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The Political Economy of Colonial Education: Mozambique, 1930–1975

MICHAEL CROSS

Introduction

Analysis of education in colonial societies has generally been conducted in recent years with the aid of two basic theoretical models: the "reproduction model" and the "balance-sheet model."

Assuming that, in a capitalist society, education becomes an agency of social control or a mechanism of reproduction of labor, reproduction theorists have frequently tended to reduce colonial education, including missionary education, into little more than a mere appendix of state apparatuses and schools into simple instruments of colonialism.[1] The application of this theory in a general way, without reference to specific colonial policies, social context, and practices, has led to an oversimplification of the role played by colonial education in different and particular situations. For example, while African education in Mozambique, as in many other colonies, was left in the hands of missionaries, the historical role of the missionaries was not exactly the same as in other colonial societies. Catholic missionaries in Mozambique were almost totally "domesticated" and controlled by the colonial state.[2] A few Catholic missionaries rejected this situation, but only when the breakdown of Portuguese colonialism was imminent. By contrast, in South Africa, Catholic missionaries have often played a significant role in opposing the inferior education for black people imposed by the government.[3] Thus, an understanding of at least some of the current problems of transition in Mozambican education requires an examination of the specific, concrete context and historical development of the Mozambican political economy.

The use of the reproduction model in an overly simplified way to explain the function of education in colonial processes raises a further

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I want to thank Linda Chisholm and Peter Randall for their helpful comments and criticism.

[1] See, e.g., W. Rodney, "Education for Underdevelopment," in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-l'Ouverture, 1972); and N. Majeke, *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* (Cape Town: Society of Young Africa, 1952).

[2] An alliance between the state and the church was established and consolidated through three main agreements: the Vatican and Portugal Concordat of May 7, 1940, the Missionary Accord of 1940, and the Missionary Statute of 1941.

[3] See, e.g., J. A. McDonagh, "The Contribution Made by the Sisters of the Holy Cross to the History of Education in Southern Africa, 1883–1980" (M.Ed. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980); Andrew Prior, ed., *Catholics in Apartheid Society* (Cape Town and London: David Philip, 1982).

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question. The work of Althusser and that of Bowles and Gintis, which set up the foundations of reproduction theories, was concerned with particular contexts in which universal education has been achieved and schooling clearly plays the role of selecting and channeling the labor force into different occupations; schooling thus has a profound effect on the process of social reproduction.[4] In colonial contexts where the reproduction of labor was undertaken mostly by other forces, such as state compulsion, the role of schooling has to be reconceptualized and the reproduction models reassessed in the light of the particular processes that took place there.

Independent of or overlapping with the reproduction model, another crucial feature in studies of colonial education, particularly missionary education, is the trend of approaching the role played by the missionaries in education in terms of a "balance sheet" of their activities, that is, surveying their "good" and "bad" activities.[5] This model is probably designed to justify the arguments against or in support of the missionary presence in Africa. The task of a social scientist, particularly the historian, is reduced to a simple selection of facts to show how good or bad the effect of missionary education was. This approach is still another form of oversimplification of the problem, for the aim of a historical study is not a trial of the subjects or objects of a determined historical process but the reconstruction of such a process as part of our present and future history. The most important factor is not what the missionaries have done (well) or what they have not done but rather the pattern of development they have produced or contributed to producing. This article is an attempt to reconstruct this particular pattern of development in the history of colonial education in Mozambique.

The above points are to be discussed by reference to a case study of Mozambique during Portuguese colonialism. To provide a better understanding of their implications for the postindependence development, the main stages of the educational process and related economic and social changes will be reconstituted as much as possible in order to illustrate the main contradictions inherited by the ruling party, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), or the Mozambique Liberation Front.

This, however, is not an easy task. Mozambican education prior to independence is underresearched. Most of the literature on education in Mozambique either concentrates on the postindependence period (for obvious reasons) or, when dealing with colonial education, does not adequately place educational developments within the broader context of the colonial social and economic processes.[6] For example, in his chapter "Education and Submission," Mondlane provides a brief summary of the conceptions and some developments of colonial education, but he remains for the most part at the surface level.[7] A similar account, but one with minimal value, is Lisboa's "Education in Angola and Mozambique.[8] It is also important to note that education as such has not constituted a relevant issue in postcolonial historiography. This is supported by recent reviews of literature on Mozambique written by Bender and Isaacman, Penvenne, and White.[9]

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[4] See L. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Education, Structure and Society*, ed. B. J. Cosin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977); and S. Bowles and H. Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

[5] See, e.g., Eugénio A. Lisboa, "Education in Angola and Mozambique," in *Education in Southern Africa*, ed. B. Rose (Johannesburg: Collier-Macmillan, 1970).

Three main periods can be distinguished in the history of colonial education in Mozambique: (i) the pre-Salazar period, 1895–1945; (ii) the period of colonial fascism, 1945–60; and (iii) the period of the crisis of colonial fascism, 1960–75.[10] The first period included the phase of European and Asiatic mercantile expansion along the East African coast and the process of establishment of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. The second period was characterized by the penetration and consolidation of colonial fascism after the emergence of the national fascist dictatorship in Portugal in 1930. Its effects lasted from 1945 onward. The last was the period of the crisis of colonial fascism and the restructuring of the colonial economy under the pressure of anticolonial forces.

In this article, I shall deal mainly with the last two periods. Two reasons have inspired my choice. First, Portuguese colonial policy was for the first time clearly and systematically shaped by Salazar's regime in 1930. The basic pattern of educational development was established under colonial fascism. The reformist policy adopted later in the 1960s made no essential change in the basic structures and the function of the colonial educational system. Second, state interventionism in education began only with Salazar's colonial policy. Thereafter, the colonial state assumed the responsibility for education of Europeans, Asiatics, and other mixed groups including the *assimilados* (i.e., Africans considered to have divested themselves of all tribal customs and to have assimilated Portuguese values and culture). Education of *indígenas* (unassimilated Africans) was left in the hands of the Catholic missionaries, but the missionaries were under direct control of the colonial state. In general, the basic pattern of development inherited by the new authorities in Mozambique was produced during the last two periods.

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[6] Ibid.; M. A. Mawema, "British and Portuguese Colonialism in Central African Education" (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1981); Barbara Barnes, "Education for Socialism in Mozambique," *Comparative Education Review* 26 (October 1982): 406–19; E. Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, rev. ed. (London: Zed, 1983); Judith Marshall, "Making Education Revolutionary," in *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, ed. J. S. Saul (New York: Monthly Review, 1985); Chris Searle, " 'Escola Nova': The New Secondary School in Mozambique," *Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion* 8 (Spring 1978): 32–35; Russel Hamilton, "Cultural Change and Literary Expression in Mozambique," *Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion* 8 (Spring 1978): 39–42.

[7] Mondlane; the first edition was published in 1969. This does not, however, reduce the value of his book, which constitutes an important classic analysis of the policies of Portuguese colonialism.

[8] Lisboa.

[9] G. Bender and A. Isaacman, "The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique," in *African Studies since 1945*, ed. C. Fyfe (London: Longman, 1976); Jeanne Penvenne, "A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18, no. 1 (1985): 109–37; and Landeg White, "Review Article: The Revolution Ten Years On," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2 (April 1985): 320–32.

[10] A sound periodization of Portuguese colonialism is provided by Marc Wuyts, "The Political Economy of Portuguese Colonialism in Mozambique," *Mozambican Studies* 1 (1980): 10–22. Wuyts considers the colonial-fascist period to cover the years between 1926 and 1960, which is acceptable in the sense that fascism had been introduced in Portugal in 1926. However, colonial fascism as a new form of colonialism began to be implemented from the 1940s onward. For the purpose of this article, I adopted the year 1945 as the real beginning of the new period.

Pre-Salazar Period, 1895–1945

The first efforts toward the establishment of colonial capitalism in Mozambique can be attributed to the role played by Mozambique's chartered companies (1892–1945; see fig. 1). This process was preceded by centuries of mercantile pillage under the domination of Western and Asiatic mercantile capitalism. The contacts of the local African communities with the outside world basically involved trade in gold, ivory, shells, and slaves. An alliance between foreign merchants and African elites, based on mutual interests and benefits, allowed merchant capital to control the circulation of the main commodities available in the market, but without having any direct control over the sources and the process of production itself. The process of production (organization and control) was left in the hands of the local ruling classes, who assumed the role of mobilizing the necessary labor power for the production of goods required by merchant capital. Through this trade, the African ruling classes had access to the market of luxury goods.[11]

When mercantile capital fell under the control of an emergent industrial capitalism, new forms of capital accumulation were introduced in the peripheral sphere of the world economic system. Colonial wars for military conquest and political control broke out. Consequently, direct control of the sources of production of colonial goods (labor and process of production) was established, accompanied by a relatively high influx of productive capital into the colonial arena. Thereafter, capital controlled not only the sphere of circulation but also the production of colonial commodities (the world market).

The determinants of this qualitative change can be briefly summarized as (i) the need for new and more profitable markets for European manufactured commodities and capital; (ii) the need for cheaper labor to reduce the costs of production of the raw materials required by European

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[11] A. N. da Costa, *Penetracao e impacto do capital mercantil português nos séculos XVI e XVII: O caso de Muenemutapa* (Maputo: Tempo, 1977).

MAP 1

MOZAMBIQUE, 1891-1945

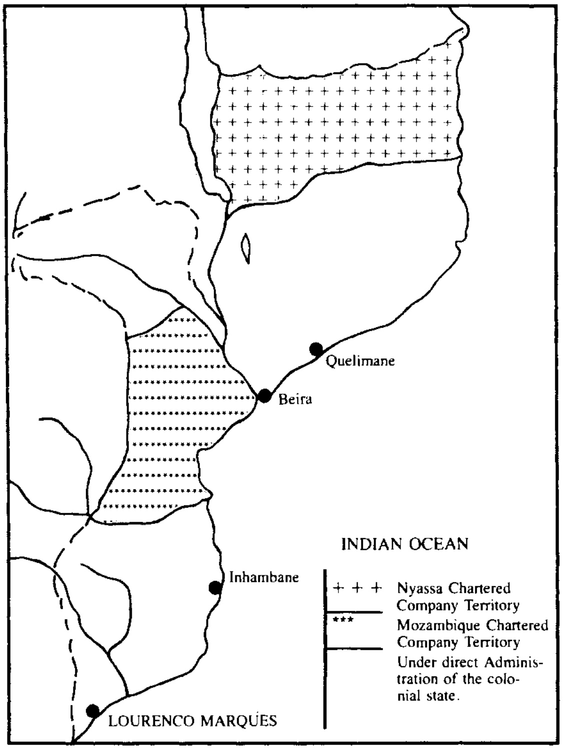
Quelimane
Beira
INDIAN OCEAN
Inhambane
LOURENCO MARQUES
+ + + Nyassa Chartered Company Territory
*** Mozambique Chartered Company Territory
Under direct Administration of the colonial state.

FIG. 1.—Mozambique, 1891–1945

industries; (iii) the need for a safe labor market for the labor surplus produced by European capitalist development; and (iv) the need for an escape hatch for some social problems concomitant with the process of industrialization. Portugal, an underdeveloped country that at this stage had not succeeded in its efforts to bring about an industrial revolution, experienced these pressures in a different way from the most industrialized European countries.[12] Lacking the required financial resources, Portugal responded to these pressures by renting Mozambican territories to a number of chartered companies and several agricultural firms that introduced new forms of production, namely plantations (coconut, sugar, rubber, etc.) and small-scale farms (maize and other crops). As a result, many peasants were partially expropriated and drawn into the migrant and seasonal labor circuit. Migrant labor developed considerably under the impact of the plantation system and the mining industry in Rhodesia and South Africa.[13]

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[12] In practice, Portugal was forced to act as an agent of the most industrialized countries, particularly Britain.

Simultaneously, a repressive apparatus, comprising traditional chiefs, colonial police, administrators, and governors, was established in both the territories under the administration of the chartered companies and the territories under direct control of the Portuguese colonial state. Its major role involved the reorganization of the economy according to the general needs of capital accumulation and the coordination of colonial activities, such as the recruitment and supply of cheap labor for the whole colonial enterprise and the exploitation of African peasants.

In the field of formal education, the most characteristic feature of the pre-Salazar period was the establishment of the foundations for the dominance of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Mozambique. From the beginning, the Portuguese Catholic church missionaries had to contest the strong Islamic influence that had existed for a long time throughout the Northern coast of Mozambique. A local elite, mainly Swahili speaking, lived in the cities administered by Arabs who passed on their culture, language, and religion. In Zambezia, an area along the Zambezi Valley that remained outside the direct influence of Islam, the Karanga people of Muenemutapa had also resisted and hindered Portuguese missionary penetration. In 1651, for example, the Jesuit D. Gonçalo da Silveira tried to convert the king Muenemutapa but was identified as a spy and therefore executed. It is not surprising that this happened at the time when the Portuguese were planning an invasion against the Muenemutapa kingdom in order to control the sources of production of gold. Nevertheless, the influence of the Portuguese missionaries gradually increased. Accounts show that some chiefs were persuaded to send their children to be educated at schools in Portugal.[14] Christianity finally took root in Zambezia with the conversion of the ruling Muenemutapa 70 years later in 1929.

The Jesuits established their base on the island of Mozambique, founding an institution that, from 1610 to 1760, provided both a seminary and a hospital.[15] They expanded their missionary work throughout Laubo, Tete, Sena, Quelimane, and the Chire River, reaching the shores of Lake Nyassa. Jesuit influence declined from the beginning of the eighteenth century after Marquês de Pombal ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits and the abolition of all religious orders. The Dominicans established their headquarters in Vila de Sena, a commercial center of the Zambezi area, influencing a region in which Jesuits had failed.[16] In central and southern Mozambique, the Portuguese Catholic missionaries competed with Protestant missionaries, who spread their influence from the Transvaal and Rhodesia mainly from the late nineteenth century onward.

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[13] See, e.g., P. Harries, "Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness: The Making of Modern South Africa—Kinship, Ideology and the Origins of Migrant Labour" (seminar paper, University of London, 1980), and "Production, Trade and Labour Migration from the Delagoa Bay Hinterland in the Second Half of the 19th Century" (seminar paper, University of London, 1980).

[14] See A. Rita-Ferreira, *A etno-história e cultura traditional do grupo angune,* vol. 2, ser. C (Lourenço Marques [Maputo]: Instituto de Investigaçao Científica de Moçambique, 1974); and G. Liesegang, "Notes on the Internal Structure of the Gaza Kingdom of Southern Mozambique, 1840–1895" (seminar paper, University Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique, 1980).

[15] Avila de Azevedo, *Política de ensino em Africa* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1958), p. 122.

The involvement of Protestant missionaries created fear and resentment among the Portuguese authorities and Catholic missionaries. As early as 1867, the Portuguese were sensitive to the possible political implications of non-Portuguese missionary influence in their colonies. Protestant missionaries as well as foreign (non-Portuguese) Catholic missionaries were suspected of "denationalizing the natives" and of acting as agents of foreign governments.[17] During the same year, a regulation was passed permitting only Portuguese missionaries to operate; it could not be enforced because there was an insufficient number of Portuguese priests available for service in Mozambique. In 1921, the state recognized the Catholic church as the sole authority over missionary education. Many other privileges for the Portuguese Catholic missionaries were guaranteed later. Nevertheless, many Protestant missionary societies had been directly or indirectly operating in Mozambique during this period.[18] Moslems also operated their own schools in predominantly Moslem areas, though the Portuguese regarded the influence of Islam as a barrier to the assimilation of Africans into the Portuguese culture and nation.

The Christian ideal prescribed in the Gospel was gradually absorbed by the general ideal of the "civilizing mission" claimed by Portuguese colonists. It became clear that the role of the missionaries was not merely to provide spiritual service to Portuguese traders and white settlers but in addition to bring about cultural and educational change in African society, conducting Africans from "savagery" into "civilization." While their declared intention was "the need to evangelize and civilize" Africans, the Portuguese missionaries failed to resist earthly pressures. Duffy describes the Dominican friars established at Sena as follows: "The priests broke their vow of poverty and ended up owning large tracts of land which they administered like a *prazero*. They collected taxes and traded in slaves. Not only that, some Dominican priests took their civil administration of the area to the detriment of their one-time evangelical zeal; some Jesuits also participated in agricultural and mining ventures along the river.

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[16] Azevedo, p. 122; Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era* (Paris: Unesco, 1974), p. 52.

[17] Mondlane (n. 6 above), p. 71.

[18] Allison Herrick et al., *Area Handbook for Mozambique* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 105.

Missionaries from other Orders, and secular priests, also acted in the spirit of the times."[19]

No amount of education has survived to give legitimacy to the claims of metropolitan Portugal that it had a "civilizing mission" in Africa. Catholicism, the state religion of Portugal, was seen as part of the Portuguese colonial enterprise. Limited school facilities that were based on the assumption that the African should "become literate enough to be able to read the scriptures, either in his own language or in the language of the missionary," as Blakemore and Cooksey have pointed out, were provided in the main commercial and administrative stations.[20] Permanent government or missionary schools were almost nonexistent. In what schooling there was, African children were essentially taught to repeat catechism and certain prayers and to learn the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write and to conduct themselves respectfully toward their superiors.

Major educational changes with state involvement were introduced only in 1845, under the liberal government that came into power in 1834. A decree determined the establishment of public schools in the "Overseas Provinces." Education was divided into the so-called elementary schools and main schools. The program for the elementary schools included reading, writing, and arithmetic, besides Christian doctrine and the history of Portugal. In the main schools, children were taught Portuguese grammar, drawing, geometry, bookkeeping, economy of the provinces, and applied physics for industry and commerce.[21] The decree of 1921 banned the use of African languages in schools, a rule that remained a permanent characteristic of colonial education in Mozambique. The results were, however, very slow and almost ineffective, particularly with regard to the education of Africans. Missionary activity in formal education remained very limited, and the state was concerned only with the education of the white settlers. Ferreira has shown that in 1909, almost half a century later, Mozambique had only 48 primary schools for boys, eight for girls, and some commercial and agricultural schools.[22] The work of the Protestant missionaries was also insignificant because of government restrictions.

Salazar's Colonial Fascism and African Education, 1945–1960

All these trends were consolidated by Salazar's colonial policy after the establishment of the Portuguese fascist dictatorship in 1930. Colonial policy was revised and substantiated in a famous document published as the Colonial Act of 1930. The new colonial policy was essentially intended to meet the needs of the economic development of Portuguese industry, which had not succeeded in its efforts for a genuine industrial revolution, although it benefited by a privileged position in colonial markets. According to Salazar's strategy defined in the Colonial Act of 1930, colonial territories were required (i) to produce raw materials (cotton) for Portuguese industry with low production and purchasing costs, (ii) to contribute to the equilibrium of the Portuguese balance of payments, (iii) to be financially self-sufficient, and (iv) to be politically and administratively centralized under the metropolitan government.[23]

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[19] James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 111.

[20] Kenneth Blakemore and Brian Cooksey, *A Sociology of Education for Africa* (Winchester, Mass.: Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 29.

[21] Brian Rose, *Education in Southern Africa* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1970), p. 179.

[22] Ferreira, p. 60.

These principles were translated at the political and economic level into various forms of local policy, involving mainly (i) the introduction of enforced cash crop production (cotton and rice), (ii) legalization and strict control of migrant labor serving neighboring countries, (iii) rationalization and institutionalization of the forced labor regime introduced by the chartered companies, (iv) state promotion of Portuguese immigration to Mozambique, and (v) abolition of the administrative and political rights conceded to the chartered companies (their economic rights, however, were preserved). According to the centralization policy, the constitutional status of Mozambique formally changed from that of a "colony" to that of a "province" of Portugal under the control of a general governor.[24]

At the social level, centralization was to be guaranteed by the implementation of an assimilation policy. Theoretically, the assimilation policy would produce the "Portuguesation" of a large number of Africans, assimilating them into the Portuguese nation and culture through education, miscegenation, and the deculturation/acculturation process. It was based on the Native Assistance Code of 1921, which defined the civilized African as one who could speak Portuguese, had divested himself of all tribal customs, and had gained the means to earning his living. On this basis, the "New State" of Salazar decided to set up a *regime do indigenato,* according to which the African population was divided into two categories: the *indígenas* (unassimilated Africans) and *não-indígenas* (anyone enjoying full Portuguese citizenship, including assimilated Africans, though in practice they remained a third category). The *indígenas* represented the majority of the African population. They had no citizenship and had to carry and produce on demand an identity card or *caderneta indígena.* They were subject to all regulations of the *regime do indigenato,* such as forced labor, influx control, control of movement, and restrictions on the use of social amenities. In theory, an *assimilado* as *naõ-indígena* was to be regarded as a full Portuguese citizen. He or she enjoyed all the privileges that went with Portuguese citizenship.[25] A set of social and economic benefits was granted to those who succeeded in the transition to the status of *assimilado,* such as exemption from certain taxes and the right to purchase land, other property, and labor facilities. As Mawema has correctly indicated, the assimilation policy "presupposed that all Portuguese were civilised and all non-Portuguese uncivilised and that, by acquiring education, technology and religion, the uncivilised would then be assimilated into the Portuguese culture and nation," or, in other words, into "civilisation."[26]

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[23] For more details on the Colonial Act of 1930, see Marcelo Caetano, *Tradiçioes, principios e methodos du Colonizaçao Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Agência geral do Ultramar, 1951), pp. 275–76.

[24] The change of status from "colony" to "province" was intended to reinforce the colonial situation against the "denationalizing pressures."

Along with the assimilation policy went the policy of miscegenation, which was viewed as constituting a profitable and appropriate instrument for the spread of Portuguese ethnic characteristics in African society. As a result of this policy, *mulatos* (people of mixed race) were supposed to play an important role in the colonial superstructure. They were thus provided with better material and educational privileges than the *assimilados.* Miscegenation here is meant as sexual intercourse between a Portuguese male and an African or nonwhite female, not necessarily intermarriage. Sexual relations between a Portuguese woman and an African male were not viewed with such tolerance. Thus, within the colonial society, the *mulato* became a bridging subcategory, a generation having predominantly a Portuguese *incógnito* (unknown or illegitimate) father and an African mother.[27]

At the educational level, two categories of school system were institutionalized in Mozambique: (i) the Roman Catholic mission schools for African children and (ii) the more sophisticated government schools for whites, Asians, *mulatos,* and *assimilados.* In a recent study, Isaacman and Isaacman have indicated that the first piece of educational legislation promulgated in Mozambique in 1930 anticipated that "indigenous instruction would gradually lead the African from a savage to a civilised life, making him more valuable to society and to himself."[28] This was only a subtle simplification of the aims stated by Mouzinho de Albuquerque, one of the architects of Portuguese colonial policy of the late nineteenth century, who said that "what we have to do in order to educate and civilise the *indígena* is to develop in a practical way his aptitude for manual labour and take advantage of him for the exploitation of the province."[29] The implication was that education had to take into account the disparity in civilization between Europeans and Africans: "It is not the colour, or race separation; it is the different degrees of civilisation, which the instruction, to be effective, has to take into account."[30]

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[25] Mondlane, p. 41.

[26] Mawema (n. 6 above), p. 155.

[27] Mondlane, pp. 50–54.

[28] A. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900–1982* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1983), p. 50.

[29] Ibid.

On these grounds, a different schooling system for African children was introduced in 1930, known as rudimentary instruction or instruction of adaptation. Accordingly, African children had to receive training in arithmetic, the sciences, design, manual work, religion, and physical and musical education. Girls had to receive "female education," which instructed them in sewing, embroidery, and cookery. After 3 years of "adaptive instruction," African children were given an examination in order to pass to grade 3 of the primary school if they were under the age of 13. The age restriction aside, it was not easy for African children to transfer from instruction of adaptation to primary school. Harries has noted, for example, that, in 1954, just 3,000 out of 180,000 adaptation school pupils wrote the transferral examination and only 2,500 passed.[31]

Under the terms of the Colonial Act of 1930, Catholic missions were accorded a privileged position among religious groups on the grounds that Catholicism represented the national faith of Portugal and was thus the instrument of "civilization" and Portuguese influence. Article 40 of the Constitution of 1933 stated, "The Portuguese Catholic Missions Overseas and the establishment for training personnel and their services . . . shall be protected and assisted by the State, as being institutions of education and assistance and instruments of civilization."[32] The Missionary Agreement of 1940 and the Missionary Statute of 1941 guaranteed a hegemonic and almost monopolistic position to the Catholic missionaries in matters concerning African education. The Portuguese government committed itself to subsidizing church missionary programs, restricting the activities of non-Catholic missionaries, and discouraging the influx of non-Portuguese Catholic missionaries. By these agreements, adaptation schools fell under the responsibility of the Roman Catholic missionaries. For this reason, the great mass of Africans depended on the missionaries, and mainly the Catholic missionaries, for their education. Thus, state involvement in adaptation schools, which had shown a considerable increase from 1930 onward, began to decline, while the number of schools and children attending mission schools increased significantly. In 1933, there were 129 government schools and 122 mission schools in Mozambique. In 1951, 10 years after the publication of the Missionary Statute of 1941, the number of government schools decreased to 36, while the number of Catholic mission schools reached a total of 930.[33] In 1955, 2,000 of the

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[30] Anuário do Ensino, 1930, quoted in *Panorama do ensino na Província de Moçambique* (Lourenço Marques [Maputo]: Direcção dos Serviços de Instrução, 1963), p. 26.

[31] P. Harries, "Education in a Developing Country: The Mozambican Case" (University of Cape Town, n.d., typescript), p. 51.

[32] Ferreira, p. 64.

[33] *Panorama do ensino na Província de Moçambique*, p. 28.

2,040 "rudimentary schools" created later operated under the direct auspices of Catholic missionaries, who received substantial benefits from the colonial state, including exemption on all property taxes and pensions for senior officials.[34]

What this meant in actual practice was that, at the primary school level, there were two types of schools—those for Europeans, Indians, *mulatos,* and assimilated Africans and those for the "uncivilized" Africans or *indígenas.* The African primary schools, situated predominantly in rural areas, were run by the Portuguese Catholic missionaries or, where this was not possible, by Protestant missions and government. They were known as rudimentary schools. On the same primary school level, the government and the Catholic missions established a lower level of education in arts and crafts for Africans. The state retained the responsibility of establishing programs and curricula and awarding examination certificates.[35] Secondary education was generally offered by few *liceus* (grammar schools) in urban areas and was open on the basis of state examinations to African pupils. An African graduate from the rudimentary primary school would qualify to enter the *liceus* only by completing additional instruction in the primary-elementary school and then passing the entrance examination. This bureaucratic process was heightened by other obstacles, such as the difficulty of mastering a foreign language, restrictive regulations, age limitations, and a lack of space in the rural elementary school.[36]

Primary education for Europeans and *assimilados* was compulsory from age 7 to age 11. The curriculum and textbooks were the same as those used in Portugal, with a few modifications to meet local requirements. Students received secondary education in *liceus* or entered commercial and industrial schools for technical and professional education. The education provided by these schools consisted of a preparatory 2-year cycle common to all pupils, followed by vocational training over 3 years with separate courses in skills such as commerce, woodwork, and mechanics. There were also agricultural schools that trained farmers through practical courses lasting 3 or 4 years.[37]

Most of the teachers in government schools were trained in Portugal. However, a *magistério primário* (teachers college program) was established under which assistant primary teachers were prepared for local certification. Catholic missions also ran classes to train teachers exclusively for African rudimentary and primary schools. Protestant missions were not allowed to operate teacher training institutions.[38]

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[34] Isaacman and Isaacman, p. 50.
[35] Duffy (n. 19 above), p. 313.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., p. 315; Mawema (n. 6 above), p. 180.
[38] Herrick et al. (n. 18 above), p. 99.

The overall outcome of this would be the fulfillment of the policy of "Portuguesation" of Africans so that they could accept Portuguese rule with little resistance. For this purpose, the Missionary Statute stipulated that all bishops, apostolic vicars, and prefects to whom Catholic missionaries were subject had to be of Portuguese nationality and that all missionary staff employed in training teachers had to be Portuguese. The use of the Portuguese language as both the official and the instructional language became compulsory in all educational matters except the teaching of religion.[39] At the same time, this educational policy was expected to produce a lower class of technical and agricultural workers and craftsmen who could easily be manipulated by the colonial economy. Similarly, Mondlane argues that the colonial education thus conceived was designed "to form an element of the population which would act as an intermediary between the colonial state and the masses; and to inculcate an attitude of servility in the educated African."[40] The aims of colonial education were expressed in a straightforward way by the cardinal patriarch of Lisbon in his pastoral letter of 1960:

> We try to reach the native population both in breadth and depth, to [teach them] reading, writing and arithmetic, not to make "doctors" of them. . . . To educate and instruct them so as to make them prisoners of the soil and to protect them from the lure of the towns, the path which with devotion and courage the Catholic missionaries chose, the path of good sense and of political and social security for the province . . . schools are necessary, yes, but schools where we teach the native the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects him.[41]

The colonial strategy of Salazar resulted in the reinforcement of the structures of underdevelopment introduced by the chartered companies. The general feature of the colonial economy was the lack of investment of capital and the consequent low level of development of productive forces with a slight exception in the plantations, farm pockets, and main urban areas. In the rural areas, investment of capital was aimed at creating a commercial infrastructure to stimulate peasant cash crop production (railways, roads, and stores). This pattern of development accentuated unequal development between rural and urban areas. The railway network, where the most significant portion of capital was invested, was determined by and subordinated to the interests of neighboring countries, a characteristic expressed by its physical distribution (see fig. 2). It had the function of transporting goods and labor to and from neighboring countries.

Underdevelopment was reflected in an unequal distribution of the structure of production. The north specialized in peasant cash crop pro-

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[39] Mawema, p. 174.

[40] Mondlane, p. 59.

[41] Quoted in "Education Policy in the People's Republic of Mozambique" (address by the delegation from Maputo to the conference of Ministers of Education of African member states of Unesco held in Lagos from January 27 to February 4, 1986), p. 332. See also Mondlane, p. 60.

MAP II

MOZAMBIQUE: Inherited economic structure

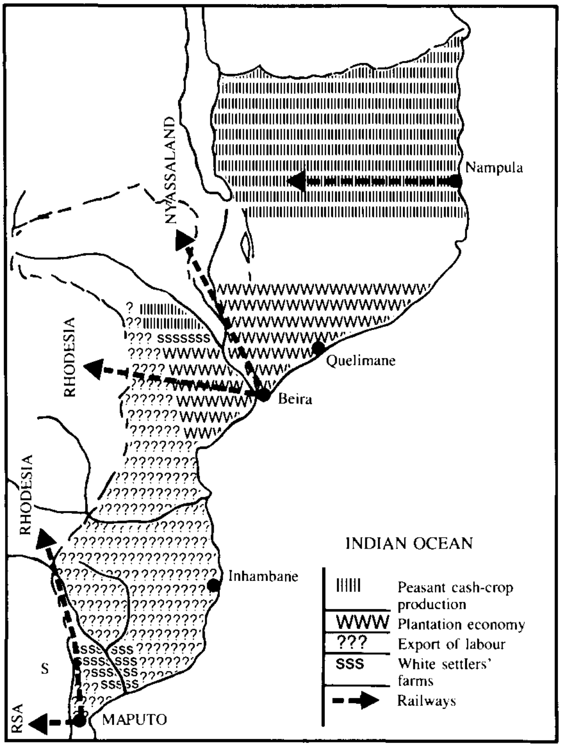
NYASSALAND
Nampula
RHODESIA
Quelimane
Beira
RHODESIA
INDIAN OCEAN
Inhambane
S
RSA
MAPUTO
IIIII Peasant cash-crop production
WWW Plantation economy
??? Export of labour
SSS White settlers' farms
Railways

FIG. 2.—Mozambique: Inherited economic structure

duction with a small-scale investment of commercial capital in cotton mills, where the peasants had to sell their goods at a fixed price. Monocrop production of cotton predominated in this region. A particular process of class formation characterized by a trend toward the development of rich and poor peasants took place. The center of the country was reserved for a plantation economy, involving tea, sugar, and coconut plantations that depended on forced labor. Social differentiation led to a predominance of seasonal workers relatively dependent on domestic production and wages for their social reproduction. The south remained a reserve of labor for South African mining capital and a privileged area of Portuguese settlement, particularly in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and the Colonato do Limpopo. Portuguese farmers who settled along the Limpopo River produced food crops to supply the town of Lourenço Marques. As a whole, the south was the area where a high degree of social differentiation took place. Migrant workers (peasant workers) dominated by South African mining capital coexisted with relatively stabilized workers produced by the emerging manufacturing industry around Lourenço Marques.

The underdevelopment of the economy produced a typical social structure. Within the white colonial community, a powerful bureaucratic bourgeoisie, whose role was to protect Portuguese interests in the colony and safeguard loyalty to the metropolis, conflicted with a small class of Portuguese farmers. A number of Portuguese traders scattered around the country competed with relatively strong pockets of Indian merchants. The most successful traders associated themselves with foreign capital and were able to control small industries in some urban areas. The conflict between the Portuguese farmers, traders, and industrialists on the one hand and the Portuguese bureaucracy on the other was caused by the fact that the central government in Portugal was never interested in promoting a powerful colonial bourgeoisie like that of Rhodesia or certain other colonies. Among Africans, a very small and weak elite of mission-educated Africans, *mulatos,* and *assimilados* occupied lower positions in the colonial economy as clerks, interpreters, mission school teachers, and labor *capatazes* (overseers). In general, all the skilled and semiskilled positions in the colonial economy were to meet the pressures of unemployment in Portugal and were to be filled by Europeans. This picture reveals the weakness and the lack of African participation in the political and economic system of the country. The report of the director of the Labor Institute, Afonso Mendes, was unequivocally clear on this point: "Almost all the wealth, all the positions of leadership, all the agricultural, livestock, industrial and commercial enterprises, and the real decision-making power will remain in the hands of the European segment of the population, which in 1970 will continue to form merely a small minority as has always been the case. The positions of leadership in the public administration in Angola (and Mozambique) are filled by this segment of the population."[42]

The almost absolute lack of African participation in positions of economic and political leadership is also an expression of the weakness of the African petty bourgeoisie, and, to a certain extent, it reveals the failure of the Portuguese policies of assimilation and miscegenation. Those who were incorporated into these apparatuses were allowed to take over only those positions that did not require a high degree of education, such as *régulos* (native chiefs), *capatazes* (overseers), interpreters, nursing assistants, and teachers in adaptation schools. The assimilation policy that aimed at producing a reasonable number of "honorary whites" or "black-skinned Portuguese" proved to be unsuccessful; the system could touch only a minute minority who played an irrelevant role in colonial society. For example, in 1950, out of a population of over 6 million, there were no more than 4,555 *assimilados,* and only a few of their children attended secondary school.[43] Despite all the promises made by colonial authorities, the barriers imposed by the schooling system remained insurmountable obstacles to an effective expansion of the number and influence of this section of the population.

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[42] Quoted by Mawema, p. 209.

The same is true of the miscegenation policy, in which Portuguese ideologists deposited their hope for an effective colonization: "Miscegenation is the most powerful force of colonial nationalism. Given equality to the European under the law and admitted to administrative, religious, political and military positions, the *mulato* comes to adopt exclusively the customs and languages of the conquering nation, and they constitute the most profitable and appropriate instrument for the spread of those ethnic characteristics in the native society."[44] The optimism expressed here by Vaz de Sampaio e Melo in 1910 remained a simple ideal, and no significant practical results were produced. By 1960, *mulatos* constituted only about .5 percent of the population. Their importance was qualitative rather than quantitative.[45] However, this section of the population was urbanized and better educated than the *assimilados,* though its status did not in practice involve much racial equality. The present-day FRELIMO's leadership reflects this colonial distortion.

In summary, without assuming a narrow functionalist view of the role of schooling, I would argue that, in Mozambique, the underdevelopment and the distortions of the economy and social structure are reflected in the particular way education was shaped and has been operating. In 1959, Mondlane noted, there were "392,796 children in adaptation schools, but of these only 6,928 managed to start primary schools."[46] At the same time, more than 98 percent of the African population was illiterate. Because the Africans were not in general allowed to occupy skilled positions in the social division of labor, and because their economic role did not require any significant degree of education, there was no direct link between African education and the economy. The African schooling system was differentiated and shaped to reinforce the relations of colonial domination and subordination. Through the diffusion of Luso-tropical ideology and assimilation policy, African education was more a mechanism of social control than a mechanism of occupational distribution of labor or of production and reproduction of labor power, as claimed by reproduction theorists. Within the particular context of Mozambique, the reproduction of labor was undertaken through the mechanism of repressive state apparatuses and institutions like *shibalo* (forced labor). Thus, there was no need to produce "doctors" but only a need to promote certain attitudes, habits, and basic skills that would make people loyal to Portuguese authority and more productive.[47]

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[43] Mondlane, p. 50. For more details on "adapted education," see Udo Dube, "The Adaptation Concept in British Colonial Education," *Comparative Education* 19, no. 3 (1983); David Ruddel, "Class and Race: Neglected Determinants of Colonial 'Adapted Education' Policies," *Comparative Education* 18, no. 3 (1982): 341–55.

[44] Mondlane, p. 50.

[45] Ibid., p. 51.

[46] Ibid., p. 65.

The Crisis of Colonial Fascism, 1960–1975

The late 1950s and the 1960s were characterized by the adoption of a more flexible policy by the colonial state regarding the external and internal pressures. This policy involved (i) the restructuring of the colonial economy, opening the doors to and establishing a firm alliance with foreign capital; (ii) reinforcement of economic integration into the Southern African economic subsystem; (iii) formal abolition of the regime of forced labor and compulsory cash crop production; (iv) recognition of full citizenship and franchise for all; (v) the foundation of the Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique and the expansion of secondary and tertiary education;[48] and (vi) promotion of more social and economic opportunities for Africans, a policy determined by the need and promotion of a co-opted African elite.

The new colonial strategy seems to have been determined by two main factors. First, the increase of the anticolonial movement in the world at large and the development of liberation struggles in Africa, as well as the consequent emergence of some independent African countries, evoked among the moderate Portuguese leadership the possibility of safeguarding Portuguese colonial interests through a "responsible" policy of decolonization. The notion of education for leadership designed to build up a conformist middle class might have appeared more acceptable among politicians sharing this view. For this group, which always constituted a small and weak minority among Salazar/Caetano's ranks, hastening the promotion of the African middle class appeared to be the safest way of averting a revolutionary change that had already been threatening the Portuguese colonial empire. Second, the increase of protest and the armed struggle proclaimed by FRELIMO in 1964 suggested the need for a readjustment of the colonial strategy.

In response to this strategy, Mozambique once again received a new formal status, changing from a "province" to a "state" in the 1971 constitutional reform. A rapid influx of foreign capital created a temporary boom in the industrial sector. The most significant feature of the increase in investment of foreign capital was the building of the Cahora Bassa dam. Africans and *assimilados* were drawn into semiskilled positions, changing the nature of the social division of labor. The right to own land and other forms of property was granted to this small elite. A local *conselho legislativo* with consultative functions was set up to provide an impression of political participation of the African elite in political decisions. More educational opportunities were opened to them, particularly after the abolition of the Native Statute and the recognition of full citizenship. The distinction between the so-called assimilated and nonassimilated Africans ceased. The September 1964 Educational Reform Decree eliminated the separation between the system of adaptation and normal primary school education. Theoretically, primary education became compulsory and available to all children between 6 and 12 years of age, irrespective of race or degree of "civilization." With these reforms, education for Africans no longer had to depend on missionary activity alone.

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[47] This explains why most Mozambican nationalists emerged from or had connections with Protestant mission schools, which numbered 41 out of a total of 2,041 rudimentary schools in 1955.

[48] Lisboa (n. 5 above), p. 295; and J. V. Simao, *Da Universidade* (Lourenço Marques [Maputo]: Tipografia Académica, 1970).

In order to minimize the shortage of secondary school teachers, the decree (no. 44530) of August 1963 established a university program to be offered by the Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique. Only the general part of the university-level studies (undergraduate studies) could be taken in Mozambique; the final course was to be taken in Portugal to promote total socialization of the local elite into Portuguese culture.[49]

However, these reforms did not resolve the intrinsic contradictions created during almost 500 years of foreign domination in Mozambique. As Mawema has pointed out, elitism was by race and education, and the fact that only 5 percent of the African majority were literate did not alter the existing dominant position of the white settlers.[50] The removal of "civilized" and "uncivilized" status was accompanied not by a democratization of education but by a more restrictive and difficult qualifying examination system. Free and compulsory education could be put into practice, not where the government had insufficient means to enforce it, but only where there were adequate schools, transportation, and suitable social conditions. Areas without these conditions were excluded by the decree that introduced compulsory education, much to the detriment of the majority of African children who lived far out in rural areas.

Most of the educational reforms of the 1960s were concentrated on the primary educational level and on the political platform, and much less was done in secondary and higher education. In postprimary education, priority was given mainly to technical and occupational skills aimed at producing many lower-skilled Africans who were not a threat to the political and economic position of the local white elite. Figures from the period 1966–67 show that about 70 percent of Africans at the secondary level attended technical or occupational schools and that only about 2.8 percent attended academic schools, whereas most Europeans attended academic schools. Of the 444,983 students being educated in Mozambique, 439,974 were at primary level, and only 5,000 were in secondary school.[51] By 1964, there were only 6 *liceus* in Mozambique that provided a more solid academic education out of only 39 secondary schools. The majority of these secondary schools were concentrated in the districts of Lourenço Marques, Manica, Sofala, Zambezia, and Mozambique. In the Niassa district, which had a population of 319,000, there was no secondary school. At higher levels of education, of the 625 students at the university in 1967–68, only eight were Africans.[52] For these students, the possibility of completing their postgraduate studies (in Portugal) was almost nonexistent—for financial reasons and because of a racially selective policy followed by the Portuguese authorities.

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[49] For the general policy of this institution, see Simao.

[50] Mawema, p. 207.

In summary, the reformist strategy adopted by Portugal in the 1960s had failed. It was "too little too late" to produce significant and effective social change required for the neocolonial interests of Portugal. The relations of dependence and the integration of Mozambique into the economic subsystem of Southern Africa were strengthened, but, as the main colonial power, Portugal remained unable to achieve her neocolonial aspirations in Mozambique. It was probably the recognition of this weakness that determined the hard-line policy pursued by Caetano, Salazar's successor, regarding the possibility of decolonization. However, as FRELIMO leaders have many times pointed out, Caetano's intransigence in refusing a negotiable solution for a peaceful transition to independence and the inability of his regime to produce a powerful and conservative middle class unwittingly contributed to the objective conditions that led to revolutionary change in Mozambique.

Conclusion

While the absence of a strong elite facilitated FRELIMO's revolutionary commitments, it also created almost insurmountable obstacles to economic development in Mozambique. Frente de Libertação de Moçambique inherited a distorted and extremely underdeveloped social and economic structure. As already pointed out, Portugal as a colonial power did not have the capital to promote the economic development of her colonies. As a consequence, economic development was based on the export of migrant labor from the south; the plantation economy depended on seasonal labor in the center and peasant cash crop production in the north of the country. Outside the urban areas, industrial activities were limited to the minimum of necessary satellite industries to provide the primary processing of raw materials for export. In the urban areas, industrial development was also minimal and limited to the consumer needs of the white colonial community. All the skilled and semiskilled positions in economic, political, and social institutions remained in general in the hands of European workers and staff, most of whom left the country soon after independence.

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[51] Based on statistics compiled by Lisboa, pp. 276–333.

[52] Mawema, pp. 231–32.

The educational infrastructure was also too weak to meet the educational needs of postindependence developments. The accumulation of economic resources was at all levels based on highly exploitative social relations. Caetano's reformist policy during the 1960s did not change this pattern of development, which was inherited by FRELIMO. It is important to note that, because the accumulation of economic resources was based on a highly exploitative system of social relations, when the colonial state broke down, almost all the means of accumulation were blocked. Thus, FRELIMO found itself in the situation of choosing whether to reproduce, at least for a while, the inherited exploitative system of economic development while creating conditions and resources for deeper social change or, for the sake of political freedom and legitimacy, to undermine and immediately dismantle the inherited system and build a new social, economic, and political order. The latter option seems to have been the one chosen. Consequently, FRELIMO had to expand the educational infrastructure, train and educate a new leadership, prepare the working class for the control of the economy, and so forth without an adequate social base and without material and financial resources.

To sum up, under Portuguese colonialism, Mozambique was a case in which the underdevelopment and the distortions of the economy and social structure were reflected in the particular way African schooling was shaped and had been operating. No direct link can be established between the schooling system for Africans and the economy. The economic and social role played by Africans in the social division of labor did not require any significant improvement in schooling or training. Generally, the economy depended on unskilled (seasonal and migrant) labor. African semiskilled labor was restricted to a few industries in the urban areas and to positions such as teachers, interpreters, police, and overseers. As already pointed out, African schooling was differentiated and shaped to reinforce the relations of colonial domination and subordination. It was more of a mechanism of social control than a mechanism of occupational distribution of labor, as claimed by reproduction theorists. The reproduction of labor was undertaken essentially through the pressure of repressive state apparatuses and institutions like *shibalo* (forced labor). Thus, this article has shown how both theoretical models of analysis in education and problems of transition in an independent African country cannot be understood without reference to the specific and concrete historical context.