corrected. The practice in its essence should have been continued. Others feel that it was the right thing to do to abandon the policy because it violated people's rights and preferences as far as choosing the profession they wanted and working where they wanted were concerned. Having come this far it should be worth to return to the main question of the study: to what extent the policy of teacher placement pursued by Frelimo contributed to the process of building a nation.

First of all, a critical remark that could be made about the practice is that if the idea was to get people from the south very close to people of the centre or of the north and vice-versa, it may not have been fully accomplished. Teachers were not sent to the village where ordinary people lived; they were sent to small towns. It is true that these small towns were extremely poor with very low living and development standards, but they were not exactly where ordinary people lived. It is more accurate to see these small towns as small urban centres, where people are exposed to a flux of information, which could easily create an awareness of belonging to a certain nation. Where people needed to be made aware of the nation - and the need is still there – is much more in the rural areas, where people have no access to any kind of media.

In fact, the best answer to that or similar questions can be quoted from Connor (1990) who stated, "...nation-formation is a process, not an occurrence" (Connor, 1990; quoted in Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 159). In fact, it is not something that takes place within years or decades; it is something which takes a lot of time. Secondly, and recalling yet the same author, "The point in the process at which a sufficient portion of people has internalised the nation identity in order to cause nationalism to become an effective force of mobilising the masses does not lend itself to precise calculation"; that is, there is no point where it can be claimed that the nation has been already formed.

On the other hand, Ernest Renan (*op. cit.*) understood ‘a nation’ to be ‘a soul’ constituted by a collective past and present. So far, Mozambique has assumed, with some disputes here and there, some common past and present. Joseph Stalin assumed a nation to be a “historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture”.

If it can be questioned whether Mozambique has arrived at a stage of ‘common culture’, the answer may be that there are some political, social and cultural aspects that are national, as it has been shown. In this sense, then, there is no doubt that the country has got a ‘stable community of people’, ‘territory’ and ‘economic life’. The country seems to meet parts of Stalin’s prerequisites. There have been attempts to have a common language, but the process has not yet been completed. Equally important is Karl W. Deutsch’s (*op. cit.*) recommendation of establishing a system of ‘national effective communication’, which has not yet been accomplished. “A larger group of person linked by such complementary habits and facilities of communication we may call a people”, the author has defended. Mozambique has not yet been linked by ‘such complementary habits and facilities’, but efforts have been made to establish ‘national effective communication’.

So, as a very final word, it may be asserted that while Frelimo’s experience of secondary school teachers placement did not last as long and did not include a lot of people, it contributed, nonetheless, considerably to that long, complex and delicate process of building a nation in Mozambique. The tasks ahead are enormous, given that problems of ‘effective communication’ and mutual understanding among the different Mozambican ethnic groups are still unresolved.

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ANNEXES

Annex I – Letter to potential interviewees (Portuguese version)

Caro _____

Encontro-me, neste momento, a elaborar o meu trabalho de diploma – Mestrado em Sociologia – pela Universidade de Pretória (África do Sul). O tópico da minha dissertação é:

“Construção de Nação em Moçambique: Uma Avaliação da Política de Colocação de Professores Secundários, 1975-1985”

O meu objectivo primário é estudar o processo de construção de nação, na definição ‘staliniana’, nos países que foram submetidos à colonização em África. E particularmente pretendo ver como é que o Governo de Moçambique que conquista o poder em 1975 procura “erguer”/ “construir”/ “consolidar” – ou como se quiser – uma nação num território multi-étnico como o é Moçambique.

Houve, no país, nas diferentes áreas de vida, uma prática implementada que procurava dar um contributo a esta pretensão. Tal prática foi o “baralho” na afectação de quadros. A tendência era se alguém tivesse nascido no Sul do país era enviado a trabalhar no Norte ou no Centro; e vice-versa.

Eu procuro, agora, verificar como é que esta prática foi desenvolvida no tocante aos professores do ensino secundário. Pelo que me encontro a entrevistar individualidades que na altura estiveram ligados ao processo.

Agradeço, assim, imensamente, a sua colaboração.

Moisés Eugénio Mabunda
(Cellphone: 082 319205)
E-Mail: memabunda@yahoo.com

Letter to potential interviewees (English version)

Dear _____

I am a student of Sociology in the University of Pretoria (South Africa). Now I am in a phase of writing my dissertation for the Master's Degree. My topic is:

“Nation Building in Mozambique: An Assessment of the Secondary School Teachers' Placement Scheme, 1975 – 1985”

My main objective is to understand the nation building process in countries submitted to colonization in Africa. Particularly I am interested in to see how the Government of Mozambique which earn power in 1975 seeks to build a united nation from a multi-ethnic territory like Mozambique.

In different life spheres of the country it was implemented certain practice aimed to contribute to that nation building endeavour. Such practice consisted of “shuffling” the placement of trained manpower. The tendency was that if someone had been born in the South part of the country he was being sent to work in the North or Centre; and vice verse.

I seek to understand how this practice was developed specifically with regard to secondary school teachers. Therefore I have been interviewing individualities who at the time were working direct or indirectly in that process.

I, then, would be very thankful if could have your collaboration.

Moisés Eugénio Mabunda
Cellphone: 082 319205
E-Mail: memabunda@yahoo.com

Annex II - Interview schedule

Interview Schedule A (For teachers who were involved in the process)

Personal details

Name:..... Age

Place of birth District Province

Place of training..... Year of entry to the profession

Subject(s) trained in.....

Subjects taught.....

Places where you taught	From (year)	To (year)
1 st
2 nd
3 rd
4 th
5 th
6 th

Questions for discussion

1. When you finished your training and were told where you were going to teach, what instructions did you receive from your superiors?
2. When you arrived where you were placed how were you received?
3. What were the first contacts with the pupils like? What were the aspects you did not know prior to being placed there? Please specify them
4. Apart from the scientific knowledge you were expected to teach, where there other things you were expected to put across? Please specify them.
5. How would you assess the placement policy? Do you think it was right for someone from a given ethnic group to be sent to teach among a different ethnic group?
6. How were you looked at by the rest of the residents (apart from the pupils' parents) of the place where you worked at the beginning? During your work years? And at the end of your mission?
7. What do you think you learned from local people? Please specify.

8. Do you think that you contributed with anything else apart from the science you were expected to teach to the knowledge of the people you were in contact with? Please specify.

9. Do you think that you have learnt anything from the people you were living with? Please specify.

10. As far as you are concerned in which sense did the experience contribute to overcome ethnic prejudice?

11. What has the country gained from that?

12. Are there any other aspects related to this which we have not spoken about but you would like to discuss?

Interview Schedule B
(For senior officials involved with the process at the time)

Personal details

Name..... Title

Position at the time (1975-1985).....

How long were you in that position for?.....

Questions for discussion

1. Can you outline the main objectives of Mozambican education immediately after independence?
2. What did the policy of teacher placement immediately after independence consist of in general?
3. In your opinion what did the policy of secondary education teachers' placement consist of in the period 1975-85 specifically? Please give as much detail as possible
4. What were the main goals of that policy? Which objectives were aimed at?
5. When and where was the policy formulated? And which body (ies) was/were involved in that experience? (Which body took the decision?)
6. Were the teachers themselves or the parents consulted? If not, why?
7. During the course of the experience, was there any review? What was found out? How did they (the results) ensue? (How was the evaluation done?)
8. Did the obtained results correspond to what was expected?
9. By 1985 it seems that the policy was abandoned. Was this the case and if so why?
10. What did the country gain from that?

Annex III - list of interviewees

Albertina Chachuaio Moreno (Hon.), Born in Inhambane, south of Mozambique, she grew up in Nampula, and was sent to teach in the capital-city, Maputo, in 1983. Currently, she is a researcher at the National Institute for the Development of Education. Interviewed on 27th 8, 2002.

António Jeremias Américo Tamele (BA). Born in Maputo, he was sent to work in Niassa. Currently, he is retired. He was interviewed on 02nd8, 2002.

António Matsolo (BA). He was born in Maputo and sent to teach in Zambézia and Tete. Currently, he is back teaching in his native province. Interviewed on 16th8, 2002.

António Patrício Daniel (Hon.). Born in Inhambane (southern province), he is the current head of the Human Administration Department. He has been in education since 1978, having worked in Manica and Beira (central provinces) and in the Republic of Cuba. Interviewed on 12th September 2002.

António Tuzine (Hon.). Born in Gaza, he has been in the teaching profession since 1983. He was sent to teach in Nampula from 1984 to 1991. Currently he is a researcher at the National Institute for the Development of Education. Interviewed on 27.08.02.

Armindo Ngunga (PhD). Born in Niassa, he is one of the few that managed to go back to teach in his home province. Currently, he is the Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Eduardo Mondlane University. . Interviewed on 16. 09.02.

Arnaldo Nhavoto (MA.), former Minister and Vice-Minister of Education. Born in Maputo, he has been a teacher since 1976. Currently he is a consultant and a senior lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 12 September 2002.

Bertinho Levy Jemusse (Hon.). He was born in Maputo and sent to teach in Tete. Currently, he is teaching in Maputo. Interviewed on 29.07.02.

Bhangy Cassy (MA). He was born in Xai-Xai (Gaza) and was sent to teach in the extreme north, Messangulo, Niassa, on the border with Tanzania. After that experience he was brought to Maputo to teach and soon sent to Beira as a school head. From 1983 to 91 he was a national director of Training and of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Education. . Interviewed on 12.09.02.

Carlos Machili (PhD) Born in Niassa (far-northern province). He has been in education since 1973, having worked for a long time in different departments within the Ministry of Education. Currently he is the Rector of the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 12 August 2002

Carlos Lauchande (MA). Born in Maputo. He entered education in 1976. He was sent to teach in Lichinga, Niassa. Then he went to work in the Ministry of Education. Currently he works for the National Institute for Development of Education as a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 10.08.02.

Castigo José Correia Langa (Eng.), born in Gaza (southern province). He entered education in 1976, having worked in different departments in the Ministry of Education. He was one of the people who were placing teachers from 1982 to 1983. Interviewed on 03.08.02.

Cecília Diquene Mavale (Hon.). Born in Gaza, she entered education in 1979, was sent to teach in Maputo. Currently, she is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 18.09.02.

Crisóstomo Pedro Dumangane (Hon.). Born in Maputo province, he had to go to work in Sofala and Manica. He has come back to his native province. Interviewed on 09.07.02.

Ernesto Daniel Chambisse (Hon.). Born in Gaza, he was sent to teach in Beira and later in Maputo. Currently, he is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 12.09.02.

Ernesto Malume Tivane (Hon.). He was born in Gaza and sent to teach in Manica and Nampula. Now he has left education. Interviewed on 13.07.02.

Ernesto Xhlemo Thumbo (BA). Born in Inhambane, he was sent to teach in Gaza and Maputo. Interviewed on 19.07.02.

Ernesto Venhereque (Hon.). He was born in Cabo Delgado and works in the Ministry, in Maputo. Interviewed on 17.07.02.

Feodósia Rajá Viana (Hon.). Born in Sussundenga, Manica, she was sent to teach in Beira later in Maputo. Currently, she is a lawyer in the Ministry of Education. Interviewed on 05.09.02.

Feliciano Chimbutane (MA). Born in Gaza, he was sent to teach in Zambézia, and afterwards in Maputo. Currently, he is a lecturer at the Eduardo Mondlane University. Interviewed on 05.08.02.

Felipe Pitrosse (Hon.). He was born in Sofala, and sent to teach in the south, Maputo. Currently, he is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 09.08.02.

Fernando Rachide (MA). Born in Zambézia, he was sent to teach in Niassa, far north, after that he went back to his native province Zambézia. Later, he joined the Ministry of Education, having worked in the Human Resources Department, as provincial director. Interviewed on 08.08.02.

Filimone Manuel Meigos (MA). Born in Beira, centre of Mozambique, he was sent to teach in the nearest province of Manica, then to Nampula. Currently he is a lecturer at Eduardo Mondlane University. Interviewed on 18.08.02.

Francisco Esaú Cossa (BA). Born in Sofala, he was sent to work in Niassa, later in Maputo. Currently, he is one of the most important authors. Interviewed on 29.08.02.

Francisco Mass-Mass Maximiano (Hon.). He was born in Nampula and sent to teach in Gaza and Maputo, extreme south. Interviewed on 09.07.02.

Francisco Santos Macamo (BA). Born in Maputo, he was sent to teach in Zambézia. Currently, he is back teaching in Maputo. Interviewed on 05.07.02.

Gulamo Amade Tajú (MA). Born in Inhambane, he taught in Manica, Maputo and Sofala. Currently he is a senior lecturer at the Eduardo Mondlane University. Interviewed on 09.09.02.

Henrique Marcelino (Hon.). Born in Quelimane, he managed to stay in his native province. Currently, he has left education and is working as a businessman. Interviewed on 15.09.02.

Hildizina Inácio Pereira Norberto Dias (PhD). She was born in Quelimane, joined education in 1981. She was sent to teach in Maputo and Xai-Xai, in the south of Mozambique. Currently, she is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 05.09.02.

Isac Nhancale (Hon.). Born in Gaza, he was sent to teach in Sofala and Manica. He has come back to teach in Maputo. Interviewed on 03.07.02.

Januário Língua (Hon.). Born in Nampula, he was sent to teach inside Gaza, in the south, later in Maputo, far south. Currently, he is working as a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 20.09.02.

José Alberto Raimundo (MA.). He was born in Tete and was sent to teach in Nampula, after that he was sent to Maputo. Currently, he is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 05.09.02.

José Castiano (PhD.). Born in Beira, central part of Mozambique, he was sent to teach in Zambézia, mid-north, for three years; after that, he went to teach in Maputo. Currently, he is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 10.09.02.

Lázaro Impuia (Hon.), native of Maquival, Quelimane, province of Zambezia. He has been a teacher since 1978, having worked in Nampula (northern province), in Beira (central province) and in Maputo(southern province). Currently he is a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 19th September 2002.

Manuel Guimarães (Hon.). He was born in Sofala and sent to work in Maputo. Currently he is teaching in Maputo. Interviewed on 09.07.02.

Maria Ângela Penicela Kane (MA). Born in Inhambane, she was sent to teach in Maputo. Currently, she is the national director of cultural heritage in the Ministry of Culture. Interviewed on 29.09.02.

Maria Madalena Joaquim Lino (Hon.). She was born in Tete, and was initially sent to teach in Tete, but shortly after to Maputo. Currently, she is working in the Ministry of Education, as education planner. Interviewed on 13.09.02.

Nicolas Tomo (BA). He was born in Nampula and sent to work in Gaza. Now he is a lecturer at the University Pedagógica, in Maputo. Interviewed on 14.07.02.

Orlando António Quilambo (PhD). Born in Inhambane, he joined education in 1978 and was sent to Inhambane for two years; afterwards he went to Maputo. Currently, he is Research Director at the Eduardo Mondlane University. Interviewed on 06.08.02.

Pedro Chissano (BA). Born in Maputo, he was sent to work in Messangulo, extreme north, in Niassa province. Interviewed on 02.08.02.

Pedro Vicente Siteo (BA). He was born in Maputo and sent to teach in Nampula and after that in Maputo. Currently, he has left the education. Interviewed on 10.08.02.

Paulo Antonio Junior (Hon.), born in Gaza (southern province). He joined education in 1978, having been sent to teach in Messangulo, extreme north, close to the border with Tanzania. After that he was sent to Maputo, extreme south. Currently, he works in the field of information technology. Interviewed on 30.08.02.

Rachael Elizabeth Thompson (PhD), born in Maputo (southern province). She has worked for education since 1975, in different departments including that of human resources training. She is one of the creators of the National Institute for the Development of Education, an organisation that does research into educational themes. Currently, she is a consultant and a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. Interviewed on 28.09.02.

Sarifa Magid (PhD). Born in Maputo, she was sent to teach in Beira (Sofala), the central part of Mozambique. After working in Beira, she came back to Maputo where she continued the studies teaching in one of the secondary schools in the capital city. When she got the Honour's degree she became a lecturer at the Pedagogical University. After completing her PhD, she was invited to the position of National Director of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Education. She still holds that position. Interviewed on 28.08.02.

Silvério Sibwana (BA). Born in Maputo, he was sent to teach in Sofala. Currently, he has left the education. Interviewed on 25.09.02.

Simão Mucavele (MA). Born in Manjacaze (Gaza), he was sent to teach in the very same district he was born, Manjacaze in 1976; then he was sent to teach in Maputo. Currently, he is the head of the Mozambique Institute for the Development of Education. Interviewed on 02.08.02.

Vidal Samuel Bila (Hon.). Born in Maputo, he was sent to teach in Nampula and Quelimane/Zambézia. Currently he is working as an education planner in the provincial directorate of Education in Gaza. Interviewed on 14.08.02.

Virgílio Juvane (MA), born in Inhambane (southern province), current head of the Department of Planning in the Ministry of Education. He joined education in 1982. Interviewed on 1st August 2002.

Zefanias Muhate (Hon.). He was born in Inhambane, but sent to teach in Manica, in 1976. Later he worked in the Provincial Direction of Education in Manica and Zambézia. In 1983, he joined Ministry of Education, having worked as national director of Human Resources, as advisor to the Minister. Currently, he is the Permanent Secretary at the Education Ministry. Interviewed on 10.08.02.

Zita Baúque (Msc.). Born in Inhambane, she was sent to the north, Nampula, for two years. After that, she worked for the National Institute for the Development of Education. Currently she is the head of Public Relations and Cooperation office of the Eduardo Mondlane University. Interviewed on 28.08.02.