The construction of knowledge in post-colonial societies: identity and education over three generations in Mozambique

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the construction of knowledge in the education system in post-colonial Mozambique over three generations of students and how this has impacted on their personal and social identity. The students have a schooling journey from primary education until university in post-colonial Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony that achieved independence in 1975. Each generation is linked to a specific political and ideological period in Mozambique (i.e. 1st generation and Marxism-Leninism or Socialism; 2nd generation and Democracy; and 3rd generation and Global Capitalism or Neo-Liberalism) sharing common experiences and a social memory about the Civil War (1976-1992). Three generations of students in post-colonial societies is under-researched.

In order to understand the links between identity and education in post-colonial Mozambique, the processes of knowledge and identity construction are debated in relation to culture as a semantic space. Culture as a semantic space is understood through the everyday life practices and forms of resistance developed by the students inside and outside school environments. In that sense, the spaces of identity and education are addressed critically, knowing that the narratives of education are the outcome of formal (school) and informal (culture) settings. School is addressed in this research through the theories of inequality.

The spaces of identity and education are complemented with the particular cultural and historical context and historical constrains that impacted upon each generation, such as the Portuguese colonial period, post-colonialism and modernity, globalization trends in contemporary Mozambique and the education system in Mozambique over the three generations of students.

A qualitative methodology grounded in the epistemological position of constructivism was used, and an ethnographic, life history narrative approach adopted. The data analysis of the 18 life histories collected in 2013, complemented with ethnographic techniques, have the purpose of understanding how the three generations define their multiple identities, and if education experiences changed their personal and social identity.
The major findings presented are the following: (i) students as ‘critical thinkers’ linked with the socialist pedagogy (1st generation); (ii) formal education has meaning but only because it is the symbol of employment; (iii) the 3rd generation, youngest generation, defend an authoritarian style of teaching and learning; (iv) the centrality of the extended family linked with informal education in the narratives of the three generations; and finally, (v) what seems to appear as a probable trend for the future of education in Mozambique, and probably extended to other contexts of neo-liberal politics, is that the youngest generation does not understand the need for the kind of knowledge that school is transmitting nowadays, a ‘profitable’ knowledge.
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A special thank you to my supervisors, Professor David Stephens and Dr Carol Robinson, for their thoughts, suggestions, critiques and opinions over three years.

Also thank you to Linda Mcveigh for always being there answering all my doubts and questions regarding rules, codes and deadlines.
Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

[Signature]

Dated:
28 January, 2016
Chapter 1: Introduction

We take culture to be the semantic space, the field of signs and practices, in which human beings construct and represent themselves and the others, and hence their societies and histories (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992: 27).

This study is about the construction of knowledge in the education system in post-colonial societies over three generations in Mozambique, and how this impacts upon the personal and social identity of each generation. This research is focused upon the Mozambican generations of students since the independence of the country as a former Portuguese colony, in 1975, to the present day. The links between education and identity will be addressed taking into account the following sub-areas:

• What is the meaning of formal and informal education for the three generations of Mozambican students? How does this understanding and appropriation contribute to the formation of their personal and social identity?
• In which ways does their informal knowledge (e.g. family, community, religion) influence their formal knowledge understanding and achievements (e.g. graduate, getting a job)?
• How do the three generations describe their life histories? What they describe when telling their story?
• What is the role of memory for the construction of knowledge and identity in a post-colonial context?
• How valuable is narrative or life history as a research method in this context?

In order to understand education and identity it is argued that the construction of knowledge occurs in formal and informal ways within educational environments (Wilcox 1982). Both students and teachers have their own systems of beliefs – from their specific cultural settings - that sometimes can be in opposition to the education system’s curriculum and goals. With this in mind, the construction of knowledge is to be addressed taking in account the formal (school settings) and informal (cultural settings) way of understanding and explaining phenomena (Wilcox 1982; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Geertz 1973). However, it is argued, that each political reform that occurs is reproduced in the education system (Arendt 1961), namely in the shape of
curriculums and goals, and also in the identity construction process of the three generations of Mozambican students.

The process of knowledge construction in the education system is related to the notion of knowledge reproduction systems that allows people to shape the formation of their multiple identities at a personal and social level. This process is related with the notion of culture as a semantic space (i.e. meaning of words, symbols and practices) in which argument, “a confrontation of signs and practices along the fault lines of power” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992: 18), constructs a mosaic of narratives that result in a multiplicity of identities in each generation.

The aim of this study is to understand how the three generations define their multiple and dynamic identities, and if education experiences contributed to their personal and social identity. In each generation of students, I will explore the reproduction of each political reform of the education system in the country, reproduced in their narratives. To understand the relationship between identity and education I used the personal biographical narratives of each generation and the socio-political meta-narratives of each period in Mozambique. As it is argued by Horsdal (2012:3), “we exist by virtue of others, and we did not give birth to ourselves”. Furthermore, there is a common factor that crosses all generations of Mozambican students in this study: the experience of having lived with the war. All three generations lived throughout the period of the Civil War (1976-1992), having different experiences regarding the region where they were, because the war did not have the same impact in all regions of the country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common identity indicator</th>
<th>Generational identity indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil War (1976-1992)</td>
<td><strong>1st generation</strong> Symbolically represented by the 1st President of Mozambique, Samora Machel (1975-1986); the identification is towards Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2nd generation</strong> Symbolically represented by the 2nd President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005); the identification is towards Democracy as an ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3rd generation</strong> Symbolically represented by the 3rd President, Armando Guebuza (2005-2014); the identification is towards Global Capitalism or Neo-Liberalism as an ideology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The three generations of post-colonial Mozambicans and ideology
After independence in 1975, Mozambique had three major social, political, and historical phases as follow: (i) Marxism-Leninism or Socialism; (ii) Democracy; and (iii) Global Capitalism or Neo-Liberalism. In each generation the identity discourse is tuned with each of those political and social phenomena. They are the meta-narrative that allows the researcher to understand the narratives of each generation about their personal and social identity in which education impacts upon the development of each generational identity.

To be able to achieve the aims of this study I used a qualitative methodological approach, namely an ethnographic and narrative description, collecting and analyzing 18 life histories over three generations of Mozambican students that did or are still doing degrees in higher education. The life histories collected are divided equally among women and men from different regions of Mozambique since schooling patterns in the country are different when looking at a rural or urban context. Besides the life history method, I also used as data collection methods participant observation, direct observation, fieldwork diary reflections, and policy documentation analysis. An ethnographic and narrative approach gives the possibility to (i) understand what is behind the system of values, beliefs and practices in each generation and also (ii) a reflexive personal account by the researcher in order to understand the impact of his/her systems of values, beliefs and practices and how it impacts upon the research process itself.

1.1. Rationale
A research study is always the result of, at least, two concerns: (i) the search for new knowledge in a particular field and (ii) the personal view and experience of the researcher. In this study about knowledge construction and identity formation over three generations in Mozambique, I expect to reach an understanding about modernity in a globalized post-colonial context. Modernity characterizes the globalized world in which post-colonial societies are understood and every generation in this study represents a different period of social and political lifetime in Mozambique. Through the analysis of post-colonial education and identity formation, I have found a social space in which social changes occurred in a short timeframe that characterizes post-colonial countries.
The dimension of three generations in a post-colonial context of education is under-researched and reveals itself useful in order to have a diachronic perspective of education in post-colonial settings. Furthermore, the phenomenon of marketization and privatization of schools is changing the current schooling landscape all over the world.

In this sense, I argue that schooling is a matter of power, transmission of culture and construction of reality – both inside and outside the school environment. As stated by Wilcox (1982:475), schools are “instruments of cultural transmission”, underlining that what really matters is the “hidden curriculum”, meaning “that which is taught implicitly rather than explicitly” (Wilcox 1982: 463-464). In this approach, schools are agents of culture, transmitting attitudes, values, behaviours and expectations to maintain “culture as an ongoing phenomenon” in each new generation (Spindler and Kimball apud Wilcox 1982: 463-464). Ethnography is an approach to investigate the relationship between culture and education, seeing students and teachers as active beings, not neutral social actors in this process. Combined with the narratives of the social actors, education becomes contextualized in a certain time and space.

Going beyond the structural-functional thought, defended by Wilcox, I introduce elements from a social constructivism approach that argues that reality is socially constructed and that the ‘politics of power’ does determine the control of knowledge in a ‘looping effect’ (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Foucault 1979, 2007; Hacking 1999; Arendt 1958, 1961, 2004). Power is shared and occurs in the shape of networks, knowing that it does not exist per se but through the practices of the everyday life (Foucault 1979). According to Foucault (1979) each individual is the outcome of the relationship between power and knowledge, apparently without the participation of the individual in the construction of him/herself. However, as it is argued by Hacking (1999) the practices of the everyday life are the outcome of the relationship between the macro-level (i.e. external influences in the construction of identity) and the micro-level (i.e. internalization of the external influences and reapropriation by each individual). These relationships are dynamic and influence one another, being designated as ‘looping effects’ by Hacking (1999). In this context, there are a limited number of studies that can inform us about the changes in education and identity in post-colonial Mozambique, when the education system is facing new realities, such as the fact that
the majority of the Mozambican population does not have access to higher education and when they have they face high levels of unemployment. In a population of around 23.9 million only 0.42% goes to higher education, around 100.00 students in Mozambique (BTI 2014).

In terms of my personal biography as a researcher, this study has developed from my reflection upon my experience as a teacher in higher education in Mozambique during the years of 2011 and 2012. At the time, I started to question if formal education was contributing to the creation of identity and what was the role of informal education (e.g. family, community and religious environments) in this creation. I started to ask ‘what is going on’, and who are the people that can tell me about it. During 2011 and 2012 I kept my fieldwork diaries with ethnographic descriptions and observations about what happened in the classroom and outside, in society. Furthermore, the fact that I had lived previously in Mozambique, being a former high school student for two years in a public high school in Maputo during the middle 80s, gave me both the insider and outsider perspectives when I was teaching in the university in 2011/2012. Also, in 2013, when I returned to Mozambique to collect the life histories of the three generations, in Maputo, the previous knowledge and experiences were determinant in the way my research was developed. In general, it takes more time for a ‘foreigner’ to be able to have access to people. Simultaneously the access that I had was also the outcome of a very critical and reflexive process because I was aware of my inside/outside positionality in the field.

In sum, life story (narrative of life-journeys) and life history (meta-narrative of social, economic and political events) of the three generations of Mozambicans gives me the opportunity to understand the post-colonial identities and the importance of education in a comparative approach contextualized within the development of the country. Also it will give an insight of what is ‘post-colonial knowledge’, leading to an understanding of this particular context to a ‘bigger’ conceptualization of education nowadays in a globalized world.

1.2. The structure and organization of the study
The structure of this study is organized in the following chapters:

- Chapter 2: Theoretical and conceptual framework;
• Chapter 3: Cultural and historical background;
• Chapter 4: Methodology and methods;
• Chapter 5: Findings;
• Chapter 6: Conclusions.

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this study (i.e. chapter 2) is presented taking into account three layers within the knowledge construction process in post-colonial societies:

(i) The knowledge construction process related with the theories of inequality in education, as a social construction phenomenon, understood through the concept of generation in post-colonial Mozambique;
(ii) Introduction of the three generations of Mozambican students, addressing critically the concept of generation in post-colonial Mozambique, in which biography and history meet;
(iii) The knowledge construction and identity processes in post-colonial societies calls for two conceptual clusters, namely identity and education. Inside each cluster conceptual frames are developed, focused on concepts such as:
   (a) Identity, memory and context (identity cluster);
   (b) Formal and informal education, life-journey and narrative (education cluster);
The two clusters are constantly in relation through the concept of generation in post-colonial societies related through the theories of inequality in education.

In chapter 3, I introduce and develop the cultural and historical background of Mozambique as a post-colonial society addressing the three generations of Mozambican students. This chapter is sub-divided in four main areas: (i) colonial period in Mozambique; (ii) post-colonial period and modernity in Mozambique; (iii) globalizations trends in post-colonial Mozambique; and (iv) the education system in Mozambique. The impact of the historical and cultural heritage from the colonial period is still highly central to understand the development of the education system in post-colonial Mozambique. Indeed, each generation grew up with the colonial inherence of political structures and formal institutions of social and economic development from Western European models, in a country that is still one of the poorest countries in the world.
In chapter 4 I bring forward the methodology and methods I used, grounded in the epistemological position of constructivism. This research is focused on an interdisciplinary and qualitative methodology, using an ethnographic and narrative approach (e.g. Malinowski 1932; Mauss 2007; Geertz 1973; Bruner 1996), and specifically life history as a research method (e.g. Poirier et al 1995). In the first part I address the description of methodology and methods used, drawing on the 18 life histories collected in 2013 during the fieldwork in Mozambique over three generations of Mozambican students that did or are still doing degrees in higher education in the country. The 18 life histories collected are complemented by the following ethnographic techniques of data collection: (i) participant observation; (ii) direct observation; and (iii) fieldwork diary reflections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations of Mozambicans</th>
<th>Ideological moments</th>
<th>Age ranges (date of birth)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>The identification is towards Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
<td>Born between 1957 and 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 interviewees (3 females and 3 males former students)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>The identification is towards Democracy as an ideology</td>
<td>Born between 1974 and 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 interviewees (3 females and 3 males former students)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>The identification is towards Global Capitalism/Neo-liberalism as an ideology</td>
<td>Born between 1982 and 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 interviewees (3 females and 3 males college students)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Brief characterization of the three generations of Mozambicans

I then present a critical approach to discourse analysis as the data analysis method used, introducing a complementary data analysis method as the outcome of the fieldwork developed (i.e. conversation analysis). Finally, I address the ethics and ethical dilemmas faced when developing educational research using an ethnographic and narrative approach in a post-colonial society. My own positionality as an insider/outsider gives me the opportunity to address themes such as complicity and anthropological research (see Marcus 1997, 1986; Geertz 1968; Clifford 1986), since my background is in anthropology. As it is argued by Sultana (2007: 382), “the knowledges produced thus
are within the context of our intersubjectivities and the places we occupy at that moment (physically and spatially as well as socially, politically, and institutionally)”. 

In chapter 5, I debate the findings in a comparative analysis of the three generations of Mozambicans in a post-colonial space. The findings are divided into two major clusters that organize the life story and history of each generation:

(i) Education and identity in post-colonial Mozambique, addressing the formal and the informal education processes and the way it interacts with the construction of identity in each generation and how identity changes educational environment and vice-versa;

(ii) Memory and narrative in post-colonial Mozambique, addressing memory and the construction of resistances, and memory and the construction of an ‘autonomous being’.

The two clusters are brought together in the end of chapter 5 with a general overview about identity, memory and narrative in the three generations of Mozambicans. Furthermore, the two clusters overlap several times, however they have different narrative approaches: how the “subjects” construct their identity and knowledge (education and identity cluster) and how they remember the experiences that constitute the process of constructing their identity and knowledge (memory and narrative cluster).

Finally, in chapter 6, I present the conclusions of my study. It is my intention to point to possible new directions in the educational research field both in post-colonial and non-post-colonial settings using an ethnographic and narrative methodology. I bring forward possible future research lines that take in account the relationship between identity and education to understand society, social changes, school as an institution, and citizenship.

Furthermore, the presentation of the major outcomes (i.e. findings) and critical approach to theory presents possible questions such as: can narrative really change what is a social representation of each concept in social science paradigms? Can formal education be, in the contemporary world, a social phase with no personal meaning for each individual? What is becoming the purpose of education through the Mozambican experience, especially higher education? Can Mozambique be a laboratory to
understand the social meaning of education, since in the last four decades it had
different education systems and is facing currently the same global phenomenon of
privatization/marketization of education? And finally, how does the legacy of war
impact upon formal and informal settings of education in post-colonial Mozambique
and identity processes over the three generations?
Chapter 2: Theoretical and conceptual framework

I enrolled in the university [in Maputo] ... University was a good thing, but in my course there were only two persons from my region ... Everybody else was not from there! This was in 1993 [the Civil War ended in 1992 between Frelimo, the ruling party, and Renamo] and the idea of Renamo, that those who came from my region were from Renamo was present. Any kind of contestation that we would like to take wasn’t possible. In the classroom everybody was from Frelimo … At first I felt that people didn’t trust us ... There was that moment of shock where we needed to prove that we were able, we had quality to be there ... Later on, things changed and we all became friends (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

The knowledge construction process in post-colonial Mozambique and the impact upon the personal and social identity over three generations takes into consideration that each generation is linked to a specific political, social, economic and educational moment in post-colonial Mozambique. However all three generations of students share a common reality in terms of the education system, which is linked to the theories of inequality in school. In order to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework for this study I address firstly (i) how knowledge is constructed in post-colonial societies in relation to the theories of inequality in education; (ii) the knowledge construction process as a social construction phenomenon; and (iii) the concept of generation in post-colonial societies. Secondly I introduce the three generations of Mozambican students of this study. Finally I bring into the debate the conceptual framework used in this study that is organized around the idea that identity and knowledge construction is understood through narrative. From this perspective, it is possible to identify two major conceptual clusters: identity and education. Inside each cluster conceptual frames are developed, focused on concepts such as (i) identity, memory and context (identity cluster); (ii) and formal and informal education, life-journey and narrative (education cluster). The two clusters are constantly in dialogue through the concept of generation in post-colonial societies socially organized within the theories of inequality in education.

2.1. Construction of knowledge and the concept of generation
Firstly I address how knowledge is constructed in post-colonial societies in relation to the theories of inequality in education. In this study, the knowledge construction process allows an understanding of identity and education in post-colonial societies, namely in
Mozambique, knowing that the construction of knowledge occurs simultaneously in formal (school) and informal (culture) settings (Wilcox 1982). Those settings are characterized by inequality in school and society, being understood through discourse/narrative (Wilcox 1982; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bourdieu 1989; Geertz 1973; Berger and Luckmann 1966; Burr 1995; Gergen 1985).

Sociological theories to understand social inequalities in education were developed mainly in the 60s and 70s addressing the way social inequality is reproduced inside and outside school environments (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Bernstein, 1967, 1973; Coleman et al., 1966). For Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) school reproduces social inequalities due to the fact that the values behind attitudes and behaviours of a certain group are culturally arbitrary, not based on any universal or objective reason. This can be aligned with the idea developed by Bernstein (1967, 1973) that there is a connection between language, transmission and pedagogy in school and social class/power relations, arguing that differentiated language codes used by students are the reflex of each social class and family environment. Both authors point to the social inequality that is also reproduced in school. Also according to Coleman et al. (1966) the differences among social groups do not necessarily decrease proportionally to the level of schooling. In this perspective, the educational reproduction system is related with notions such as ideology and hegemony, designing unequal access to knowledge because it is based in the dominant discourse and practices of the elite (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bernstein, 1967, 1973; Coleman et al., 1966). As it is argued by Mario at al. (2003), the Mozambican landscape is also characterized by the same patterns of inequality in education that could result in the consolidation of an educated socio-economic elite.

The evidence suggests that there is a growing tendency for the educational system as a whole, and the field of higher education in particular, to reproduce existing social inequalities, particularly socio-economic ones. If measures are not taken … we shall witness the consolidation of a closed socioeconomic elite in Mozambique, concentrated geographically in Maputo (Mario et al. 2003: 30-31).

Indeed, social mobility examples are absent in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students (with only one exception in the 18 life histories collected). As it
is argued by several authors, education is considered to be central for social mobility in the global world. Nonetheless in the contemporary world the trends of inequality have been underlining further the social inequalities among social classes and/or groups. In fact, evidence suggests that education no longer provides social mobility (Harber 2014). Particularly in the narratives of the 3rd generation in Mozambique, the links between education and social mobility are clearly recognized by its nonexistence, being education redundant when facing the labour market and even in the process of constructing a personal and social identity.

If people start to go to university, to school, they will become more enlighten, they will be able to criticize, to demand more and to participate in the decisions … Many people do not have access to education. There is a class that has access to education … Few people … I will give an example of what is happening now, how the labour market is. We are crossing a stage where to have a BA is no longer enough … There is a culture of nepotism that is growing up … To have a job there I need to know someone there … Now you have the luxury of having someone inside that tells you “Look, give me money and I will give you” [a job] … This is causing disenchantment … Now there are people who think that to get along in life, “I don’t need to study, it is enough that I know someone” (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 3rd generation).

Within the theories of inequality in education, and besides the absence of social mobility within school, gender inequality is also addressed in order to understand the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans in this study. Gender inequality is addressed in two categories in this study: as a concept within the theories of inequality in education; and as the outcome of the cultural and historical background of contemporary Mozambique that contextualizes the idea of women and men over the three generations in this study (see chapter 3 and 5). Masculinity and patriarchy are developed within the theories of education and international development. In that sense, Harber (2014: 162) argues that

the social construction of masculinity, and how it is socialised and learnt, is of considerable importance in understanding gender inequality in education and development.

The author argues for the multiplicities of identities within masculine identity, but at the same time arguing for a “dominant or hegemonic forms of male identity internationally which have traditionally preserved patriarchal power and privilege” (Harber 2014: 162).
This perspective of gender inequality echoes in the construction of, for example, homosexuality in Mozambique (see the example given below). According to Harber (2014), the model of masculinity is characterized by aggressive behaviour and an inclination towards violence. The author gives the example of “pupil violence against females is not uncommon in schools” (2014: 163). In the narratives of the three generations, violence occurs in the classroom, mainly described in the memories of primary education classes (see chapter 5), but is described as reaching all students in spite of being female or male students. However, there are also descriptions of rural environments where the teacher can exercise violence towards female students without any opposition (see chapter 5). Nonetheless, Mozambique is characterized as being both a patriarchal and a matriarchal society in relation to the regions of the country (see chapter 3 and 5). When bringing the narratives about informal education over the three generations I found also the reproduction of what Harber (2014) calls a hegemonic masculinity identity in schools (see chapter 5, informal education and gender role).

Harber (2014: 164), following the work of Salisbury and Jackson (1996), argues that

the way that schools are organised – their authority patterns and forms of discipline – reinforce key aspects of the hegemonic masculinity … which is why men have traditionally dominated school management.

According to Harber (2014), within the arguments developed by Salisbury and Jackson (1996), teaching is about control and authority; the curriculum reflects an ‘academic masculinity’, where men control knowledge; learning is organised and tested based on individual competition “closely linked to patriarchal values” (Harber 2014:165); sport contributes as well for the maintenance of an hegemonic masculine identity in schools, stating that “playing sport in a manly way means a determination to win at all costs” (Harber 2014: 168). The teaching and learning environment described by the authors is not self-evident for students or teachers. However, within the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans related to informal education and gender role in contemporary Mozambique, women are contesting several social practices refusing to go along with dominant male society values (see for example the practice of lobolo or kutchinga, chapter 5). In addition, during the socialist period, school in Mozambique was part of a process of eradicating gender inequalities, bringing both women and men to the teaching settings (see chapter 3 and 5).
Furthermore, it is argued that to understand the knowledge construction process another
dimension should be added addressing the nature of social practices and interactions in
school. Those social practices and interactions happens both inside and outside school
environments and are to be understood within the theory of ideological domination. In
fact, the theory of ideological domination (Gramsci 1991) through the notion of
hegemony is contested by the everyday life practices and forms of resistance in every
simply the name Gramsci gave to this process of ideological domination”, meaning that
the elite controls all ideological sectors of society (i.e. culture, education, social
communication, media) creating a consensus for its ruling style. Conversely, as it is
argued by Scott (1985), Gramsci’s concept of ‘hegemony’ does not pay attention to the
everyday experiences through practices and forms of the non-elite classes, that tends to
deconstruct the dominant ideology.

In this sense, to understand the construction of knowledge in post-colonial
Mozambique, I need to explain the meaning of forms of resistance in everyday life
practices. According to Scott (1985: 315), “the ideas of the ruling class are in every
epoch the ruling ideas”. Simultenously, the public discourse is the self-portrait of the
dominant elites but also the mechanism that allows the creation of a critique and
opposition to that dominant ideology by the social actors involved. “The practice of
domination, then, creates the hidden transcript. If the domination is particularly severe,
it is likely to produce a hidden transcript of corresponding richness” (Scott 1985: 315).
The ‘hidden transcript’ originates sub-cultures that creates counter-discourses and
practices side by side with the legitimation process that is considered to be dominant.
This level of transcript is something that is constructed both inside and outside
schooling environments, and even during interactions in the classroom, when the
teacher is saying something (i.e. they teach in the way they believe it to be,
contradicting many times the official curriculum).

Indeed, the ‘hidden transcript’ is linked with offstage practices that reveal what is going
on besides the ‘public transcript’. The ‘public transcript’ or onstage practices are
characterized by people’s public descriptions and accepted interactions among social
actors (i.e. students and teachers) and the institutions (i.e. schools and society). For example, it is very common to find people, including teachers, sharing the same social beliefs about homosexuality in Mozambique considering it to be a morally incorrect behaviour (Manhice and Timbana 2012). However, teachers who believe in such informal systems of knowledge have to teach publicly, in the classroom, the opposite of their personal beliefs. And when speaking with this double approach (i.e. personal beliefs versus institutional/curriculum beliefs), the ‘hidden transcript’ is always present, even if for one moment, in comments such as this one: “There is nothing wrong with homosexuals, I just don’t want them in my class!” (Comment of a teacher in the university during classroom, fieldwork diary notes, Maputo, May 2013).

Taking that into account, it is argued that the theories of inequality in school need to incorporate the notion of ‘forms of resistance’ that could allow us to have a deeper understanding of the education system over three generations in post-colonial Mozambique. In fact, as it is argued by Wilcox (1982), schools are “instruments of cultural transmission”, but what really matters is the ‘hidden curriculum’, meaning “that which is taught implicitly rather than explicitly” (Wilcox 1982: 463-464), as I notes previously.

Bearing this in mind, the process of knowledge construction in the education system is related to the notion of knowledge reproduction systems characterized by inequality and ‘forms of resistance’, which allows people to claim their multiple identities at a personal and social level. Those identities’ claims are also socially differentiated: if a person is from a rural or an urban environment; a man or a woman; the son or daughter of the political elite that contributed for the independence in post-colonial context or from the main opposition political party; etc. This process of constructing identities is also related with the notion of culture as a semantic space, in which argument constructs a mosaic of narratives that result in a multiplicity of identities (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). Each narrative is constructed differently from one generation to another in post-colonial Mozambique.

The narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans raise a question about the knowledge construction process as a social construction phenomenon: how is social
reality constructed in the narratives of the three generations? There are external phenomena to each individual that shapes how social reality is? Or is social reality solely the result of social interactions among individuals and groups? Going further, is social reality the outcome of both, meaning that the individual socially constructs reality but there is already some kind of structures behind it? To understand how social reality is constructed is to understand the process of knowledge construction itself and the need for a concept of generation that is related with this approach.

2.1.1. Knowledge construction process as a social construction phenomenon

I argue that each generation of Mozambican students is subordinated to a certain kind of institution (e.g. school with its curriculums, goals and linguistic codes; family and notions such as a matrilineal society in the north of Mozambique opposed to a patrilineal society in the south of the country). The pre-existence of those institutions allow the introduction of a macro-sociological analysis (i.e. structures) within a micro-sociological perspective, the latest related with the practices and beliefs of individuals contextualized in each ideological moment in Mozambique (i.e. construction of identity).

According to Berger and Luckmann (1966) the everyday life and the subjective experiences of each individual are what construct social reality (i.e. social constructionism). “Everyday life is dominated by the pragmatic motive, that is everyday life is essentially oriented to solving practical problems” (Abercrombie 1980: 147). However, as it is argued by Hacking (1999: 25), Berger and Luckmann “did not claim that nothing can exist unless it is socially constructed”. Indeed, in this study I propose the co-existence of theories from social and structural constructivism, namely through the introduction of ‘subjective structures’ by Bourdieu (1989).

It is argued that is through social interactions that social reality has a purpose, being socially constructed by each person (a micro level) but contextualized in the “big” picture (the macro level). Bourdieu (1989) advanced the notion of ‘subjective structures’, recognizing the importance of subjectivity and experience for the understanding of social reality. Bourdieu (1989), going further with Berger and Luckmann perspectives (1966), argues that the ‘objective structures’ (e.g. institutions
such as school) have an influence in each social interaction (e.g. that impact upon the construction of identity), resulting in ‘subjective structures’.

… on the one hand, the objective structures that the sociologist constructs, in the objectivist moment, by setting aside the subjective representations of the agents, form the basis for these representations and constitute the structural constraints that bear upon interactions; but, on the other hand, these representations must also be taken into consideration particularly if one wants to account for the daily struggles, individual and collective, which purport to transform or to preserve these structures (Bourdieu 1989: 15).

To understand social interactions and relations we need to consider the objectivity of social structures without forgetting the subjective experiences of each individual. Indeed, each subjective experience of reality and subsequent construction should take into account each social and historical moment in which they are organized. Bourdieu did not deny the interference of each social agent in the social structures.

Indeed, Bourdieu (1977, 1989) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) addressed the question of agency and structure in order to understand if individuals or subjects are capable of autonomy within specific social structures that characterize their lifetime or if social structures dominate individuals’ actions. In the example of the three generations of Mozambicans in this study, structures are exemplified within the ideological and political regimes of socialism (i.e. 1st generation), democracy (i.e. 2nd generation) and neo-liberalism (i.e. 3rd generation). In that sense, I will address the three generations capacity for agency within the social and political structures that characterizes their life-journey. According to the theory of practice developed by Bourdieu (1977, 1989) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), structures and human agency are to be addressed as a dialectical relationship that allows an understanding of social life and organization. In order to unfold the theory of practice, Bourdieu (1977, 1989) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explore the concepts of habitus and field, arguing that “to speak of habitus is to assert that the individual, and even the personal, the subjective, is social, collective. Habitus is a socialized subjectivity” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 126). Habitus is to be understood as
Being the product of history, is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 133).

Adding to the notion of habitus, field is understood as

a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in their determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97).

Habitus and field are connected in a dialectical relationship. Habitus gives meaning to the fields: “social reality exists, so as to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in field and in habitus, outside and inside of agents” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127). Bearing that in mind, structure and agency are reflected in the everyday life of the three generations of Mozambicans. As individuals they act in and through their habitus (e.g. gender roles over the three political and ideological periods in contemporary Mozambique) in relation to certain fields (agency), knowing that their habitus are conditioned by previous experiences (structures). In this study, to have an understanding of the 3rd generation (i.e. the neo-liberal generation) system of beliefs and practices, there is the need to have prior knowledge about the past experiences or structures (i.e. the influence of socialism as the first political and ideological in post-independent Mozambique). However, as argued before, the subjectivities (Bourdieu 1989) allow the researcher to understand the dialectical relationship between agency and structure developed in the everyday life of the three generations.

In addition, within the structuration theory developed by Giddens (1984: 2), it is important to take in account “how the concepts of action, meaning and subjectivity should be specified and how they might relate to notions of structure and constraint”. One of the central ideas of Giddens (1984: 25) is of the duality of structures:

The constitutions of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices that recursively organize.
Giddens (1984) argues that structure and agency are an interactive process. Every time each individual acts within a certain structure, she/he is recreating the structure itself, being “in a certain sense more ‘internal’ than exterior to their activities” (Giddens 1984: 25). In that sense, in each generation of Mozambicans there is an internalized idea (i.e. memory traces) of their lifetime that co-exists each time they act (i.e. social actions): in “the moment of the production of action, is also one of reproduction in the contexts of the day-to-day enactment of social life” (Giddens 1984: 26). However, Giddens (1984) states that agents are active participants, because agency is human action.

However, Giddens theory is criticized by Archer (1982: 459), when she suggests that

the ‘duality of structure’ itself oscillates between the two divergent images it bestrides – between (a) the hyperactivity of agency, whose corollary is the innate volatility of society and (b) the rigid coherence of structural properties associated, on the contrary, with the essential recursiveness of social life.

In Archer’s (1982) critique, structure precedes agency. However Archer (1982) recognizes the co-dependency of structure and agency – to understand socialism, democracy and neo-liberalism in contemporary Mozambique we need each generation/agents. But they operate in different timescales.

In sum, the ‘objective structures’ of social reality have an impact upon social interactions, but these ‘objective structures’ can only be understood in the light of the everyday life ‘subjectivities’ that can contribute to social change or the maintenance of social structures. In post-colonial Mozambique, each generation has their own subjectivity expressed through narrative but organized in a specific social, political and historical time and space. If social reality was not subjectively constructed nothing would really change – schools are institutions/structures that organize social life but the meaning of schools changes in each generation and inside the generation itself. For example, if a Mozambican woman is the daughter of a poor family in the north of the country, her perception and meaning of school would be probably related with going into primary education and drop out after it.
In conclusion, the ‘subjective structures’ are what can inform us about the construction of social reality in each generation in post-colonial Mozambique. However to understand the ‘objective structures’ (i.e. education system) I need to present the conceptualization of generation in post-colonial societies in relation to the notion of ‘subjective structures’ (i.e. experiences throughout each life-journey). In this study generations are to be understood as a social construction that results from a particular context, post-colonial Mozambique and the influence of different ideological and political moments in the country. Generation is what allows us to unify the ‘objective’ and ‘subjective structures’ to understand how knowledge is constructed in post-colonial societies. Also, it is through each generation that we have access to the dual life in school (i.e. public and hidden transcripts), knowing that school is not accessible for everybody.

2.1.2. The concept of generation in post-colonial contexts
Theories about the historical role of generations in social change processes have been conceptualized differently throughout time. It is possible to identify at least two moments in this process: (i) a positivist/quantitative approach to generation linked with a biological dimension, developed by Comte (1998 [1830-1842]); and (ii) a dynamic/qualitative approach developed by Mannheim (1952) putting in relation history and social change, develop later on by Abrams (1982) with the inclusion of identity in this process. In this second moment, it is argued also that a new understanding of generation in contemporary societies should be anchored in the notion of globalization, giving a particular understanding of the youngest generation by Honwana (2013, 2014) in African contexts.

In the positivist/quantitative frame, generations were conceptualized mechanically and without links to the specific time and space they inhabited; the idea was to identify a quantitative time able to be measured in order to sustain that social progress was linear (Comte 1989 [1830-1842]). In such case, a generation was understood by the average time it takes for a new biological generation to substitute the older one, an average of 30 years. Social changes in this perspective were to be addressed as something that had a continuity both in time and space, through the stability maintain by the older generation when transmitting its values and beliefs to the younger generation.
In the dynamic/qualitative frame, Mannheim (1952) refuted the positivist/quantitative approach to generations and social change, considering that generations are the result between the encounter of biographical and historical time. In this approach, generations are a useful analytical concept for understanding social changes processes. For Mannheim (1952) what defines a generation is not the year of birth but the belonging to a certain historical process that is shared by the members of that generation.

Later on, Abrams (1982) adds to the notion of generation by Mannheim the idea of identity. Abrams (1982) related the individual and social times within a certain historical period. For Abrams (1982) both individual and society are historical constructions, being identity what links the two dimensions. As it is argued by Abrams (1982: 262), “the process of identity formation and the process of social reproduction are one and the same”. Indeed, each generation is the result of a specific period of time and space, which allows individuals and society to use the social and historical recourses to construct a certain identity. In each period of time and space, new generations create the possibility for social change.

Abrams (1982: 228) proposed a unifying vision about individuals and society through the concept of generation, contesting the understanding of reality as the result of “a dichotomy of subject and object, meaning and structure, consciousness and being, self and society”. Understanding social reality through the experiences of each generation allows an understanding of how they construct their identity.

A social generation cannot be defined in sociological terms and in terms of definite age groups, but has to be defined in terms of common and joint experiences, sentiments and ideals. ‘A generation is thus a new way of feeling and understanding of life, which is opposed to the former way or at least different from it’. A generation is a phenomenon of collective mentality and morality. [The members] of a generation feel themselves linked by a community of standpoints, of beliefs and wishes (Heberle 1951 apud Abrams 1982: 258).

A social generation is to be understood as a group of people who share the same historical and social experiences, ‘politically relevant experiences’ (Abrams 1982: 258), which result in the construction of a shared identity. Adding to the perspective of
Abrams I integrated a new complementary understanding of generation in contemporary societies. To develop this complementary vision of generation in post-colonial contexts in modernity the notion of globalization is added. Within globalization, Honwana (2013, 2014) gives a particular understanding of the youngest generation in African contexts, which are to be translated into other cultural settings.

Honwana (2013, 2014) uses the concept of ‘waithood’ for understanding the new generation or youth. This concept was firstly developed by Singerman (2007), Dhillon and Yousef (2009) addressing the current challenges that youth faces today in Middle East and Northern Africa. However Honwana addresses the ‘waithood’ concept in a critical sense, finding in the youth’ strategies solutions for the uncertain times they live in. As it is argued by the author, in the transition to adulthood, youth is facing numerous challenges such as unemployment, access to education, constitution of a family and civic participation. According to Honwana, the ‘waithood’ period that characterizes youth nowadays is not characterized by what was firstly described by Singerman, Dhillon and Yousef as ‘inactively waiting’ for things to change. In fact, Honwana argues the opposite, saying that African youth is developing creative ways to find solutions in a time of high uncertainty that characterizes their present and future lives.

Despite the challenges, youth in waithood are dynamic and use their agency and creativity to invent new forms of being and interacting with society. Waithood accounts for a multiplicity of young people’s experiences, ranging from daily survival strategies such as street vending and cross-border trade to involvement in gangs and criminal activities (Honwana 2013: 5-6).

As it is argued by Honwana, youth is currently living in a state of limbo, defined as period of suspension between childhood and adulthood, in a ‘waithood’ phase contributing for the creation of social changes through creative answers. The ‘waithood’ is more than a limbo phase, is particularly a way of being developed by youth in order to contest the contemporary economic and political crisis through social contestation movements. In that way, the ‘waithood’ generation wants to reappropriate their freedom. What will be the outcome of this? As Honwana writes, the youth social movements are still unfolding, being difficult to predict what will be the result of such

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1 The original is in Portuguese. I took the decision to translate into English to provide the reader with a coherent system of reading. This example is followed in similar cases.
youth movements. The ‘waithood’ generation is comparable to the generation of 1968 in Europe, argues Honwana, and like in those times could contribute to radical social changes.

From more or less spontaneous street riots and protests in the streets of Maputo, Dakar, Madrid, London, New York and Santiago, to revolutions that overthrew dictatorships in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya the waithood generation is taking it upon itself to redress the wrongs of contemporary society and remake the world (Honwana 2013: 10).

Contemporary youth is using their agency in a creative way contributing for the creation of new sub-cultures (i.e. ‘youthscapes’), characterized by new forms of livelihood, situated in the margins of the conventional society. Honwana argues that this generation believes in the need of radical social changes completely away from the traditional politics. In order to develop new possibilities, the youth is using the new technological tools to create an alternative to the current “failed” society. The notion of ‘extended present’ (Nowotny 1994) is central for understanding how the ‘waithood’ generation live and project their lives. The ‘extended present’ is an extended ‘here-and-now’ way of living that helps to reduce the uncertainty of the future.

Adding this new dimension of generation by Honwana (2013, 2014) to the generation concept by Abrams (1982) it is possible to go further in the understanding of the three generations of Mozambican students. Honwana brings forward the relationship between generation, globalization and the current neo-liberal political and economic systems; Abrams establish a relationship between the individual and society through identity to understand generations. When looking, for example, to the 3rd generation, linked to the globalization and privatization/marketization current trends in education, the concept of generation allows an understanding of the impact of education in the construction of personal and social identity.

**2.1.3. The three generations of Mozambican students**

The three generations of Mozambican students presented in this study are linked to the idea of a social identity shared by all in a country that, due to its recent history, has passed since 1975 through a short chronological process that started with (i) Marxism-Leninism/Socialism, passing to (ii) Democracy and recently to (iii) Global Capitalism.
or Neo-Liberalism. To understand this historical specificity, each generation is defined by the time in which it builds itself in a social and historical context that has meaning for them in particular (Abrams 1982; Honwana 2013, 2014). In each generation, biography and history meet, resulting in ‘a metaphor for the social construction of time’ (Feixa and Lecardi 2010).

To understand each generation in post-colonial Mozambique, it is argued that biography and history can be understood through two identity indicators:

(i) Civil War (1976-1992), that is common to all three generations of Mozambicans, who experienced direct or indirectly the effects and impact of the war;

(ii) Political and ideological moments in Mozambique through the idea of a public self, symbolically represented by each leader (i.e. President) present in everyday life of the three generations through the theatrical performance that characterizes the social interactions in society (Goffman 1956). Indeed, as argued by Langa (2013: 61), “Mozambique is a presidential republic. The president is both the head of the state and the head of the government”.

Bearing that in mind, the narratives of each generation are contextualized within the meta-narratives of each political and ideological period in Mozambique, as it is represented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil War (1976-1992)</th>
<th>Public self and ideology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The feeling of living and growing up in a <em>not known way</em> during the Civil War (1976-1992). As Nordstrom (1997:14) writes, “it is difficult to conceptualize a society bereft of all institutions that grounded social life. Without their houses, crops, without their schools and clinics and</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Generation, which will be symbolically represented by 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; President of Mozambique, Samora Machel (1975-1986), where we find people from the period of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation (1964-1975), their families and exiled people by the colonial regime. This is the 8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; March Generation and also the students sent abroad to study (e.g. Cuba). The identification is towards Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology and with Frelimo as the leading party of the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
markets, people’s lives simply do not progress in a known way”. In those times, all around the country, people lived without or with few infra-structural conditions, most of them informal infra-structures (like schools, hospitals, houses or freedom to go from one place to another) – this is common to all three generations.

2nd Generation, which will be represented by the 2nd President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005), who symbolically represents the era of the highest intensity of the civil war and also when the war ended, the introduction of political multi-party system and the idea of democracy. In this generation I find the young teachers of the present college students. The identification is towards Democracy as an ideology.

3rd Generation, which will also be represented by the former President, Armando Guebuza (2005-2014), symbolically representing the introduction of a neo-liberal or global capitalist economy. This is the time of the young college students – the present - where I find the globalized and technological youth as in all parts of the world. The identification is towards Global Capitalism or Neo-Liberalism as an ideology, looking for a job that provides them the future “com tako” (in slang Portuguese, meaning “with dough”).

Table 3: The three generations of Mozambican students

Finally, in order to understand the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students about the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique it is necessary to organize the concepts that are transversal to all generations. In that sense, I will focus next on conceptual frames organized around two clusters:

(i) Identity, memory, context (identity cluster);
(ii) Education, life-journey and narrative (education cluster).

The conceptual frames are unified by the notion of generation in post-colonial societies and the theories of inequality in school that characterize the education system over history.

2.2. Identity, memory and context
The first conceptual cluster addressed is organized within the notion of identity exploring concepts such as identity, memory and context that are present in all three generations of Mozambican students.
2.2.1. Identity as a dynamic process

To explore the notion of identity in the construction of knowledge, I address identity as a dynamic process, which can be defined into two categories: the personal elements that define an individual as a unique being and the social attributes that constitutes its social identity or the social status that one person share with the other members of the group. These two levels of identity are connected and allow people to have more than one identity (Barth 1969; Camilleri et al. 1990), e.g. to be a woman, a mother and a teacher.

In this perspective, identity is socially situated within notions of inclusion (i.e. “we” belong to a certain generation) and exclusion (i.e. “they” are different from us; a post-colonial generation in Mozambique is different from the European generation of 1968). In this sense, identity is both the outcome of other people’s identification systems and our own (Bloom 1990).

In order to achieve psychological security, every individual possesses an inherent drive to internalise – to identify with – the behaviour, mores and attitudes of significant figures in her/his social environment; i.e. people actively seek identity … What is crucial for my arguments, then, is that given the same environmental circumstances there will be a tendency for a group of individuals to make the same identification, to internalise the same identity (Bloom 1990: 25).

In fact, identity is situated and dependent upon the position that each “subject” will use to define its own personal and social identity (e.g. how a member of the 2nd generation of Mozambican students experienced studying abroad, particularly in Europe? The “we” is equal to being “African” opposed to “they” equal to being “Europeans”, socially constructing inclusion and exclusion processes). For Barth (1969), identity is constructed in a relation, being the manifestation of the relation between “we” and “they”. The way each group construct their identity is what allows an understanding of the dynamics of social identity related to each boundary of each group. Indeed, I heard many times in the narratives of the three generations sentences such as these: “That one is old; he is from Samora’ time! I don’t know anything about that time: it is history for me!” (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 3rd generation). Or: “That young man over there – can you see it? – he just arrived in a big car! This generation is the mirror of Guebuza’ politics: your value is what you show to others! It
was not like this during Samora’s time!” (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

Indeed, identity is something we all need to be part of the social reality and social life (Jenkins 1996). But this can only be achieved through the interaction of a self-definition (internal) and the definition given by others to us (external). That is why each person needs to be recognized by others in order to have an identity (Barth 1969). Inside the education system I find also this categorization, where to be a student ‘with quality’ can be linked to the region of origin and political past of each Mozambican student.

In addition, identity is always situated also in the sense defined by Goffman (1956), meaning that each self can be identified with the performance or role that they are playing in a certain space and time during social interactions with others. In order to develop a social interaction, there is the need to situate our own identity for others to recognize it, which could be consciously or unconsciously constructed.

I have said that when an individual appears before others his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have. Sometimes the individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing himself in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain. Sometimes the individual will be calculating in his activity but be relatively unaware that this is the case. Sometimes he will intentionally and consciously express himself in a particular way, but chiefly because the tradition of his group or social status require this kind of expression and not because of any particular response (other than vague acceptance or approval) that is likely to be evoked from those impressed by the expression (Goffman 1956: 3).

In the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans it is common for them to present a situated identity in relation, for example, to the system of education they had. For the 1st generation it is important to explain if they studied during primary education in a Protestant or a Catholic mission, or in the official or indigenous schools. This defines the way they were integrated during Portuguese colonial times. On the other hand, for the 3rd generation it is important to underline if they went to a private or a public university, because the public university is described as being much more important in society.
2.2.2. Memory as a process that precedes identity

Another concept that is linked to understanding identity and education in the three generations of Mozambicans is memory. In this study, identity is put together in relation with memory, arguing that identity and memory should be understood as a dialectical process. As it is stated by Le Goff (1988: 143) “memory is an important factor of the construction of personal and social identities which are not only a conquest but an instrument of power”. The way each generation calls for the social memories of the group reinforce their own situated identity in a certain space and time.

In this perspective, identity is linked to the way we remember and memory is part of the process of constructing an identity, knowing that each situated identity is a re-elaboration of several memories, on even the same memory, every time people need to speak about themselves or society. Those different elaborations of memories allow us to access several experiences from different times and spaces, which are remembered or experienced by all in diverse ways (Taussig 1987, Fentress and Wickham 1992; Semprún 1995; Connerton 1999; Candau 1996, 1998; Severi 2000).

According to Candau (1998), memory is about constantly reconstructing the past, not necessarily about knowing if a specific reconstructed memory is true or false. Memory is crucial to the maintenance of identity, giving each social actor the possibility to deal with changes, crisis or ruptures in their life-journeys. Memory is a process that occurs before establishing an identity. In order to do that, Candau (1998) suggests that memory should be addressed taking into account three layers within the process of memory itself: (i) the proto-memory; (ii) the memory; and (iii) the meta-memory. The three layers were crucial for me when collecting the life histories of the three generations in Mozambique, helping to link identity and education.

In terms of proto-memory, Candau links his notion to Bergson’s [1988 (1896)] notion of habit-memory or Bourdieu (1977) notion of habitus, meaning that when remembering each social actor has a “memory without consciousness” (Candau 1988: 11-13). The proto-memory is inseparable from the activity going on and its conditions; it is a presence from the past but not the memory of the past. For example, during the fieldwork, when the three generations of Mozambicans wrote something that they felt it
was important for me to have, they never used a red ink pen. I gave them several possibilities of choice, but they never went for the red ink pen. During their narratives, the story of grading, teachers and school decoded the symbolic meaning of that automatic gesture, learned through repetition. The symbolic use of a red ink pen is linked to the condition of being a teacher and grading, being the teacher the only person able to use a red ink pen in the classroom. For the three generations the red ink pen is to be used when punishing/grading someone, it has a negative social connotation. Candau (1988:11-12) argues that the proto-memory should be something that the anthropologist should pay particular attention, because “usually individuals cannot speak about it, becoming the most resistance knowledge and experience shared by all the members of one’s society”.

The second layer argued by Candau (1988) is memory itself, meaning that is about recognition or evocation of experiences and events. Memory could be consciously evoked or be the outcome of involuntary evocation of autobiographical or biographical remembrances. For example, when I asked what the 1st generation remembered about the independence of the country in 1975, I was asking for a conscious evocation of events and experiences. In their narratives they constructed different meanings for this particular event or experience, but also at the same time when describing it they constructed an unconscious level of meaning. In one narrative the independence was highly linked to the lack or absence of public transports (i.e. Mozambican male of the 1st generation); in another narrative, was the symbolical space of freedom and knowing that there were no longer distinction between ‘black’ and ‘white’ people (i.e. Mozambican female of the 1st generation). In both narratives they spoke about understanding what happens ‘then-in-a-now’ perspective, a grown up peoples’ perspective, but describing at the same time the feelings and emotions they remembered from ‘back-then’ when they were children.

Finally, Candau (1988) presents the meta-memory as the third layer to understand the links between memory and identity. The meta-memory is described as being a representation of proto-memory and memory itself.
Meta-memory, which is, on one hand, the representation that each individual has of his own memory, the knowledge that he has and, on the other hand, what he says, what dimensions he evokes to make a reference to his ‘world of affiliation within his past’ and also . . . the explicit construction of identity (Candau 1988: 14).

In this sense, Candau argues that collective memory is a social representation, meaning that a certain group can have the same memory markers or references and simultaneously not share the same representations about the past. For example, for the three generations of Mozambicans the independence of the country is described firstly as the year – 1975 - when Mozambique became independent. Then, when elaborating on their narratives, for the 1st generation independence becomes the lack of public transport or having social equality, as mentioned previously. However, for the 3rd generation independence becomes a historical event, something that is to be learned in books, becoming ahistorical in a certain degree. But they all share the same reference: 1975 = independence of Mozambique. When adding the way they write the word ‘independence’, the 1st generation writes with a capital I and the 3rd generation with a small i – this also means they share a common reference but not a common representation of the past.

Furthermore, memory is important because it is also linked with the notion of traumatic events and how they impact upon the construction of knowledge and identity in each generation (Severi 2000; Taussig 1987; Leydesdorff, S. et al 1999). In that sense, I look at memory as a construction made by each individual when remembering the past and as an ongoing phenomenon. As it is argued by Crawford, June et al. (1992: 8):

We are working with memories and not events. We assume that each memory refers to some real event in time. But memory is a construction of that event, a construction that changes with reflection, and over time. It is the construction that we are interested in, not the event, because the construction tells us something about the way the person relates to the social … We assume that this process of memory reconstruction continues throughout our life time.

Bearing that in mind, memory is to be understood as a psychological and social mechanism that allows human beings to represent themselves through the articulation of

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2 The original is in French, my translation.
a discourse that represents the self in a personal and a shared social context (Pollak 1992). As it is argued by Fentress and Wickham (1992: 20), “we are what we remember”, deeply embedded in the representations of ourselves, through memories, defining a personal and social identity. Remembering is a personal and a social act of invocation, construction and transmission of personally experienced events or events experienced by the group. Social memory is the result of several personal memories of a certain group organized in a coherently or in a diffuse discourse creating meaningful moments for the definition of identity; being personal memory the result of several meaningful moments lived or shared inside several groups, such as family, political groups, community and so on (Fentress and Wickham 1992; Halbwachs 1997, 1994). As it is argued by Bruner (2003), each person constructs and reconstructs their self in each situation using personal and social memories.

Furthermore, social memory invokes the past to legitimate the present (Connerton 1999), being the present time, where the narrative occurs, the result of the everyday life practices and forms of resistances (Scott 1985, 1990, 2011). I also argue, as Pollak (1992), that if memory is socially constructed, so is the official documentation. In this sense, oral and written sources share the same characteristics as social oral memory (Pollak 1992).

Adding to the notion of social memory, I also define what is considered to be personal memory and why it is important for this study. Personal memory can be defined as part of the autobiographical memory that calls for the invocation of specific emotional experienced-events from the past that contributes for the formation of one’s self-concept in the present (Thorne 2000). The act of telling, being understood as an interpretative act (Bruner 2004), is organized through reflection, sharing and knowing other experiences (Thorne 2000). To comprehend school we have to comprehend individuals – men and women, putting the gender issue in debate. It is argued that women “share their emotional past experiences with a wider array of significant others than do men” (Thorne 2000: 47). This is the outcome of a gender approach in family telling context, where women in general tend to share more emotional-experiences with daughters than sons (Thorne 2000; Niedzwierska 2003; Gilligan 1992). Moreover, “women typically included other people in their descriptions of the past, whereas men’s memories had an
evident lack of details about other people” (Niedzwienska 2003: 321), becoming more likely for women to contextualize their personal memories in a social context.

Furthermore, according to Coenen-Huther (1994), women are more attentive than men to the relations between people, less centered on their professions and status and more on individuals to whom they know. Men, as the author says, continues to assume the function of instrumentality (providing for the family’s necessary resources for survival) and women the function of expressivity (maintenance of the group’s cohesion, taking care of the emotional and protective needs of the family, being the keepers of values and domestic culture). I find the same perception and construction of gender roles in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans. Additionally, Coenen-Huther (1994) argues that modernity is characterized by isolation, anonymity and stress, and family thus appears as a sphere of protection or shelter. In this matter, memory builds identity throughout female and male discourses learned and heard inside private space/family. But this raises a question: is family really a private space or does the domestication of family turns out to be a reflex of public space as well? What role does formal education have in this gender construction of knowledge?

Finally, to understand the links between identity and education through memory in post-colonial Mozambique, I established a link between the construction of memory through narratives and its relationship with schooling journeys. Pollak (1992) identified three different styles in the construction of memory and its relation with the level of formal education, knowing that each narrative use all styles in different moments of ‘telling the story’: (1) chronological style; (2) thematic style and (3) events description style. When the chronological style is predominant in the narrative is linked with a low schooling level, but related with a strong political socialization. The thematic style is described as when the interviewees do not pay much attention to the chronology of experiences or events-experienced but to a certain theme. This kind of narrative organization points to a high level of schooling and also to a good level of professional experience after the schooling phase. Finally, the events description style is characterized by the descriptions or story telling of the interviewees that recall several experiences with no connection among them. This kind of narrative creates a certain ‘feeling of being lost’ in the person
who is listening to the story. This style is linked to a very low schooling level, and also little political and professional experience.

However, as it is argued by Pollak (1992), all narratives have the three styles mingled when someone is telling their life history/story. Nonetheless, there is a predominant style in each single narrative that could help us to decode the impact of education in one’s personal and social identity over the three generations of Mozambicans and the three different ideological periods in the country. In that sense, and as Connerton (1999) wrote, memory is highly dependent of each experienced-knowledge of the past and how each generation remember it (Crawford, June et al. 1992).

2.2.3. Identity and memory within context

Bringing together identity and memory as a dialectical process, I argue that identity and memory can only be understood in a context—situated identities that recall specific memories to construct social reality. In this sense, I look at identity and memory as I look at a text. According to Warnke (2007: 6), “textual understanding has at least three characteristics that are important for thinking through the questions of identities”: (i) they are situated, (ii) our understanding has a purpose and (iii) it is partial, because we are also situated and purposefully oriented giving us different interpretations of text’s and identity’s meanings. “The claim I have tried to make is that identities are parts of contexts and make sense only within the contexts of which they are a part” (Warnke 2007: 245).

Each generation of Mozambicans creates and recreates an identity that is simultaneously of the public and private sphere. Each generation is concerned about the respect or recognition that others construct about them. Education is a system that allows them to integrate future society, playing their social roles as future citizens, being recognized by society as a member of that institution. Bearing that in mind, to understand their discourses about their own identity (their life story) is to understand their context (historical and social, through life history). In this sense, to understand education we must realize that, as identity, knowledge is contextual. Different cultural, social and political contexts lead us to different interpretations of identity and, indeed, a different assumption of what is important in each education system. Each generation of students
are characterized as socio-political personalities constructed in a specific time and with a certain goal, but also constructing their meaning.

In sum, the first conceptual cluster (i.e. identity cluster) is systematized as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Dialectical process (Le Goff 1988)</th>
<th>Memory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal identity (internal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Constantly reconstructing the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social identity (external)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g. Connerton 1999; Fentress and Wickham 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple identities</td>
<td></td>
<td>Proto-memory</td>
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<tr>
<td>(e.g. Barth 1969; Camilleri et al. 1990)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(or habitus; Candau 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusion and exclusion processes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Memory itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bloom 1990)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(recognition or evocation; Candau 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially situated identities</td>
<td></td>
<td>Meta-memory</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Goffman 1959)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(representation of proto and memory itself; Candau 1998)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Memory and schooling through narratives</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Pollak 1992)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chronological style</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low schooling level; high political</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>socialization</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic style</td>
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<td></td>
<td>High level of schooling; good professional</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>experience</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Events description style</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low schooling; low political socialization,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>professional experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Traumatic events (e.g. Taussig 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Remembering as a personal and social act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of invocation, construction and transmission</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g. Bruner 2004)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ The memories of the past legitates the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>present (e.g. Fentress and Wickham 1992)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Autobiographical memory and gender approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g. Coenen-Huther 1994)</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Memory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>➢ Identities and memories are</td>
<td>➢ My understanding has a purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situated in a specific time and</td>
<td>➢ It is partial (i.e. I am also situated,</td>
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<tr>
<td>space, being multiples</td>
<td>several possibilities of interpretation)</td>
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<td>(e.g. Warnke 2007)</td>
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Table 4: First conceptual cluster (i.e. identity cluster)

In conclusion, identity and memory are a dialectical process present in the everyday life of social interactions between students and teachers. Sometimes the meaning of the social interactions is publicly shared; others is hidden to promote social change. In every social interaction the context impact upon the shape it will take. For example, for
the 1st generation of Mozambicans to be against the political regime was officially punished (i.e. sent to the ‘re-education camps’); on the other hand, for the 3rd generation public contestation of political corruption is done using, for example, music and lyrics that condemn the current political regime.

In the end, when looking to identity and memory within context, the narratives of the three generations bring us an understanding of the multiplicity in which each generation lives and elaborate their life story/history. As it is argued by Warnke (2007: 248),

Females and women likewise do not exist outside of certain stories and do not figure in every context in which we live our lives. The same holds of blacks and whites, Asians, Latinos, and Latinas. We are these identities only in their contexts. We need to remember the incompleteness, contextuality, and limited duration of all our multiple identities.

In order to understand the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students about the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique, the first conceptual cluster presented is unified with the second one (i.e. education) through the notion of generation in post-colonial societies and the theories of inequality in school. Furthermore, in order to understand the narratives of the three generations and how they elaborate their narratives regarding the construction of knowledge and identity processes, a conceptual understanding of education in its several dimensions is needed.

2.3. Education, life-journey and narrative

The second conceptual cluster addressed is organized within the notion of education exploring concepts such as formal and informal education, life-journey and narrative that are present in all three generations of Mozambican students.

2.3.1. Formal education

When considering a conceptualization of education in Mozambique, and because it is a post-colonial context, the links between language and education should be first underlined. After independence in 1975, Mozambique adopted as the official language the former language of the colonial power, Portuguese. However, the country has 23 national languages that represent the mother-tongue of the majority of the population.
(Firmino 2005). Indeed, in a post-colonial country such as Mozambique, I argue with Arendt (1961) that school has a double meaning:

Since for most of these children English is not their mother tongue but has to be learned in school [related with the education reality in the USA during Arendt’s time], schools must obviously assume functions which in a nation-state would be performed as a matter of course in the home (Arendt 1961: 174).

To be able to understand the complementarities between the two settings (i.e. formal and informal education), I need to define firstly how formal education is addressed in this study taking in account Harber’s (2014: 101) vision that “learning can either be very good or very bad, depending on what is learnt, how it is learnt and what it is designed to”. In addition, and because Mozambique is characterized by being a majority rural country, it is central to remember that in general

The academic content of schooling is not seen as relevant to local needs and priorities, especially in a predominantly agricultural and rural area. Families and communities do not see education as a realistically viable route out of poverty, especially when there are high rates of unemployment amongst educated young people (Harber 2014: 29).

It is worth remembering too that Sub-Saharan African countries, including Mozambique, represent half of the world’s out-of-school children (Harber 2014). Nevertheless, Harber and Mncube (2012) stated that there is mostly a positive link between education and democracy, having a relationship between higher levels of education and the probability of ensuring a democratic political regime.

However, these studies largely left unclear exactly how education contributes to democracy. What macro cross-national studies carried out by economists and political scientists tend to exclude is consideration of what goes on inside education. Crucial here is the type of education experienced and of particular importance in this regards is the relationship between the internal micro-political structures, processes and cultures of formal education and the type of people and citizens that result (Harber 2014: 93-94).

Indeed, in the area of formal education the knowledge construction process is systematized with predefined actors such as teachers and students in a specific space (schooling institutions) with specific goals (curriculums in a certain historical timeline).
This process is aimed at promoting social inclusion of every social actor in order to achieve a participative citizenship.

The paradigm of formal education is the style of schooling developed in the industrialized West. It has been defined as any form of education that is deliberate, carried on "out of context" in a special setting outside of the routines of daily life, and made the responsibility of the larger social group (Strauss 1984: 195).

Debating formal education within the theories of education and international development brings to the debate the theory of modernisation when looking to what seems to be a description of clashes between tradition and modernity in post-colonial Mozambique (see chapter 5). Indeed in the narratives of the three generations there is an account of the differences between what people encounter in school (i.e. modernity) and outside school (i.e. tradition). The theory of modernisation deals with the idea that school is “an institution seen as central to the process of modernisation, or becoming modern” (Harber 2014: 69). In that sense, Harber argues that (2014: 69),

the introduction of formal schooling through European colonialism in Africa was nevertheless the introduction of an essentially Western and modern system and organisation into less modern societies. The postcolonial period has witnessed an enormous expansion of this organisational form of learning.

In this conceptualization, the Western world is defined as the paradigm of modernity. However, modernity is addressed critically in this study, using the concept of ‘multiple modernities’ developed by Eisenstadt (2003). According to Eisenstadt (2003: 519-520), “what we witness in the contemporary world is the developing – certainly not always peaceful, often indeed confrontational – of multiple modernities”. With ‘multiple modernities’, the author argues that modernity and Westernization are not the same, that Western patterns are not the only ‘modernity’ that exists. Eisenstadt (2003) refutes the classical social theories of modernisation of the 1950s, and also the theories of convergence of industrial societies, saying that the project of modernity, as it was developed in Europe, is not hegemonic or will not be dominant in the rest of the world.

In the studies of modernization and of convergence of modern societies have indeed assumed that this project of modernity with its hegemonic and homogenizing tendencies will continue in the West, and with the expansion of
modernity, prevail throughout the world … But the reality that emerged proved to be radically different (Eisenstadt 2003: 521).

In fact, after the beginning of what is called modernity in the West, especially after the end of the Second World War, the idea of homogenization and hegemony of the Western project of modernity didn’t happen (Eisenstadt 2003).

The idea of multiple modernities presumes that the best way to understand the contemporary world – indeed to explain the history of modernity – is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs … social movements pursuing different programs of modernity, holding very different views on what makes societies modern (Eisenstadt 2003: 536).

When calling for a critical perspective of the concept of modernity, the dichotomy between tradition and modernity is also addressed critically in this study. Within the theory of modernisation on education and international development, tradition is presented as opposed to modernity. According to Harber (2014: 70), following the work of Blakemore and Cooksey (1981),

a modern person is more individualistic as opposed to putting the family and group first; is rational (seeks scientific explanation) rather than believing in magical and religious explanations; has a need for personal achievement as opposed to emphasising habit or costum; is punctual and relies on the clock as opposed to not being regulated by precise units of time; favours urban living and working in large organisations as opposed to rural living and distrusting large organisations; sees occupation as the main determinant of status and life’s purpose as opposed to traditional or religious positions being more important.

In the narratives of the three generations the language used to organize the systems of beliefs and practices in contemporary Mozambique is underlined by the inherence of colonialism and the impact of school in their lives. Indeed, family and community are the central references in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans, but not opposed to an individualist project of development. There is a complementary living between was is called traditional and modern visions of the world; the participants explain the need to go and live in urban setting due to the Civil War (1976-1992) effects that affected particularly rural contexts. Also taking in account the colonial history of Mozambique, that had a strong focus on the development of urban contexts, the three generations describe the lack of school infra-structures beyond primary education and
the consequent need to move to urban settings in order to continue studies into secondary and higher education (see chapter 3 and 5).

In that sense, contemporary Mozambique is characterized by three different ideological and political periods (i.e. socialism, democracy and neo-liberalism) that brings a cultural and historical understanding to the narratives of the three generations beyond the old dichotomy between tradition and modernity, as it was addressed in the classical theory of modernisation.

Tradition is addressed in this study following the critical visions of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). Hobsbawm (1983) considers that when looking to the concept of tradition there is the need to take into account the idea of social change, present in the so-called ‘traditional societies’ or ‘ethos’, unfolding the concept within the idea of ‘custom’:

The object and characteristic of ‘traditions’, including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition. ‘Custom’ in traditional societies has the double function of motor and fly-wheel. It does not preclude innovation and change … ‘Custom’ cannot afford to be invariant, because even in ‘traditional’ societies life is not (Hobsbawm 1983: 2).

As Eisenstadt (2003) argued there are multiple modernities that are characterized by social change, opposed to the notion of social immobility. In that sense, when using in this study the notion of ‘tradition’ I am referring to the combined ideas of multiple modernity and tradition/custom (Eisenstadt 2003; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). I kept the use of the word ‘tradition’ in this research because it is used in the narratives of the three generations, as an outcome of the colonial regime and schooling patterns inherited from a Western model of school (see chapter 3 and 5). None of the three generations consider that they are out of modernity; they describe themselves as part of a globalized world characterized by the constant institutionalisation of social change and cultural transformation, as argued by Delanty and O’Mahony (2002).

According to Harber (2014: 79),
Whether all developing countries are, or should be, developing in a linear fashion towards a Western model of modernity is very debatable. It is more likely that each will develop in its own way with a mixture of Western modernity and its own cultural traits and practices.

As it is argued by Crossley and Tikly (2004), and underlined by Harber (2014), there is a need to be cautious about assuming automatic benefits from formal education in terms of development, due to the fact that several education systems are still heavily shaped by a colonial education heritage. In fact, schools are still characterized by being elitist institutions, with little relevance to local realities often far removed from local knowledge systems. Adding to this, I argue that it is not only in post-colonial settings that schools are shaped by inequality, elitism and discrepancy when facing local knowledge, such as it is argued for example by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990).

Furthermore, in the Mozambican context, the university’ certificate also means for the majority of the families that their grown up children will be able to provide for the entire family group. In addition, the symbolic meaning of an “educated being” is similar to a “modern being” (meaning: with goods). As Serpell (1993:17) wrote, entering into primary schooling is the first step to achieve later entrance “into well-paid, formal-sector employment, meaning that the more of the process known as ‘schooling’ one receives, the less likely one is to remain a member of the community” (Serpell 1993:18). It seems that in the Zambian student’s life-journeys studied by Serpell, the meaning of schooling, as apparently to the Mozambican students in this study, especially for the 3rd generation, is to be successful. “Many of the young men started out, adopting the extractive definition of success, with the opinion that schooling is primarily a way of gaining access to formal-sector employment” (Serpell 1993: 142-143).

However, I am not quite sure if this also means that they will be apart from the community – remembering the words of a male Mozambican student from the 3rd generation about tradition and modernity: “I’ve one wife because I don’t have enough money to have two or three, but when I finish my studies and won lots of money, I’ll have an entire building and I’ll put one wife in each floor! … I’m twenty… but I’m like my father”.
Nonetheless, formal education contributes to the formation of a social and national identity that can challenge existing personal and familial identities. However, personal and familial identities are always part of this process as well, leading to contradictory practices of teaching and learning that provide us with the system of beliefs that are the ‘hidden practices’ or ‘forms of resistance’ in formal education. In fact, it is argued that the implicit knowledge (informal education) inside schooling environments becomes very deep and sometimes difficult to translate/interpret into explicit knowledge, because of the methods of indirect data collection (e.g. participant observation) that are bound up and intimately related with the researcher vision of the world. The narratives have always a “hidden” level inside the discourse, which co-exist in the “silent” sides of social reality. Those “hidden practices” can be a form of “resistance” to what is being taught and learned in school (formal education) presenting another level of interpretation about the social phenomena of knowledge and identity construction in a post-colonial context, i.e. informal education.

2.3.2. Informal education

In this study, informal education is interpreted as what is learned in the family and community environments during childhood, adolescence and adult life. It has something to do with informal people interactions, how time and space are lived and the multiplicity of experiences each person has. Informal education is not explicitly organized or with specific goals, it is mingled with the socialization process itself. I argue that informal education is a social learning that happens outside formal schooling settings and can create “hidden practices” as a way of “resistance” to what is being taught and learned in school. As it is argued by Strauss (1984: 195), informal education “refers to education that takes place "in context" as children participate in everyday adult activities. It is the predominant form in many non-industrialized societies”.

To understand the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans I consider that informal education is especially related to the notion of cultural capital developed by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). Cultural capital is something that is part of the knowledge that students possess when they go to school; and which constitutes “the cultural goods transmitted by the different family” to the youngest generation (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990: 30). Indeed, personal and familial identities provide us with the
system of beliefs that constitutes this notion of “hidden practices” in formal education. Also, informal education is what allows society to maintain effective social relationships with meaning and a set of values and beliefs that integrate each individual in a certain group, being formal education the space for creating a national identity or feeling of belonging to a specific nation.

Indeed, the social practices and interactions that happens both inside and outside school environments produce what was mentioned before as the public and hidden transcripts in the everyday life (e.g. Scott 1985). In school, the public and the hidden transcripts occur in the classroom simultaneously and contribute for the construction of social and personal identities over the three generations of Mozambican students. In fact, the hidden transcript about school that is being transmitted inside the family and community in the three generations of Mozambicans is linked to the social recognition and reproduction of the social status of the family in society.

My mother studied … She made a nursing course … She is always present because in the community, in the neighbourhood in which we live … my mother was known … She is intelligent … She was a reference figure where we lived… Being a reference figure she could not have dumb children, they had to study… We were able to do that, her 3 children went to the university … We did not lose respect towards people who knew her … “He is the son of that lady” … When they look at us they always link to the figure of my mother (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 3rd generation).

Along with the informal system of practices and beliefs in post-colonial Mozambique, I argue that the African traditional education and informal education share many of the same social meaning among the social actors. According to Fafunwa (1974) to undertake a study of education in African countries the knowledge of traditional or indigenous educational systems before Islam and Christianity is essential to understand the history and development of education itself.

Children learnt by doing, that is to say, children and adolescents were engaged in participatory education through ceremonies, rituals, imitation, recitation and demonstration. They were involved in practical farming, fishing, weaving, cooking, carving, knitting, and so on. Recreational subjects included wrestling, dancing, drumming, acrobatic display, racing, etc. , while intellectual training included the study of local history, legends, the environment (local geography, plants and
animals), poetry, reasoning, riddles, proverbs, story-telling, story-relays, etc. Education in Old Africa was an integrated experience. (Fafunwa 1974: 15-16)

Traditional education can be defined as a pre-colonial educational knowledge (Gasperini 1989) that is still part of each generation of Mozambicans lives. As Gasperini argues (1989), traditional education in Mozambique has not been the target of any systematic study. The pre-colonial knowledge that was transmitted through the traditional education had, besides the initiation rites, links with the family and community life.

There wasn’t a space and time exclusively dedicated to the cultural transmission or production, neither there were qualified adults for each area in particular ... This “no-school” was characterized by the union between education and work, youngest population and adults, society and formation, opposite to the colonial school, characterized by the separation of those spheres (Gasperini 1989: 12).

Informal education is complemented by formal education (i.e. schools) that mediate the link between different cultures and the nation as whole (Woolman 2001) unifying different traditions creating a national identity. African traditional education or informal education in Mozambique still provides socialization for many boys and girls who never went to school. However, as it is argued by Olivier de Sardan (2005), and contesting partially the conception of African traditional education such as Fafunwa (1974) defines it, the notion of Africa as “the continent where community is the order of the day, and consensus a general rule” (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 73) is to be addressed critically in this study. To understand the informal education sphere it is important to deconstruct the myth of a “traditional community spirit”, since in the pre-colonial Africa there were also war, slavery and social banishment contrary to the idyllic notion of “community solidarity” where everybody was equal and had equal opportunities (Olivier de Sardan 2005).

Going further in the conceptual framework developed in this study, I look now to the life-journeys of each generation in post-colonial Mozambique organized in a narrative space and time. For that I will focus on concepts such as life-journey and narrative.
2.3.3. Life-journey and narrative

Narrative organizes the life-journeys of the three generations of Mozambicans in this study, knowing that “experience is now-to-now, and narrative is a now-to-then process that domesticates experience” (Nordstrom 1997: 22). It is in the act of listening that we find the ‘other’:

Listening to the voice inaugurates the relation to the Other: the voice by which we recognize others (like writing on an envelope) indicates to us their way of being, their joy or their pain, their condition; it bears an image of their body and, beyond, a whole psychology (Barthes apud Nordstrom 1997: 80).

The act of listening is linked to the notion of language itself: it is through language that we create an identification process with our group and also create representations of the ‘other’ (i.e. dynamic identity). In this dynamic process, within globalization, language “whilst it can be a unifying factor, it can also serve as the medium through which people engage in conflict. These struggles take place both ‘in language’ and ‘over language’” (Grimshaw 2007).

Narrative brings the possibility of describing reality (external meaning) and at the same time understands how it is constructed and why (internal meaning). Narrative as a ‘mode of thought’ and as a ‘discourse’ are inseparable, as it is argued by Bruner (1996): “thought becomes inextricable from the language that expresses it and eventually shapes it – Yeats’ old dilemma of how to tell the dancer from the dance” (Bruner, 1996: 132-133). Thought and discourse are both constituent parts of knowledge. The narrative through ‘telling the story’ process allows human beings to construct identity and agency (Bruner 1990, 1996). Also, to construct identity and agency the storyteller needs to reconstruct him/her through memory evocations. As it is argued by Bruner (2003 quoted by Bamberg 2006: 4), “we constantly construct and reconstruct a self to meet the needs of the situations we encounter, and we do so with the guidance of our memories of the past and our hopes and fears of the future”.

The narrative constructed after the encounter between the self and its memories result in the life histories and stories of each generation in this study. Those narratives are an autobiographical discourse regarding each generation, as well as a social biography.
shared by everyone. In Bruner’ words, “our very memories become victims of our self-making stories” (Bruner 2003 apud Bamberg 2006: 4). And in this process education is a meta-narrative that each individual incorporate differently in their identity and memory constructions as active agents.

Furthermore, as argued by Bruner (1996: 130): “What, in fact, is gained and what is lost when human beings make sense of the world by telling stories about it – by using the narrative mode for construing reality?” To answer the question, Bruner (1996) explores the nine universals of narratives realities’, knowing that identity is always situated as well as the knowledge construction process:

1. ‘A structured of committed time’: Narratives have coherence in relation to a specific action in a specific space and time; each story teller, protagonist or narrator, organizes the sequence of his/her own narrative. “What underlies our grasp of narrative is a ‘mental model’ of its aspevtal durativity – time that is bounded not simply by clocks but by the humanly relevant actions that occurs within its limits” (Bruner 1996: 133);

2. ‘Generic particularity’: Narratives are organized in particular genres, but narrative cannot be understood only through the genre used. “… the existence of genres is universal … We would not know to begin constructing a narrative were we not able to make an informed guess about the genre to which it belonged” (Bruner 1996: 135-136). Narratives can be comic, tragic, ironic or romantic. When people tell a story about themselves, they reveal the genre behind it. For example, if a person has a tragic vision about the human condition, this vision will probably be present in the way that person tells his/her story;

3. ‘Action have reasons’: Narratives are constructed within beliefs, desires, theories, values, i.e. “intentional states”. But “Intentional stages do not ‘cause’ things. For what causes something cannot be morally responsible for it: responsibility implies choice. The search in narrative is for the intentional stages ‘behind’ actions: narrative seeks reasons, not causes. Reasons can be judged, can be evaluated in the normative scheme of things” (Bruner 1996: 137). I argue that this implies that the normative scheme of things is related to each culture, meaning that the researcher could have a normative scheme of things different from the “subjects”;
4. ‘Hermeneutic composition’: Narrative has multiple possibilities of interpretation. “The object of hermeneutic analysis is to provide a convincing and non-contradictory account of what a story means, a reading in keeping with the particulars that constitute it” (Bruner 1996: 137). Why, when, where, how, by who, to whom is the story being told?

5. ‘Implied canonicity’: To tell a story is to go against expectations, “… must breach a canonical script or deviate from what Hayden White calls ‘legitimacy’” (Bruner 1996: 139). The narrative re-invents/re-constructs reality;

6. ‘Ambiguity of reference’: Narrative has a multiplicity of meanings depending on the context. “What a narrative is ‘about’ is always open to some question, however much we may ‘check’ its facts” (Bruner 1996: 140);

7. ‘The centrality of trouble’: “Stories pivot on breached norms … Stories worth telling and worth constructing are typically born in trouble” (Bruner 1996: 142). But there is always something that remains in the re-telling process of the story;

8. ‘Inherent negotiability’: Narratives can co-exist with other versions of the same story;

9. ‘The historical extensibility of narrative’: “We construct a ‘life’ by creating an identity-conserving Self who wakes up the next day still mostly the same … We impose coherence on the past, turn it into history” (Bruner 1996: 144-145).

With Bruner’s (1996) framework in mind, I look at the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students as unique, multiple and simultaneously re-constructed in each moment of telling the story, both at a personal and a social level. Bearing that in mind, education and culture are understood through narrative.

2.4. General overview of the theoretical and conceptual framework

In conclusion, education and identity in a post-colonial context are to be addressed through the history/story of identity and knowledge construction processes of each generation in post-colonial Mozambique. In order to understand the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students about the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique I presented knowledge as a social construction phenomenon. In that sense, knowledge is understood within the theories of inequality in school, knowing that the construction of knowledge occurs both in formal (school) and informal (culture)
settings of education. The formal and informal contexts of education brought into account the notions of public and hidden transcripts/discourses. School and culture through narrative allow an understanding of the everyday life practices and forms of resistance in every generation of Mozambicans. The narratives are characterized by being constructed through the public and the hidden transcripts in every generation in this study. Because the narratives are the outcome of the life story (life-journey) and life history (social, economic and political events) in each generation timeline, the concept of generation in post-colonial Mozambique was addressed critically. Indeed, the concept of generation is what allows the unification of the public and hidden transcripts/discourses of the three generations, knowing that each generation in post-colonial Mozambique is understood by the time in which it builds itself within a certain social, political and historical context (i.e. Marxism-Leninism or Socialism linked with the 1st generation; Democracy linked with the 2nd generation; and Global Capitalism or Neo-Liberalism linked with the 3rd generation). It is within the concept of generation that biography and history meets.

Finally, in order to have an understanding of biography and history over the three generations, I organized the narratives through concepts that are transversal to all generations: identity, memory, context (i.e. identity cluster); and, education, life-journey and narrative (i.e. education cluster). Those clusters allow the organization, analysis and presentation of the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans about the knowledge construction process and how this impacts upon their identities.

In sum, to understand the construction of knowledge over the three generations in post-colonial Mozambique, the theoretical and conceptual framework used can be summarized as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The construction of knowledge in post-colonial societies (e.g. Wilcox 1982; Scott 1985, 1990, 201; Hacking 1999)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity and education over three generations of Mozambicans (e.g. Honwana 2013, 2014; Abrams 1982)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58
Narratives
(e.g. Bruner 1996)

Knowledge construction as a social construction phenomenon

⇒ theories of inequality in school (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron 1990)
⇒ formal (school) and informal (culture) settings (e.g. Bruner 2004)
⇒ everyday life practices and forms of resistance
  (public and hidden transcripts; Scott 1985)
⇒ concept of generation ⇒ biography and history
  (e.g. Feixa and Lecardi 2012)
⇒ identity, memory, context (identity cluster)
  (e.g. Barth 1969; Bloom 1990; Goffman 1959)
⇒ education, life-journey and narrative (education cluster)
  (e.g. Harber 2014; Strauss 1984; Bruner 1996)

Table 5: Summary of the theoretical and conceptual framework

Furthermore, the narratives always have a specific context informed by the cultural and historical background of Mozambique as a colonial and post-colonial country. In order to understand the narratives of the three generations in post-colonial Mozambique, I present in the following chapter the cultural and historical background of this study.
Chapter 3: Cultural and historical background

Sometimes I don’t know how to define myself… My parents are from the South, but the story tells me, when my father’s grandmother – she is still alive – when we are talking about it… she tells me that “ah, your grandfather is from the North region”… because of the war and the migration he came to the South… And we came to the indigenous neighbourhood… because of labour… Then I ask: from where am I anyway? … Am I from the North or from the South? (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 3rd generation).

In this chapter I address the cultural and historical background of my research, paying particular attention to four main areas that informs the three generations of Mozambicans: (i) colonial period in Mozambique; (ii) post-colonial period and modernity in Mozambique; (iii) globalizations trends in post-colonial Mozambique; and finally, bringing together the previous three areas, (iv) the education system in Mozambique over the three generations of students. To speak about post-colonial Mozambique, the education system and the three generations is also to speak about the war, namely the Civil War (1976-1992). Besides that, and crossing all three generations, to speak about post-colonial Mozambique is also to speak about a country highly underlined by poverty, gender inequalities, internal and external migration patterns since the colonial period until the present day (e.g. Henriksen 1978; Hedges et al., 1993; Nordstrom 1997; Geffray 1990; Bussotti and Ngoenha 2006; Cruz e Silva 1998).

3.1. Colonial period in Mozambique
To understand the construction of knowledge in the education system over three generations in post-colonial Mozambique I firstly address the cultural and historical period of colonialism in Mozambique, taking in account the following: (i) colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon; (ii) the history of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique; (iii) the role of the mission schools during colonial times; and finally (iv) an overview of education during colonial times.

3.1.1. Colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon
Colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon characterizes Mozambique until 1975, the year of independence. According to Loomba (1998: 3),
Modern European colonialism was by far the most extensive of the different kinds of colonial contact that have been a recurrent feature of human history. By the 1930s, colonies and ex-colonies covered 84.6 per cent of the land surface of the globe.

In this perspective, colonialism is understood as the implementation of strategies to conquer and control other people’s lands and goods outside the European continent. The Western European colonialism is linked also to the notion of capitalism itself. As Loomba (1998: 10) writes, “we could say that colonialism was the midwife that assisted at the birth of European capitalism, or that without colonial expansion the transition to capitalism could not have taken place in Europe”. Additionally, as argued by Pieterse (1992: 98), the access to education during colonial times is also a social and political phenomenon that impacts upon the modern reality in African countries:

Until after World War II no more than a tiny percentage of the colonial population had received any western education and then chiefly through mission schools. Colonialism was referred to as a ‘school for democracy’, but the colonial system was essentially autocratic. Before 1945 less than 1 per cent of the African population had any political and civil rights or access to democratic institutions.

Indeed, the links between colonization and the process of constructing knowledge in school is very clear in the colonial educational programmes for African populations. The relationship between education and educating the local population is linked with the idea that knowledge is related to economic development, particularly capitalism. As argued by Loomba (1998: 24),

Many nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers equated the advance of European colonization with the triumph of science and reason over the forces of superstition, and indeed many colonized peoples took the same view. A British Education Despatch of 1854 explicitly connected ‘the advance of European knowledge’ in India to the economic development of the subcontinent. English education would ‘teach the natives of India the marvelous results of the employment of labour and capital’, and ‘rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of the country’.

In a general overview, the two main colonial powers in Africa were the French and the British, controlling more than 70% of the land after the World War I (Khapoya 2012).
This was the outcome of the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), when Africa was divided among the colonial powers, establishing the “imperial boundaries … to avoid any future conflict among European powers” (Khapoya 2012: 99-100). However, the European colonial powers did not “articulated their role in Africa in the same terms” (Khapoya 2012:106). Indeed, Kaphoya (2012: 117) identifies four administrative styles used by the colonial powers in the African continent: (i) indirect rule associated with the British power; (ii) direct rule associated with the French, German and Portuguese powers; (iii) company rule linked with the Belgian power; and finally (iv) indirect company rule “linked to Cecil John Rhodes’ imperial efforts in southern Africa”. For the purposes of this study I will elaborate on the differences between the indirect and direct rule, since the Portuguese and the British colonialism are linked in the history of Mozambique.

According to Kaphoya (2012), the Portuguese colonial power developed a highly centralized type of administration, namely the direct rule. “This meant that European rule was imposed on the Africans regardless of the existing political relationships among the African people” (Kaphoya 2012: 119). On the other hand, the British colonial power developed the indirect rule, with different impact on the local populations. The indirect rule,

Succinctly put, the approach involved identifying the local power structure: the kings, chiefs, or headmen so identified would then be invited, coerced, or bribed to become part of the colonial administrative structure while retaining considerable political power over the people in their own areas. In areas where
“tribes” and “tribal” chiefs did not exist, the British created them (Kaphoya 2012: 117)

However, both Portuguese and British colonial powers, as other European powers involved in the colonization process of Africa, shared a similar pattern towards schooling.

After colonial rule was established [Berlin Conference], the missionaries and the colonial authorities forged a very close working relationship. In most of colonial Africa, schools were staffed and run by missionaries but subsidized in varying degrees by colonial governments, whose interest in missionary education was simply to ensure that enough Africans were educated to meet the limited need for semiskilled workers in colonial bureaucracies (Kaphoya 2012: 102)

Indeed, education during European colonialism in Africa was shaped by the idea that there was a need for the restructuring of non-capitalist economies in order to stimulate the European capitalism itself (Loomba 1998). Adding to this notion, in the case of Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony in Southern Africa, school was also the reflex of a long history between Portugal and Mozambique.

### 3.1.2. Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique

Portuguese colonialism has a long history regarding Mozambique. Since the end of the Fifteenth century until 1975 Mozambique was “part” of Portugal. This Sub-Saharan African country was incorporated into the colonial vision of the world and obliged to follow the Portuguese logic and rules. However, the Portuguese colonialism was affected by other colonial actors in the region, such as the British. As it is argued by Sheldon (1998: 598),

Portugal was not a strong colonial power. During the 1890s and into the early part of the twentieth century it relied on outside capital, primarily British, to finance the development of Mozambique's infrastructure through large, ostensibly Portuguese, companies which were granted charters to govern extensive areas of Mozambique. These companies were supposed to establish schools, though the actual availability of schools is difficult to ascertain and early reports indicated that the few schools in their territories were run by missions.
In terms of education, the Portuguese colonial period had a strong impact upon African lives in Mozambique. According to Lisboa (1970: 264), the policy of education during colonial times was characterized by three periods, as stated below:

Is has been customary to divide the policy of education in the Portuguese Overseas Territories into three main periods: the first being from the era of the Discoveries until 1834 (when education overseas, almost exclusively under the care of the religious orders, became extinct); the second covering the period 1834 to 1926 when (on October 13) the João Belo Decree (Fundamental Regulations of the Portuguese Catholic Missions in Africa and Timor) was published; the third being from 1926 to the present.

During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries the Jesuit Missions were the key actors responsible for the education in Mozambique and Angola. However, in the end of the Eighteenth century, with the expulsion of the Jesuits by the political regime of Marquês de Pombal, they lost their influence, and “education declined considerably” (Lisboa 1970: 266). In 1845 the Portuguese regime “issued a decree which determined the establishment of the public school in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces” (Lisboa 1970: 267), such as Mozambique. Education was divided into elementary schools and main schools. The main schools only existed in the city capitals of the several African Portuguese colonies (e.g. Mozambique, Angola, San Tome, Cape Verde). However, the 1845 decree did not exclude the support to missionary or religious activity in the former colonies. To prevent the influence of the Protestant missions in the Portuguese former colonies, the Portuguese government was “led to give Catholic missionaries stronger measures of protection” (Lisboa 1970: 268). In 1926 with the João Belo Decree, the catholic missions were granted a central role in education in the colonies. In 1941, “the education of natives [was] placed completely in the hands of the missionaries” (Lisboa 1970: 268). The links between the Portuguese state and the Catholic Church were reinforced during the authoritarian political period of Estado Novo from 1933 to 1974 (e.g. Mazula 1995; Lisboa 1970).

According to Lisboa (1970: 276), the “two main principles of the policy of [Portuguese colonial] education – not only primary but also secondary – are: the separation of sexes in school and the uniformity of education”. The Portuguese state had the control of what was considered to be legitimate knowledge in school in African former colonies,
including controlling the teachers’ career. As it is stated by Lisboa (1970: 297), teachers “services may easily be dispensed with should they, at any time, deviate from the official programme or from officially approved policy”. Even the extra-curricular activities were controlled as well by the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth Movement), which help to ‘educated’ people to be loyal to the political regime of the time. What is clearly present in the narratives of the 1st generation of Mozambicans about school during colonial times is organized into two big themes: separation of boys and girls, following a gender policy of education (to be developed later on) and the inaccessibility of education to all African population.

I have done the 4th grade of Primary Education in 1973… Then it happens the Independence… the big changes that I noted at the time were that in classroom we had boys and girls studying together… and that was very curious for us [laughs] and the biggest curiosity we had was how it would be in the locker rooms of physical education [laughs]… And then to be able to seat down near a girl in the classroom, with skirt ... we had all those taboos! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

The education in Mozambique was organized into three types of schools: (1) official or state schools, (2) semi-official or missions schools and (3) private schools. According to Lisboa (1970: 285), the education scenario in the 60s was the following:

A analysis of the 1966 issues of Education Statistics covering the period 1964-5 leads to the following conclusions:
(i) Mozambique: the total number of pupils enrolled in primary schools (of all kinds) is 348,378 (35,001 in official schools, 32,379 in semi-official schools – missions – and 3,098 in private schools), of which 237,277 are male and 121,101 female, i.e. in a proportion slightly lower than 2 boys to 1 girl.

When looking to the three types of schools during the colonial period, the mission schools are clearly linked to the historical and cultural background that impacted upon the 1st generation of Mozambicans in this study. The role of the Protestant Swiss Mission is particularly underlined in the narratives of the 1st generation in opposition to the Catholic Church missions; and also in contemporary historical sources. It is argued by several authors (e.g. Cruz e Silva 1998) that the Swiss Mission gave the possibility of education in local languages and the development of strategies against the colonial power in Mozambique.
3.1.2.1. The role of the mission schools during colonial times

The semi-official schools or missions, particularly through the Protestant Swiss Mission, had an important role that impacted particularly on the 1st generation of Mozambicans in this study. Indeed, when looking to the education policies in colonial Mozambique, particularly in relation to the Protestant and the Catholic missions’ projects, there are differences in relation to: (i) the use of national or local African language; and (ii) the politics of assimilation versus contestation of the Portuguese colonial project. In that sense, the Portuguese government created a differentiated education system for African people with a strong Catholic principle. Accordingly to Sheldon (1998: 605),

Although a government department for education was not created until 1932, the basic organization of colonial education was set by decree in 1929, which established racially identified schools. The Catholic church became an integral part of the Portuguese colonial project. The government passed laws that were implemented by the Catholic mission programs, purposely keeping the level of African education low and combining the processes of "Christianization" and "Portugalization." There were "rudimentary" schools for Africans and separate elementary schools for children of European descent and for a small number of Africans who met the legal standards of "civilized status."

Education was ideologically shaped by the idea that African population should accept the Portuguese labour scheme that aimed to develop a working class, especially manual labourers among Africans (Sheldon 1998; Cruz e Silva 1998). In order to do that “Africans were required to successfully complete the three-year rudimentary course before they could move on to the elementary and secondary schools” (Sheldon 1998: 605). Regarding the Protestant missions, as Sheldon (1998: 602) writes, they

…found new opportunities for religious expansionism from the latter part of the nineteenth century until the 1920s. Protestant missions active in southern Mozambique included the United Methodist Church, based in Inhambane and staffed mainly by American missionaries, and the Presbyterian Swiss Mission.

The Swiss Mission had a particular role in the development of a national identity in the South of Mozambique, linked with the Tsonga ethnicity, and the political elites of the Mozambican liberation movement (i.e. Frelimo). As it is argued by Cruz e Silva (1998:
398-399), the “Swiss Mission is associated with the creation and development of an ethnic culture, because the missionaries used the Tsonga’ language as a way to communicate” and as well as way to alphabetize the African population. Harries (1988, 1989, 2007) point out that the education transmitted in primary schools through the Swiss missions, using the local African languages, contributed for the creation of an ethnic identity and culture. Also, Eduardo Mondlane, one of the founders and the first president of Frelimo (the Liberation Front of Mozambique) that fought for the independence of Mozambique, studied within the Swiss mission. The links between the Mozambican liberation movement, Frelimo, and the Swiss mission are clearly underlined by Cruz e Silva (1998: 405):

The election of Eduardo Mondlane (who studied in the Swiss mission) for president of Frelimo – the Liberation Front of Mozambique, and the adhesion to the nationalist movement by several young people that studied as well in the Protestant missions, many of whom joined Frelimo abroad, increased the suspicions of the [Portuguese colonial] regime. In 1972, the political police [of the Colonial Portuguese regime] arrested many believers and Protestant leaders, most of whom were Presbyterians, exacerbating the ongoing tension that was already present at the time.

Indeed, the Protestant missions had a ‘heavy opposition’ from the colonial Portuguese government (Sheldon 1998; Cruz e Silva 1998), having a relevant role in the formation of the leaders of the movement that fought against Portuguese colonialism, such as the case of Eduardo Mondlane mentioned above. On the contrary, the Catholic missions were a reflex of the official education policy of the Portuguese regime, wanting to have manual labourers among the local population and cutting off access beyond primary school.

3.1.3. An overview of education during colonial times

Bearing that in mind, in terms of literacy rates, and taking in account that Portuguese was the official language, Mozambique was characterized by very low rates during colonial times: in 1955, it was between 1% and 2% among general population. “In 1963, at the only institution for higher education in Mozambique, the University of Lourenço Marques [currently University Eduardo Mondlane], only five of the nearly three hundred students enrolled were African” (Nordstrom 1997: 65). Furthermore, as it is argued by Sumich (2008: 334), during “the colonial period, the best education that the
majority of the population had was a couple of years of catechism in the local Catholic mission in exchange for fees and manual work."\(^3\)

Indeed, only a minority of Africans could go to school and studied beyond primary education, as mentioned before. According to Sheldon (1998: 625),

> In the 1970 census, the last one before independence in 1975, 93 percent of Mozambican women and 86 percent of men were considered illiterate in Portuguese. Only 6 percent of women and 12 percent of men had completed a primary education.

In fact, to have a formal education was considered to be the privilege or a ‘sign of distinction’ that represented a symbolic entrance into modernity. Also represented a high social status of the family of the student in the colonial society. As Sumich (2008: 334) argues,

> It was through education that a person could achieve a job in the state machine, in the railways, or embrace a career as a nurse, teacher or translator. These jobs, because they were relatively important, due to its symbolic props – a suit and a tie, a house in a neighbourhood of assimilados and above all, having a car – reflected the privileged status that those persons had in the social hierarchy. Education allowed a few lucky ones to progress (as much as possible) in the ‘modern’ sector and particularly urban of the colonial economy; and it is here that we can find the roots of the ideology of modernity.

During colonialism, Mozambique was characterized by a “discriminatory social structure and an indigenous policy that aimed to reinforce… the reproduction of colonial authority” (Cruz e Silva 1998: 398). However, the influence of colonialism is not equal in terms of the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students that constitute this study. As it is argued by Dirlik (1994: 339) and echoes in this research about the impact of colonialism on the lives of the three generations of Mozambicans, the youngest generation is clearly far away from the colonial reality, completely tuned with modern times and globalization. Nevertheless the youngest generation still reflects the social construction of modernity that is described by Dirlik (1994: 339):

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\(^3\) The original article is in Portuguese, but I took the option of translating everything into English in order to provide a coherent reading system.
In a recent discussion (a response to the controversy provoked by his criticism of postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa), Achille Mbembe suggests why this should be the case when he states that “the younger generation of Africans have no direct or immediate experience” of colonization, whatever role it may have played as a foundational event in Africa history. Postcolonial, in other words, is applicable not to all of the postcolonial period but only to that period after colonialism when, among other things, a forgetting of its effects has begun to set in.

Furthermore, to understand the links between colonialism, capitalism and the construction of knowledge in school is to understand how that process affects particularly the youngest generation of Mozambicans (i.e. the 3rd generation). In conclusion, the influence of colonialism is not equal in terms of the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students that constitutes this study. For example, in the narratives of the youngest generation, the 3rd generation, colonialism is absent, is something that is part of ‘history’, i.e. something they need to learn in order to answer assessments in school. However, at the same time, the categories used by the 3rd generation to describe themselves are a heritage of the colonial categories of society and historical relationships between colonizer and colonized. In the end, the social construction of post-colonial Mozambique is done differently regarding each generation. In order to have an understanding of this phenomenon, I bring forward the historical and cultural background of post-colonialism in modern Mozambique.

3.2. Post-colonial period and modernity in Mozambique
To understand the construction of knowledge in the education system over three generations in post-colonial Mozambique I address now the cultural and historical period of post-colonialism and modernity in Mozambique, taking in account the following: (i) post-colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon; (ii) post-colonialism in Mozambique; (iii) an overview of education during post-colonial times looking at the three political and ideological periods linked with the three generations (i.e. socialist period and the 1st generation; the Civil War, the international community and democracy linked with the 2nd generation; and finally from democracy to neo-liberalism linked with the 3rd generation). In the end, I present a brief summary of post-colonialism and modernity in Mozambique.
3.2.1. Post-colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon

Post-colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon characterizes Mozambique until the present day, having different impacts upon each generation in this study. Regarding post-colonialism as a social, political and historical phenomenon, I use the notions of Said (1978, 1993) and Bhabha (1983, 1994) to understand this phenomenon. As it is argued by Said (1993: 17), the current division North/South used is the reflex of the old relationships between colonizer and colonized:

More important than the past itself, therefore, is its bearing upon cultural attitudes in the present. For reasons that are partly embedded in the imperial experience, the old division between colonizer and colonized have reemerged in what is often referred to as the North-South relationship …

In Said’s argument African nations are politically independent but at the same time dominated and dependent as during colonial times. The South only has meaning because of its context, implying that the South is the opposition or the ‘antinomy’ of the Global North. In such a case, it is not a question of geography but of context (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012a,b). In such bipolarization of the world, Cazzato (2014: 44) leaves an interesting question for the near future: “What will happen now that Brazil, India and China are, according to the historicist paradigm, ‘developing’? And now that America is supposedly becoming, as Arianna Huffington would put it, Third World … ?”.

Dirlik (1994: 351) reinforces this idea arguing that,

It may not be fortuitous that the North-South distinction has gradually taken over from the earlier division of the globe into three worlds, unless we remember that the references of North and South are not merely to concrete geographic locations but are also metaphorical. North connotes the pathways of transnational capital, and South, the marginalized populations of the world, regardless of their location – which is where postcoloniality comes in.

However, it is necessary to call for a critique upon Said’s notion of post-colonialism, adding a new epistemological dimension when studying post-colonial Mozambique. As Loomba (1998: 46) wrote, using Bhabha (1983) approach,
Critics have pointed out too that Said’s analysis concentrates, almost exclusively, on canonical Western literary texts. A third, most frequent charge is that Said ignores the self-representations of the colonized and focuses on the imposition of colonial power rather than on the resistances to it. By doing so, he promotes a static model of colonial relations in which ‘colonial power and discourse is possessed entirely by the coloniser’ and therefore there is no room for negotiation or change (Bhabha 1983: 200).

I argue that it is necessary to use Said’s categories to understand how the discourse is constructed and put into action and, simultaneously, look for the ‘third space’ where modernity is reflected in, for example, school. The third space, called the space of hybridity (Bhabha 1994), is found in the combination of formal and informal settings of education through the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans. The binary space in post-colonial Mozambique is simultaneously what originated a hybrid space of new processes in the construction of knowledge (e.g. the use of the official language in Mozambique, as the former colonial language transformed into a modern Mozambican language). In this sense I am aligned with the notion defended by Giroux (2004), in the path of Adorno’s (1998) *Education after Auschwitz*, arguing that education as an institution is more than a simple tool for social reproduction, because if it was like that nothing will change. When analyzing the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans it is possible to see the ‘hybridity’ created when contesting the dominant discourse in education. This ‘hybridity’ is also reflected in the processes of social reproduction in school within the theories of inequality in education (see chapter 2).

In conclusion, when looking at post-colonialism in Mozambique I argue that there is a multiplicity of post-colonialisms and it is not necessarily the only factor to take in account to understand the processes of knowledge construction and identity in contemporary Mozambique. As it is argued by McClintock (1992: 87),

Can most of the world’s countries be said, in any meaningful or theoretical rigorous sense, to share a single “common past”, or a single common “condition”, called “the post-colonial condition”, or “post-coloniality”? The histories of African colonization are certainly, in part, the histories of the collisions between European and Arab empires, and the myriad African lineage states and cultures. Can these countries now best be understood as shaped exclusively around the “common” experience of European colonization?
Indeed, to have an understanding of contemporary Mozambique and the knowledge construction process over the three generations, a cultural and historical background of the country should be taken forward.

**3.2.2. Post-colonialism in Mozambique**

Post-colonial societies have emerged after the process of decolonization with the end of the Second World War, and the independence processes in the former European colonies. In that sense, to understand post-colonial history in Mozambique is to go back to the times of the Second World War. With the end of the Second World War and the creation of the UN (United Nations), it was established that the European African colonies should be independent. However, Portugal didn’t accept this and Frelimo (the Liberation Front of Mozambique) as a liberation movement in Mozambique was founded in 1962 to struggle against the Portuguese colonial government. The Portuguese Colonial War or the War of Liberation was fought between Portuguese troops and African nationalist movements in all Portuguese colonies, between 1961 and 1975. The Independence of Mozambique is linked to the coup d’état that occurred in Portugal in 1974 against the totalitarian regime that lasted in Portugal between 1933 and 1974 (i.e. the period of Estado Novo). The Estado Novo’ regime was characterized as authoritarian, with a right-wing government, with an ideological apparatus that repressed civil and freedom rights and movements through the authority of a political police (e.g. Hedges et al. 1993; Costa Pinto 1992; Rosas 2001; Rosas and Brandão de Brito 1989).

The Carnation Revolution occurred on the 25th of April 1974, through a military coup d’état aimed to end the political regime of Estado Novo and the Portuguese Colonial War (as it is called in Portugal) or the War of Liberation (as it is called in Mozambique). With the overthrow of the old regime in Portugal, the conflict in Portuguese African colonies came to an end. In 1975 Mozambique became independent and started to develop new education policies based on Marxist-Leninist or Socialist ideology within the first President of Mozambique, Samora Machel.
3.2.3. An overview of education during post-colonial times
To understand education during post-colonial times I address each period linked with each generation of Mozambicans in this study, namely: the socialist period (i.e. 1st generation); the Civil War, the international community and democracy (i.e. 2nd generation); and finally from democracy to neo-liberalism (i.e. 3rd generation).

3.2.3.1. The socialist period
In terms of the education landscape in post-colonial Mozambique, when the country achieved independence, in 1975, 93% of the population was illiterate (Mazula 1995; Nordstrom 1997). The Mozambican liberation movement led the independent country to the construction of a new nation based upon Marxist-Leninist principles of creating a ‘new man’ – with no religion, no ethnic divisions, away from colonial mentality and traditional beliefs (Henriksen 1978; Cabaço 2010). Furthermore, as it is argued by Muller (2012: 57),

Before the end of the Cold War state-led education policies in many socialist-oriented newly independent states of the South centred on citizenship formation based on socialist values of solidarity. This process has been called the creation of ‘personal nationalism’, an active affirmation of one’s personal and national identity combined (McCrone1998). In order to nurture a lasting commitment towards socialism and, at the same time, provide often war-ravaged post-colonial states with a human resource base, various international educational exchange programmes between socialist-oriented developing countries and the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe and Cuba were established.

The aim of these international educational exchanges programmes was to build a new education system. The education should be supported by socialist values, “emphasizing a symbiotic relationship between academic study and its productive application” (Muller 2012: 57). However, the construction of the new nation was also characterized by the patterns of inequality such as during colonial times. As it is argued by Sumich (2007: 2),

Immediately after independence the then socialist Frelimo government viewed many established urbanites with suspicion; they were considered to be those most likely to have been ‘contaminated’ by colonial bourgeois culture because they had not been ‘cleansed’ by participation in the liberation struggle.
But at the same time,

In addition to experience with the ‘modern’ way of life held dear by Frelimo, many established urbanites also had very similar social backgrounds to much of the party leadership. Members of both these groups often came from the colonial petty bourgeois, primarily from families who worked in the lower levels of the state bureaucracy and the professions or the urban working class, and both had benefited from at least some access to education (Sumich 2007: 2)

The first President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, represents the symbolic and powerful Hero of the Liberation from Portuguese colonialism, the creation of an independent Mozambique, the idea of National Unity (beyond all ethnic differences) and a new concept of education in post-colonial Mozambique. Samora is always present in the narratives of the 1st generation of Mozambicans as a charismatic leader and someone who contributed highly for the development of the country.

The new education policies in post-colonial Mozambique are reflected in one of the most emblematic discourses of Samora Machel, which is still a central reference in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans in this study. Samora’s speech below was made at the Investiture of the Transitional Government in 20 September 1974. Here he is speaking about the struggle against colonialism, freedom, national unity, and the role of education in the new society:

We must affirm and develop our Mozambican personality by strengthening our unity, constantly exchanging experiences and merging the contributions made by all of us. In this respect we must bear in mind that the city is one of the centers of vice and corruption and of alienating foreign influences… The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centers for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition, individualism, selfishness, elitism and ambition must be fought in them⁴.

Especially for the 1st generation of Mozambicans, these times are represented in their narratives by a paradoxical reality: firstly, a huge development in education after underdevelopment education policies during Portuguese colonial period; and secondly, the reality of Samora’s time not being as liberated as it is described in official sources of

the regime. The narratives of the 1st generation start with the debate around the notion of the ‘new man’ proposed by Samora at the time and the implication of this policy. This was one of the key ideas, very strong in all of Samora’s speeches, and very much alive in social memory nowadays: “We are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality”, Samora said in 1974. In order to create this ‘new man’, schools and education were central. The role of schools was established, by Samora, in the same speech saying that:

We are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of People’s Democratic Power. Therefore at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradely relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction. Our schools must truly be centers for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge.

Later on Samora’s concept about education in post-colonial Mozambique gave birth to the 8th March Generation, considered to be a key generation in the education field and in other areas (i.e. defence). This generation is part of the 1st generation in this study, along with the students that were sent to study abroad namely in socialist countries. In 1977, at the Maxaquene Stadium, in Maputo, Samora called all students from the secondary level schools to stop studying and help to construct the nation. As he said in that day: “Young people, the Motherland calls for you!” In that year many students were also sent to Cuba, and many were sent to teach in schools all around the country because there weren’t enough teachers with proper education.

Frelimo thus found itself suddenly in control of an essentially bankrupt colonial economy that had suddenly lost the vast majority of its skilled, managerial, and professional workforce with the fleeing of the Portuguese. At the time of independence, 93 percent of the population was illiterate, and less than a score of doctors, engineers, lawyers, and similar professionals remained in the country (Nordstrom 1997: 66).

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5 Ibid.
Young students with 16 to 19 years old started to teach in primary and secondary schools. These memories are particularly present in the narratives of the 1st generation of Mozambicans, especially if they were part of the so-called 8th March Generation.

I was there, I was at the rally, because we all were at X [a secondary high school in Maputo] and so we left together… we all went to the Maxaquene. I remember perfectly, I was there… there were a lot of things that I didn’t understand… because of the age… I was very young; I had 15 years old at the time… But basically the message that was transmitted to us was that the 5th, 6th and 7th grades were abolished… and that all people that had the 5th grade, that was the 9th grade at the time [secondary education], were to be integrated in several areas: Air Force, agriculture courses … medicine, teaching (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

Social history of the socialist period is being reconstructed by the 1st generation narratives, suggesting that it was a positive effort that changed the educational landscape in Mozambique, but also represent the creation of the re-education camps (West 2001; Thomaz 2008). In 1974, Armando Guebuza, the former President of Mozambique (2005-2014), was the former Minister of Internal Affairs during the Transitional Government in Mozambique (September 1974/June 1975), announced the creation of the re-education camps. At first the idea was to send urban prostitutes to be “re-educated” in rural areas, however among them there were also women that lived alone and single mothers. Besides those women, there were also political dissidents, people who were suspected of having ties to the Portuguese former colonial power, alcoholics, traditional authorities and Jehovah’s Witnesses. This was the first social reorganization of the public space in the post-colonial Mozambique: no more division between Africans and Europeans, but rather a social division between “bad women”, “critical thinkers” and the “liberators”. In schools the 1st generation was taught how to think accordingly to the political regime of the time, teaching that to the 2nd generation in this study.

When Independence happens, I think that soon after the Independence there were no big changes in the curriculum, besides the fact that we had a new discipline. It was political education… we heard histories about the liberation war, other peoples in Africa… things that we didn’t know before (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).
But, soon after independence, Mozambique faced another war shaped by the Cold War, in which the West led by the United States of America and NATO allies faced the Soviet Union and its ideological vision of the world. The impact of the war, the death of Samora Machel (i.e. 1st President of Mozambique), and the pressures from the international community forced Mozambique to shift from a socialist to a capitalist or liberal economy, introducing democracy in the political and ideological landscape of the country.

3.2.3.2. The Civil War, the international community and democracy


In the war the then Marxist government of Mozambique, led by FRELIMO, an armed and political movement which from 1964 to 1974 had fought a liberation war against Portugal’s colonial rule, was opposed by RENAMO, the Mozambique National Resistance [founded in 1975], a rebel army regarded as right-wing oriented at the time, initially supported by Rhodesia’s UDI government and later, during white minority rule, by the South African Defense Forces.

The Civil War had its high impact around 1986 and was especially focused on the centre and north regions of the country. The Civil War (1976-1992) ended with one million people killed, the majority non-combatants; one-third of all hospitals and schools were destroyed; innumerous towns and districts were left with no formal institutions; and all trade and supplies ended (Nordstrom 1997; Geffray 1990). This resulted in a deeply embedded social memory that is present in all three generations in this study. The war didn’t “follow strict ethnic lines, nor was it confined to certain contested areas” (Nordstrom 1997: xvii). The Civil War is associated with the extreme poverty that the majority of the 3rd generation faced in their family and personal life histories. Adding to the Civil War, Mozambique had also several environmental disasters.

Estimates indicate that the war, which lasted from 1978 to 1992, claimed the lives of 2 million Mozambicans. This figure does not necessarily reflect the real
toll of the war, as it includes deaths from the consequences of natural disasters. During most of the 1980s Southern Africa went through one of the worst droughts in recorded history. It hit Mozambique in a particularly bad way, especially in conjunction with the war, which made it impossible to assist affected people in rural areas (Macamo 2006: 200).

The war was also lived differently when looking at men and women in Mozambique. As it is argued by Macamo (2006: 201), “Men experienced it either as combatants on either side of hostilities or as migrant mineworkers who for most of the war were away in South Africa”. While women had the role of protection of their children, being as well victims of the war by both sides in conflict (e.g. Macamo 2006).

However, while the war was going on, the International Community started to pressure Mozambique in order to abandon socialism. As it is argued by Hanlon (2004a: 4-5):

In the 1980s, Mozambique became a Cold War battlefield. Apartheid South Africa, encouraged to attack Marxist Mozambique, built up and supplied the Renamo rebel unit in a war which eventually cost more than one million lives and US$20 billion. Yet it was only after donors went on strike twice and withheld food aid, in 1983 and 1986, that Mozambique made its “turn toward the West”, finally capitulating to structural adjustment and a transition to the market economy. Aid then more than doubled from US$359 million in 1985 to $875 million in 1988. Government spending was cut, including on health and education, and privatisation – which had begun in 1980 – was accelerated. Hand in hand with destabilisation and aid went a form of recolonisation, as foreign officials from the World Bank or donor agencies began to issue orders in many ministries while European corporations were again given the exclusive rights over much of the country’s production they had held in colonial times.

In the transition between the 1st and the 2nd generations of Mozambicans, from the socialist ideology to democracy, the characterization of Mozambique as a post-colonial country is tuned with the ideas presented before. The idea of a Global South is similar to the former division between colonizer and colonized (e.g. Bhabha 1994; Said 1978). In addition, and according to Hanlon (2004a: 5), it was during this period of transition that the “donors played a role in promoting policies that increased corruption”. For example, by promoting an accelerated process of privatization without rules for transparency which resulted in nepotism (e.g. Hanlon 2004, 2004a). As it is argued by Hanlon (2004a: 5), in making the transition towards the capitalist economy that characterizes democracy, Mozambique entered in modernity:
It was during this period of the late 1980s that Mozambican officials and newly-emergent businesspeople with little experience of the world of capitalism were, in effect, given a crash course by the donor community. The main lesson was that capitalism is not about profit but about patronage – how businesses can be “privatised” and given “loans” that need not be repaid, provided you know the right individuals or donor agencies.

With the death of Samora Machel, “in a puzzling plane crash in late 1986, Joaquim Chissano succeeded to the Presidency … signing a comprehensive accord with the IMF and World Bank in 1987” (Morier-Genoud 2009: 155). Indeed, in 1989, after “Frelimo’s fifth Congress … the country abandoned Socialism and moved to a liberal democratic political and economic system” (Morier-Genoud 2009: 153). According to the author (2009: 154) socialism in Mozambique was undermined in three fronts: (i) internationally, because the Mozambican government was facing opposition by the West and Arab countries, added by the fact that the former Soviet Union “refused to provide the substantial material or military support necessary in the face of international hostility”; (ii) regionally, because the country was facing a civil war supported by the Rhodesian regime and Apartheid South Africa; and (iii) internally, characterized by resistances towards the socialist regime, “in particular from the social groups and regions which had been marginalised if not attacked by the new regime, e.g. traditional authorities, religious organisations, traders, the province of Zambezia, etc.”.

With the transition from socialism to a liberal democratic political and economic system, “the new political system chosen was strongly presidential. As in many other African countries, democratisation and presidentialism went hand in hand” ((Morier-Genoud 2009: 156). In that sense, the President was responsible for the nomination of the heads of universities, among other political positions.

In 1992, the General Peace Agreement, that ended the civil war between Frelimo and Renamo, was signed by both movements in the conflict. After that, in 1994, Mozambique held its first democratic elections. Since then, Frelimo has continued to rule the country as the majority political party until the present day (e.g. Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Bussotti and Ngoenha 2006; Cabaço 2010; Adam 2006; Adalima and Nuvunga 2011). However, the ideology of neo-liberalism or global capitalism that
characterizes the period of the 3rd generation in this study was already in place during the 2nd generation life history/story. Democracy in Mozambique cannot be understood without the international impositions made by the donors, resulting in a huge gap between the “Mozambique’s ruling elite distancing itself increasingly from those who were once a bastion of the regime” (Sumich 2007: 3).

Furthermore, the democratization process in Mozambique was accomplished through a liberalization of the economy (e.g. privatizations). As it is argued by Sumich (2007: 8),

… liberalisation was not undertaken by the Frelimo elite due to ideological conviction or in response to a massive popular demand, but because it seemed to be the only way to end the war and remain in power. It was also the most promising avenue to ensure the continued infusion of large amounts of desperately needed foreign aid.

However, the liberalization of the economy brought the contradictions that the three generations of Mozambicans feel when comparing socialism and democracy, with the introduction of liberalism shifting to neo-liberalism nowadays.

President Chissano… he had the dilemma of transforming the political system of a single party to the democratic state with clear separations of power … In that process we lost the conquests of socialism, but the context demanded that… President Chissano paid dearly for it … The party [Frelimo] started to have less influence in society … And this was one of the constitutional aims in the Frelimo’ documents … the party guided the state and society … With the Constitution of 1990 [that introduced democracy] everything changed … education was privatized … and other services that were nationalized [during socialism] … We see the neo-liberal theories of economy and everything becomes a business … there is a huge rupture … we see individualism, what Europe lives with … the idea of class, the collective was left behind … And now you see that those who have, have more; and who does not, has nothing … At the same time, people want … the socialist system, but at the same time they want the capitalist system … doctors want an increase in their salaries, but the state cannot give it to them unless the donors approve, especially does who give the money … now we are dependent … but there was no other choice because the school network was destroyed by the war (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

In the narratives of the three generations there is a shared feeling of Mozambique as a country without economic autonomy because of the influence of the international
community. In addition, the majority of the economic development after 1994, according to Morier-Genoud (2009: 157),

… was export-oriented and not geared towards industrialisation, hence creating little local sustainable development and few jobs (Castel-Branco 2003). Secondly, the growth of the economy was regionally unbalanced. Most investments went to the south of the country, while the centre and north lagged behind.

All three generations make reference to the unbalanced development of the country, with more possibilities of studying and professional development located in the south of Mozambique. Furthermore, in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans the current political government of Mozambique is criticized by being an accomplice in the neo-colonization by foreigner investments and interests.

3.2.3.3. From democracy to neo-liberalism

The neo-liberal ideology became dominant in the country within the 3rd generation life histories/stories, having its roots during the ideological period of democracy with the 2nd generation in this study. In the transition between the socialist period to the democratic one, it is necessary to make a reference to the beginning of the neoliberal state in Mozambique and its impact upon education. As it is argued by Stern (2012: 390),

The role of the state in neoliberal doctrine became institutionalized through what is referred to as The Washington Consensus … In close collaboration with Washington, the IFM and the World Bank created what were called Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) for countries looking for development loans. SPAs were created to assist in “modernizing” poor countries’ economies through neoliberal policies that would primarily help to deal with overaccumulated capital.

Indeed, in 1987 Mozambique adopted the IMF structural adjustment program turning the economic policies in Mozambique towards the market forces (e.g. Bowen 1991). The logic behind the SAPs is not very different from colonial times, as mentioned before, creating a dependency toward the IFM and World Bank institutions, leaving countries such as Mozambique in a state of permanent ‘underdevelopment’ (Stern
Modern times in Mozambique are characterized by being shaped within neo-liberal politics or global capitalism.

In the era of democratic neo-liberalism, the importance of the international community is widely recognised. International actors are able to influence local political decisions through the distribution or withholding of aid and by insisting on structural reform. In many cases the distribution of aid is attached to conditions that specify the reforms the government must enact in order to receive resources. This has led some authors to claim that the fall of socialism in Mozambique has brought forth new sets of relationships between the Mozambican state and international agencies that strongly resemble aspects of the colonial period (Sumich 2007: 5).

In addition, when analysing the changes inside the dominant political party/government (i.e. Frelimo), Morier-Genoud (2009: 160) argues that the shift towards liberalism, currently underline by a neo-liberal environment, are the reflex of the new Mozambican society:

The social composition of the delegates at the last party Congress in 2006 shows this quite clearly. While previously Frelimo was officially a party of workers and peasants and most of its delegates were from corresponding social backgrounds (57 per cent of the delegates at the fifth Congress [1989] were farmers or workers), delegates to the ninth Congress held in 2006 were mostly from the state and the party’s administration (70 per cent of the delegates were from the state administration, the party administration or state employees, such as teachers and nurses). Farmers were down to a mere 6.7 per cent and industrial workers were below 1 per cent.

The shift towards a new kind of economic and political environment, namely characterized by a neo-liberal logic, was implemented by the 3rd President of Mozambique, Armando Guebuza. Guebuza was responsible for the “most violent episodes of the Socialist regime” (Morier-Genoud 2009: 161), as for example Operation Production (i.e. in 1983, thousands of the so-called ‘non-productive individuals’ were forced to go to Niassa, a province in the north region of the country; those individuals were sent from the cities to the countryside to “in a futile attempt to increase food production and reduce urban unemployment”, Lloyd 2008: 444). Guebuza appears as the alternative to Joaquim Chissano, the former President, which was losing ground in the political arena, reflected in the results of the 1999’ second multi-party elections.
Indeed, Frelimo almost lost the elections to the main opposition political party, Renamo and its political leader, Afonso Dhlakama (i.e. Chissano 52.29%, Dhlakama 47.71%). Also Joaquim Chissano “left office, however, amid complaints of government corruption, a rising crime rate, and with Mozambique increasingly experiencing the devastating impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic” (Lloyd 2008: 443). In addition, as it is argued by Morier-Genoud (2009: 161),

Yet, in the unstable context of the early 2000s, Guebuza’s reputation for forceful conduct, his ‘Stalinist hand’, turned into a political advantage. Allied with the so-called ethical faction led by Samora Machel’s widow, Graça Machel, who desired a cleanup of politics, he began a campaign to oust Joaquim Chissano from party and state office. Guebuza’s campaign presented him as the strong man necessary to restore order, rein in corruption, and root out criminality in the country – all the ills he captured in the handy formula of deixa-andar laxity.

Armando Guebuza won the 2004 elections with 63.7% of the votes against 31.7% for the main opposition political party, Renamo. Even though Morier-Genoud (2009) argues that the neo-colonial logic and the impositions of the international community are not enough to explain what is going on in Mozambique, he writes that (2009: 161),

His discourse [Guebuza] appealed to many sectors of Frelimo and, just as importantly, to large sections of society and the international community. Among other things, the new bourgeoisie longed for stability after its rapid enrichment, and the international community wanted to secure its investments in the country.

Indeed, in 1990, when Mozambique made the transition from socialism to capitalism, Guebuza was known by having developed “financial interests in a wide variety of business concerns, earning him the nickname ‘Mr. Gue-Business’” (Lloyd 2008: 444; see Mosse 2004). However, the economic environment in the country did not change accordingly to the promises of Guebuza. On the contrary, the neo-liberal state in Mozambique continues to follow a neo-liberal model, with a focus on ‘grand projects’ and exports. In that sense, Mozambique continues to be characterized by unequal patterns of development and poverty (see the following sub-chapter about globalization trends in Mozambique).
Furthermore, the neo-liberal state in Mozambique has an impact upon education, reflected in the way knowledge is constructed in modern African contexts and other neoliberal settings, creating a need for ‘profitable’ knowledge.

The effects of neoliberalism and neoliberal educational policy become significant shapers of the ways we experience personal and social life. In discussing the ascendancy of the dystopian culture of neoliberalism, Giroux (2002) writes that one of the consequences “is that civic discourse has given way to language of commercialism, privatization and deregulation. In addition, individual and social agency are defined largely through market-driven notion of individualism, competition, and consumption” (p.426) (Stern 2012: 392).

Indeed, the notion of a ‘profitable knowledge’ is particularly present in the narratives of the neo-liberal generation or the 3rd generation in this study. The impact of this will be debated in chapter 5 (i.e. findings).

3.2.4. Brief summary of post-colonialism and modernity in Mozambique

Looking back to the history of post-colonial Mozambique, it is possible to underline several key facts that underpinned the construction of modernity in Mozambique, such as:

a) The three generations of Mozambicans and the ideological period;
b) The timeline of each President of Mozambique, representing symbolically each generation;
c) The social and economic events that occurred in each generation; and finally
d) General rates of schooling, addressing the literacy rates. Literacy is defined by the ability to read and write in Portuguese, using exclusively the Latin script. For example, the historical impact of the Islamic schools in the north of Mozambique is completely ignored in the statistical data because they use the Arabic script (see Bonate 2008). However, to have an idea of how many people went to school from colonial times until the present days, this vector is useful. In school the official language is Portuguese (the language patterns will be addressed in the following sub-chapter).
### Cultural and contextual background timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations of Mozambicans/Ideology</th>
<th>1st generation; Marxism-Leninism/Socialism</th>
<th>2nd generation; Democracy</th>
<th>3rd generation; Global capitalism/Neo-liberalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social and economic events</strong></td>
<td>1975-1983: Nationalizations in the health, justice, education, household sectors and creation of state farms and state-trading companies; 1976-1992: Civil War 1983: State policy reversed (more market-oriented economic strategy); 1984: Mozambique joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank</td>
<td>1987: adoption of the IMF structural adjustment program (Economic Recovery Program/PRE); 1988 e 1992: two major Droughts; 1992: Rome General Peace Accords (end of the Civil War); 1992: over one-third of health facilities and one-half of all primary schools were destroyed due to the Civil War; 1994: first multi-party elections</td>
<td>2005: Continuation of the liberal economic reforms and the poverty reduction agenda; 2006: World Bank cancelled most of Mozambique’s debt; 2009: controversial general election with a new political party (Democratic Movement of Mozambique/MDM); 2009: Foreign investment increased but did not reduce poverty and inequality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Cultural and contextual background timeline over the three generations

To understand post-colonialism and modernity in Mozambique is also to present a comparative approach towards development and the relationship between development, gender, poverty, language patterns, race and ethnicity aligned with the globalization trends. These six categories (i.e. development, gender, poverty, language patterns, race and ethnicity) are cultural, social and economic indicators that give us the outcome of a historical perspective about Mozambique. How did the colonial period impact upon modernity in Mozambique? How did the post-independence and the construction of the new nation impact upon the current trends of development, conceived as a discourse, theory and socio-economic indicator? If the educational landscape is not equal, as argued before, how does gender and poverty trends in Mozambique have changed.
throughout time or, on the contrary, still represents a constrain to access education? What is the role of ethnicity on schooling patterns?

3.3. **Globalization trends in post-colonial Mozambique**

Colonialism, post-colonialism and modernity in Mozambique are brought together through the analysis of the globalization trends in contemporary Mozambique. In order to understand the construction of knowledge over the three generations of Mozambican students the globalization trends inform us how development, gender, poverty, language, race and ethnicity impact upon schooling and education policies. The globalization trends in post-colonial Mozambique are presented as following: (i) globalization as a social, political and historical phenomenon; (ii) development trends; (iii) gender trends; (iv) poverty trends; (v) language patterns and geographical distribution; (vi) race as a cultural and historical phenomenon; and finally (vii) ethnicity and ethnic groups.

3.3.1. **Globalization as a social, political and historical phenomenon**

Globalization as a social, political and historical phenomenon characterizes Mozambique from independence until the current day within the world trends in terms of development, gender differences, poverty, language, race and ethnicity. Regarding globalization as a social, political and historical phenomenon it is argued that globalization shapes notions of family and democracy, connecting the world through transnational networks, such as education (Giddens 2000; Delanty and O’Mahony 2002; Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Globalization can be defined as being “characterized by the diminishing significance of space and time as the world becomes more connected” (Delanty and O’Mahony 2002:3). However this doesn’t mean that the world is becoming more homogeneous, it could represent that the peripherical and local knowledge could become more stronger (Delanty and O’Mahony 2002).

Bearing that in mind, to understand the influence of globalization in the knowledge construction process is to bring the analysis of the transnational networks, which cross cultural and state boundaries, linking “particular places and particularistic claims to wider concerns” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:35). Globalization is linked with modernity and particularly with the 3rd generation of this study, which uses in their
narratives references that could be from Europe, Asia, America or other African countries besides Mozambique. As it is argued by Delanty and O’Mahony (2002: 3), “In its most elemental form, modernity is nothing more than the permanent institucionalization of social change and cultural transformation by globalized communication”.

3.3.2. Development trends
Firstly I address the category of development over the three generations of Mozambicans. The notion of development has different perspectives. Development is firstly address in this study as a process of storytelling, as a narrative,

It is the awareness that development is not simply theory or policy but in either form is discourse. This means a step beyond treating development as ideology, or interest articulation, because it involves meticulous attention to development texts and utterances, not merely as ideology but as epistemology. Thus, it involves sociology of knowledge not only in terms of class interests (as in ideology critique) but also in terms of an inquiry into what makes up an underlying ‘common sense’ (Pieterse 2001: 13).

I argue that in order to understand development in post-colonial Mozambique, development should be addressed as a social construction phenomenon (see chapter 2). Furthermore, as it is argued by Harber (2014: 11), “Views and theories on the history, nature, causes and purposes of ‘development’ are many, varied and often controversial”.

In this study I use the Human Development Index (HDI) conceptualization, taking in account the social constructivism approach where social reality is being socially constructed through the narratives of people involved in it (Pieterse 2001). The HDI is “an attempt to move away from sole reliance on economic indicators of development to ‘ones that put people at the centre’” (Harber 2014: 12). The HDI assesses long-term progress based on 3 dimensions of human development: “a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living” (UNDP 2014b: 1).

Bearing that in mind, “one key social institution believed to make a significant and positive difference in the way societies and individuals behave and develop is education” (Harber 2014: 16). Furthermore, when doing a critical analysis on the data provided by the UNDP through the HDI, it is argued that the HDI should be
complemented as much as possible with the data collected by the INE (National Institute of Statistics of Mozambique), because both institutions present different results. For example, according to the UNDP (2011) the life expectancy at birth, a third of the HDI data, in Mozambique was 50.7 years when compared to the INE (2012a) that pointed to 52.4 years (AIM 2013). Also, the critiques made to the UNDP methodology regarding Mozambique should be taken in account (AIM 2013: 2):

UNDP-Mozambique in 2010 acknowledged that the new methodology has serious implications for post-conflict countries such as Mozambique, since “it amplifies the prevailing costs of war, which deprived a large part of the adult population from schooling, and excludes efforts such as adult education and literacy campaigns”.

Mozambique continues to be characterized as one of the poorest countries in the world, placed at 178 out of 187 countries (UNDP 2014b), “with more than half of its population living below poverty line” (MPD 2010a). Nonetheless, in an international comparative analysis, Mozambique has increases the HDI between 1980 and 2013, “an increase of 59.6 percent or an average annual increase of about 1.43 percent” (UNDP 2014b: 2).

![Figure 1: Trends in Mozambique's HDI component indices 1980-2013 (Source: UNDPb 2014: 2)](image-url)
In fact, the HDI in Mozambique is growing when compared to 1980, being education one of the factors that shape the development of a country with a particular focus on gender inequality (INE 2012a; UNDP 2014a). In that sense, I address now the gender trends in contemporary Mozambique as the outcome of a historical, economic and political process.

3.3.3. Gender trends

After independence in 1975, Mozambique started to conceive plans to give access to formal education for the majority of the population, but the country faced a civil war during 16 years and several environmental disasters. Nonetheless, according to AfriMAP and OSISA (2012), formal education rates increased, reducing the illiteracy rates from 90% in 1970 to 48% in 2008. Concerning gender inequality, girls attending primary school has gone from 33% after the independence to 47.2% in 2009. However, due to the heritage of colonial times, there is a substantial lack of qualified teachers, and data indicates that the teachers’ dedication is considered to be lower; many students, particularly girls, do not end primary school; schools continue to have lack of material and the teacher/students ratios are very high.

Indeed, Mozambique is characterized by gender divisions that impact upon the schooling reality. According to Almeida-Santos et al. (2014: 12), gender inequality is still a social and economic factor that shapes the Mozambican landscape, knowing that illiteracy is higher in the female sector of society.

Women make up 52% of Mozambicans, however they are underrepresented in socio-economic and political structures and are subject to human rights violations. Most legislation pertaining to gender issues is less than 5 years old and is drawn up in the cities rather than focused on rural areas where 69% of Mozambicans live. Illiteracy amongst women reaches 60%, against 30% for men.

As Loforte (2007: 30) explains “more than 70 percent of girls leave school after the age of 13 for reasons that include early marriage, poverty and the low value placed on their education by parents and teachers”. This is a cultural gender reality that affects women in Southern African societies, in which gender inequality is considered to be one of the major challenges in the Sub-Saharan African countries, such as Mozambique (SIGI
According to UNDP (2011), this region will lose 61% in human development because of gender inequality, affecting more women that will continue to be more vulnerable to poverty, diseases and food insecurity.

According to INE (2012b) education is crucial for a gender equality policy in areas such as political, economic and social domains, tuned with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To eliminate gender disparity in primary, secondary and tertiary education</th>
<th>Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector</th>
<th>Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MDG Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women by 2015</td>
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</table>

The current trends that the UNDP MDG (2014: 20-21) presented for the first sub-goal linked with education and gender equality are the following:

- “Gender disparities are more prevalent at higher levels of education”;
- “In sub-Saharan Africa, Oceania and Western Asia, girls still face barriers to entering both primary and secondary school”;
- “Sub-Saharan Africa, Oceania, Western Asia and Northern Africa still face continuing disadvantages for girls, although these regions have made substantial progress over the past two decades”;
- “Gender disparities are larger in secondary education than in primary”;
- “In tertiary education, enrolment ratios in most regions have improved substantially over the years, but considerable disparities exist in all regions”;
- “Enrolment ratios of young women are significantly lower than those of young men in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia”.

Nevertheless as it is underlined by the authors, the primary school net enrolment rate has improved from 64.5% in 2009 to more than 77% in 2009, drawing the conclusion that the target of 100% primary education access could be a reality in 2015. But when
crossing the data with other sources, the education’ reality seems to be slightly different. 
As stated by USAID (2014: 6),

Primary school completion rates in Mozambique are low. Participants in the CDCS [Country Development Cooperation Strategy] youth assessment spoke of Mozambique’s lack of infrastructure and qualified teachers. School fees and associated costs are major obstacles to accessing education. Corruption and gender-based violence (GBV) including sex-for-grades in schools is common.

In the report presented by USAID (2014), women and girls are specially targeted by low levels of education, being that 27% of girls completed a lower primary school education when compared with 40% of boys. In consequence, in terms of literacy in urban areas, women are less literate (36% women facing 65% men), with the gap being even bigger in rural areas (23% of women facing 65% of men). “Overall, 96% of all working women in Mozambique are unskilled laborers working in the informal sector” (USAID 2014: 6).

In addition, the data provided by the Mozambican National Institute of Statistics INE (2012b: 37) is similar to the USAID (2014), presenting a comparative literacy rate between women and men both in rural and urban environment in 1997 and 2007:

![Figure 2: Literacy rates in Mozambique 1997 – 2007 (Source: INE 2012b, adapted to English)](image)

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The development patterns in education through the gender equality index is also linked with the Civil War (1976-1992) that impacted upon the migration patterns from rural environments towards the urban spaces. Indeed, one of the biggest migration movements towards the city capital of Mozambique, Maputo, occurred in the 1990s due to the war (e.g. Vivet 2012). This social reality is particularly present in the narratives of the 2nd generation of Mozambicans. Also, as it is argued by several authors (e.g. Sheldon 1998, 1999, 2002; Casimiro 2011; Trindade 2011), the inequality among women and men in Mozambique are the result of several cultural, social, political and economic factors such as:

a) The colonial policies of education reduced women to the domestic space, with a focus on their reproductive role. In those times existed a specific curriculum for girls and women, “aiming at the improvement of the native woman in order to prepare her to make a civilized home and to honestly acquire the ways of maintaining a civilized life” (Sheldon 1998: 608). This gender reality during the colonial period in Mozambique is part of the narratives of the 1st generation of Mozambicans being something that marked the way women from this generation constructed their identity in the future, contesting that notion of what should be a woman:

I was maybe 10 years old... in the classroom of needlework ... all my life I hated that thing of needlework ... At the end of the semester, hear this!, I had to make something ... a baby’s clothes ... the way they inculcate all this ideas of motherhood, the role of women! ... I didn’t like that so I didn’t make any effort. That was my way of reacting to that violence! So this teacher ... calls my mother ... my mother was very angry, because the teacher called her and told her that “your daughter doesn’t do good needlework” or something like that ... and then the teacher said “why are you losing money having her here, studying in high school, why you don’t put her doing a servant-maid work?” ... Imagine! A child with 10 years old! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

b) After the Second World War, Portugal and South Africa agreed that Mozambique would provide labour work for the South African and Rhodesian mines, resulting in a huge male migration movement towards those regions (Cavallo 2013);

c) From 1940 onwards the majority of women in Maputo (at the time called Lourenço Marques) were single mothers responsible for the household developing ‘urban
gardens’ or machambas. This phenomenon leads to what is called the ‘ruralization’ of African cities:

Much research on African urbanization emphasizes the rural-urban connections and migratory patterns that indicate the permeability of rural and urban categories. Richard Stren introduced the idea of the “ruralization” of African cities in part through deepening rural-urban interactions, and Sanyal discusses the dismay of western planners when African cities didn’t present a “modern” aspect as they had expected (Sheldon 1999: 122).

The ‘ruralization’ process of the cities, especially Maputo, was only possible due to the invisibility of women during colonial times (Sheldon 1999; Cavallo 2013);

d) With independence in 1975, the Mozambican government underlined the role of women in family as a reproductive being and wife as well. At the same time, it was encouraged the participation of women in the construction of the new society, with the creation of collective cooperatives (Cavallo 2013; Sheldon 2002; Gasperini 1989);

e) During the Civil War (1976-1992), women were responsible for new economic roles in the development of society, using informal systems such as xitique (i.e. informal rotating savings). As it is stated by Baden (1997: 35), “informal trade was another major activity of displaced households, especially women and boys, including petty trading, additional drinks (beer) production, basket and net making, ceramics, tapestry and fishing”. Informal economic practices have their own knowledge systems and are part of a strategic economic measure that the population is developing in order to contradict the level of poverty in the country. For example, the xitique social practice is part of the informal economy shared by the three generations of Mozambicans. Indeed, in Mozambique, informal economy creates the majority of jobs with a general tendency for low productivity, representing 68% of the labour sector in urban economy compared to 95% in rural economy (Trindade 2011; Francisco and Paulo 2006);

f) After the end of the Civil War, in 1992, the informal economy developed by women is still part of their daily life, with the male labour migration pattern towards South Africa and neighbouring countries remaining. As a consequence, the number of
households headed by women increased again (e.g. Francisco and Paulo 2006; Casimiro 2011; Trindade 2011; Sheldon 2002; MMF 2006).

In sum, and in terms of development, gender inequality linked with poverty is still a main characteristic in contemporary Mozambique. Indeed, adding to the factor of gender inequality, the three generations of Mozambicans are also characterized by living with or in poverty.

### 3.3.4. Poverty trends

The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) present the results of the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) by country (see Alkire et al., 2014). The Global MPI has 3 dimensions and 10 indicators, as explained below:

![Figure 3: Global MPI dimensions and indicators (Source: OPHI 2014)](image)

According to the data presented by OPHI (2014: 1), a “person is identified as multidimensionally poor (or ‘MPI poor’) if they are deprived in at least one third of the weighted indicators … in other words, the cut off for poverty (k) is 33.33%”.

![Figure 4: MPI Mozambique (Source: OPHI 2014:1)](image)

The general MPI of Mozambique is 0.389 (OPHI 2014), knowing that “the cut off for poverty (k) is 33.33%” (OPHI 2014: 1). As it is possible to observe from the data
presented by OPHI (2014), Mozambique continues to have a very high level of poverty. The population living in severe poverty is 45%, being in the urban space 17.5% when compared to the rural space (i.e. 57.5%). The poverty trend in Mozambique is still high especially outside the province of Maputo, where there are fewer facilities in terms of schools and hospitals, following the patterns during colonial times. Adding to these factors, the Civil War did not help to reduce the regional disparities in terms of poverty measured by OPHI (2014). The percentage of MPI poor people in Mozambique, in 2011, was 69.6%, being in the urban spaces 38.2% when compared to the rural spaces with 83.9% (OPHI 2014).

Indeed, in Mozambique, the level of poverty at a national level is still high with different regional patterns. The map below shows in red a higher MPI and in green a lower MPI.

![Figure 5: Poverty rates in Mozambique at sub-national level (Source: OPHI 2014)](image-url)
Taking in account the OPHI indicators, Mozambique is described as a country with high levels of poverty, affecting every generation in this study. In addition, the level of poverty at a national level is still high with different regional patterns, being higher in the north and centre regions of the country. The poverty regional patterns are related with the Civil War impact. In addition, the colonial legacy of aiming to develop the country focused on the cities, particularly the city capital, in the south of Mozambique, can also contribute to the understanding of poverty patterns nowadays.

In spite of the Mozambican Government’s Five Year Plan (2010-2014) that has tried to reduce this trend, through the Poverty Reduction Strategy 2011-2014 (PARP), the results are not particularly positive. As it is argued by Hanlon (2004a: 8), the practical effects of the PARP are controversial:

The October 2001 Consultative Group meeting offers several examples. Ignoring civil society statements that “structural adjustment and high growth had not resulted in poverty reduction in Mozambique”, donors agreed that the “most significant achievement of the last 12 to 18 months” was the Action Plan for Reducing Absolute Poverty (PARPA). As it happens, PARPA, which mandates tight monetary policies to “slow inflation”, belies its name by actually cutting spending on education and other poverty-related items between 2001 and 2004 — at a time when primary education needs to be expanded, not contracted, and teachers dying of AIDS must be replaced.

In addition, the Third National Poverty Assessment (MPD 2010b) shows that the national poverty rate has not change significantly from 2002/2003 (54.1%) to 2008/2009 (54.7%), standing out that households headed by women are normally poorer than headed by men (UNDAF 2011). However, in the education area, the Third National Poverty Assessment (MPD 2010b) stated that the school network has improved, with an increasing number of schools (to be developed in the next sub-chapter). However the impact of the international community in the development patterns of Mozambique have been addressed critically by Hanlon (2004a: 7), underlining the constraints imposed by the World Bank and the IMF in the late 80s, first half of the 90s, when Mozambique shift to market capitalism:

Salaries were the biggest component of government spending. A United Nations study showed that of 110,000 civil servants, more than half were in health and education, and the army had only 12,000 people. The study concluded that far
from being too big, Mozambique’s civil service was already too small to provide basic services. But the only way to meet the savage IMF spending cuts was to cut wages. Within five years, salaries of front-line staff such as teachers and nurses were one-third of what they had been in 1991. By 1995, the IMF and World Bank had forced Mozambican public service wages down to one third of their level four years earlier; nurses and teachers had fallen below the “abject poverty line”.

The shift to capitalism and the new model of neo-liberalism in Mozambique impacted upon the education landscape, particularly for the 2nd and 3rd generation of Mozambicans in this study. Even though Mozambique has more schools nowadays when comparing to the colonial times and after the end of the Civil War, the data indicates that Mozambique still has a long way to go. As stated by Langa (2013: 81), going from primary school into university is still a challenge for the majority of the population: “... the higher education participation rate in Mozambique is still low, with less than 1% of the typical age cohort students attending higher education, compared to the African average rate of 5%”.

Another factor that impacts upon the globalization trends in contemporary Mozambique and education are the language patterns, in a country characterized by a bilingual reality in school and society. In the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans the language, especially the use of Portuguese language, is correlated with school and social strategies to guarantee the possibility of social mobility.

3.3.5. Language patterns and geographical distribution

The globalization trends in post-colonial Mozambique are also characterized by the language patterns in the country. In Mozambique there is a bilingual reality in society and school where the three generations use Portuguese as the official/school language versus African national/local languages in their daily life. Language is a key element for understanding how knowledge is constructed in the education system in modern Mozambique. Language is used in the interactions and performances among social actors such as students and teachers, having different ideological influences regarding each generation.
Furthermore, it is through language that the nation is symbolically created, knowing that in modern times “language has become a powerful marker of ethnicity and of national identity. Many forms of nationalism are based on identities shaped largely by language” (Delanty and O’Mahony 2002:129). In the 1st generation, within the process of independence in 1975, the Mozambican government had to “create” an official language that could be also the instrument of schooling over 24 national languages of Bantu origin and the former colonial language. Portuguese was chosen to fulfil this task, thereby creating the idea of ‘National Unity’. In post-colonial Mozambique the official language, a former colonial language (i.e. Portuguese), expresses opposite meanings of identity and belonging: it is still the language of the invaders, the colonial language, that the 1st generation had to learn in school in order to be ‘domesticated’ or be ‘socially accepted’; but simultaneously, it is the language elected to unify the independent Mozambique during the socialist period, the period of the 1st generation. Additionally, as it is argued by Firmino (n.d.: 1), the appropriation of the former colonial language it is itself a “contradictory process, because it leads to the idea of a unified nation, and at the same time ends up producing social exclusion due to the linguistic diversity that characterizes Mozambique”.

In this study it is argued that identity is also language (see chapter 2), and that in a post-colonial context understanding the importance of language is to understand how identity is constructed in and outside school. The idea of identity has in itself the representations of some manner of distinction between “self” (we) and “other” (they), through language. As Fentress and Wickham (1992) write, the ability of a certain society to maintain its one identity is through the transmission of a social memory that depends how a certain culture represents language, how is used to communicate and what is the conception that a certain group has about knowledge and its way of remembering. In that sense, Portuguese as the official language of Mozambique is a different language from the colonial time, but still represents the language of school – to be ‘educated’ is to speak Portuguese. Side by side, each national language is spoken by the population having different meanings regarding the dichotomy urban/rural spaces.
Furthermore, as it is argued by Firmino (2005), Portuguese in nowadays a Mozambican language that is more than its colonial past, representing a national reality; being the local or national languages representative of the ethnicity of the country.

In terms of linguistic landscape, Mozambique has eight linguistic groups that have sub-divisions into several local Bantu languages, as the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWAHILI</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YAO</td>
<td>Yao</td>
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<td>Makonde</td>
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<td>Mabiha/Mavia</td>
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<td>MAKUA</td>
<td>Makua</td>
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<td>Lomwe</td>
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<td>Ngulu</td>
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<td>W.Makua</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cuabo/Cuambo</td>
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<td>NYANJA</td>
<td>Nyanja</td>
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<td>Cewa</td>
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<td>Mananja</td>
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<td>SENG-A-SENGA</td>
<td>Nsenga</td>
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<td>Kunda</td>
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<td>Nyungwe</td>
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<td>Ruwe</td>
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<td>Manyika</td>
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<td>Tebe</td>
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<td>Ndau</td>
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<td>TSWA-RONGA</td>
<td>Tswa</td>
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<td>Gwamba</td>
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<td>Lenge</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shengwe</td>
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</table>

Table 9: Linguistic groups of Mozambique and sub-divisions (Source: Santana 2011 adapted Firmino 2005)

Regarding the geographical expression, none of the national or local languages is spoken throughout the entire country.
In general a Mozambican speaks or has knowledge regarding his/her local language that is linked with his/her ethnic group or the region where his/her parents belong (Firmino 2005). According to Firmino (n.d.; 2005), the national languages are used in the everyday life within the same ethnic group, particularly in the rural environment; in the urban spaces they are used along with Portuguese. The several national languages are associated with certain regions, resulting in the fact that none of the above is recognized as *lingua franca* besides Portuguese. Portuguese language is also associated with schooling and having formal qualifications, being considered a prestigious language that allows social mobility (Firmino n.d.; 2005).

Furthermore, Portuguese is clearly associated with the political and cultural elites that had an important role in the constitution of the Mozambican independent nation. The elites shared the language of the colonial power in order to be able to study and later on to develop the new nation (Firmino 2005). As it is argued by Firmino (2005: 92),
In the Mozambican example, Portuguese was the language granted to the ones who had the advantage of having a colonial education and/or being employees of the colonial state. Portuguese also had an influential role in the nationalist movement, where it became still the unifying language in the middle of several local languages ... When the country became independent, the Portuguese speakers were in the position of being able to work in the new state apparatus.

In addition, as argued by Appiah (1992: 4),

It should be said that there are other more or less honourable reasons for the extraordinary persistence of the colonial languages. We cannot ignore, for example, on the honourable side, the practical difficulties of developing a modern educational system in a language in which none of the manuals and textbooks have been written; nor should we forget, in the debit column, the less noble possibility that these foreign languages, whose possession had marked the colonial elite, became too precious as marks of status to be given up by the class that inherited the colonial state. Together such disparate forces have conspired to ensure that the most important body of writing in sub-Saharan Africa even after independence continues to be in English, French and Portuguese. For many of its most important cultural purposes, most African intellectuals, south of the Sahara, are what we call “europhone”.

Bearing that in mind, the number of Portuguese speakers in Mozambique is growing since independence. Indeed, in 1997 just 6% of the population used Portuguese as native language and 9% used Portuguese has first language to communicate. Nevertheless 39% of the population said that they knew Portuguese language and how to speak it. The majority of this 39% were from urban regions, male and young people. In the cities, 72% of the population know how to speak Portuguese, contrary to the rural areas where 73% doesn’t speak Portuguese at all (INE 1997). When comparing the data about the languages in Mozambique, in 2007, the population that spoke Portuguese increased from 9% in 1997 to almost 51% in 2007. And as first language Portuguese increased from 6% in 1997 to 10% in 2007. Also, in 2007, more than 12% of the population said that Portuguese language was the language they used to speak at home. In the Census of 2007, almost 81% of the urban population declared that they speak Portuguese, compared to near 36% in rural areas. In addition, Portuguese language is been shaped and respahed within each generation, giving birth to a ‘new Portuguese language’ in the contemporany Mozambique (Firmino n.d.). Also, regarding the three generations of this study, Portuguese is now the native language of the 3rd generation both among men and women.
Nevertheless, as underlined above, Portuguese isn’t the first language of all population. In fact, the national languages more representative in Mozambique are *Emakhuwa* (26.3%), a Bantu language spoken by the Makua people in the north of the country, especially in the province of Nampula. In second place, is *Xichangana* (11.4%), also called *Tsonga* or *Xitsonga* or *Shangaan*, that is spoken in the south of the country, with Zulu/South African influences. Indeed, the patterns of distribution of languages in Mozambique are linked with the ethnic groups and the construction of race. To speak about language in post-colonial Mozambique is to speak also about the social construction of ethnicity and race. The ethnic belonging is addressed in all three generations in this study, with an introductory focus on the notion of race.

### 3.3.6. Race as a cultural and historical phenomenon

To speak about ethnic belonging in an African post-colonial society is to speak firstly about race, which could be described using two factors: (i) the external or Western European categorization of all Mozambican ethnic groups, organized firstly as a race; (ii) and as an internal categorization that is being negotiated throughout the Mozambican social and political history, where race assumes different meaning for each generation of Mozambicans in this study.

To address the notion of race, I use Fanon’s work (1952, 1961) to understand how knowledge is constructed within a dominant paradigm related to the images of Africans in the curriculums and also in public culture nowadays. *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) by Fanon is considered to be the first attempt to illuminate the psychology of colonialism, especially through the understanding of the psychopathological effects of colonialism. How was colonialism internalized by the colonized man and woman? Fanon (1952: 4) speaks about the process of creation of an inferiority complex within colonized people:

> In spite of this it is apparent to me that the effective disalienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process:—primarily, economic;

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6 Zulu is the largest South African ethnic group and has historical roots in Mozambique.
—subsequently, the internalization—or, better, the epidermalization—of this inferiority.

I bring forward Fanon’s work because in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans the internalization of what is a black or an African person when facing the other is a constant reference and has a different process of internalizing regarding the colonial and post-colonial history. In this matter, the construction of knowledge in school has different outcomes regarding each generation of Mozambicans and the empowerment/disempowerment of someone only based in the ‘epidermalization’ or internalization of one’s skin colour. However, the three generations of Mozambicans in this study share a common narrative about what is to be an African, very similar to Fanon’s description in 1952 (147):

In Europe the Negro has one function: that of symbolizing the lower emotions, the baser inclinations, the dark side of the soul. In the collective unconscious of *homo occidentalis*, the Negro—or, if one prefers, the color black—symbolizes evil, sin, wretchedness, death, war, famine. All birds of prey are black. In Martinique, whose collective unconscious makes it a European country, when a “blue” Negro—a coal-black one—comes to visit, one reacts at once: “What bad luck is he bringing?”

The 3rd generation of this study encounters today what Fanon (1952: 178) added later on, saying that

The black man wants to be like the white man. For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Long ago the black man admitted the unarguable superiority of the white man, and all his efforts are aimed at achieving a white existence.

The relationship between personal and social identity over the three generations of Mozambicans has to do with the education system and ideology related with the public culture (see Giroux 1981, 2004). The image of African or black race is something that is internalized over the social, economic and political history of the world, history that is taught in school and in the media, creating the idea that race will determine the future to came. James Baldwin, a north-American writer of the twenty century linked with the 1960’s Civil Rights Movement in the USA, referred as a central figure in the debate around the politics of race, wrote particularly about the black experience in America. In
1971, Baldwin said something that I found often in the narratives of the youngest generation of Mozambicans:

I moved to Europe in 1948 because I was trying to become a writer and couldn’t find in my surroundings, in my country, a certain stamina, a certain corroboration that I needed. For example, no one ever told me that Alexandre Dumas was a mulatto. No one had told me that Pushkin was black. As far as I knew when I was very, very young there’d never been anything . . . As far as my father knew, which is much more important, there’d never been anything . . . called a black writer (Baldwin and Giovanni 1975: 13-14).

To believe that in order to become ‘developed’ one must be white is something that really challenges the way education is build not only as a system but as well as something that echoes in the public sphere (see Adorno 1998; Giroux 2004; Baldwin 2012). It is necessary to critically address the stereotypes and typification of African people and as well as Western European people, because the representation of the ‘otherness’ is a way of constructing knowledge and it is an ideological process. As it is argued by Pieterse (1992: 225-226),

Thus representations of ‘otherness’ are a special instance of the general problem of stereotyping. Otherness, or alterity, is constituted on the one hand by identity – boundaries of inclusion and exclusion for the individual or group – and on the other by hierarchy, for the difference between identity and alterity, or self and others, is not neutral but charged with meaning and value.

And Pieterse (1992: 225-226) continues writing that,

Obviously, the analysis of representation and otherness is itself historically and culturally determined ... Also the methodologies of analysis reflect particular resources and interests. It is not uncommon for analyses of stereotypes to produce new stereotypes – for instance, simplifications and clichés regarding ‘the Third World’ or ‘western culture’.

The notion of race is deeply linked with the colonial period in post-colonial contexts (e.g. Maeso and Araújo 2010; Meneses 2011; Cruz e Silva 1998; Teixeira 2004). As it is argued by Meneses (2011: 133),

Today, contemporary Africa needs to confront two major inquiries: analysis of the implications of the colonial legacy for itself, and the quest to recover that
which came before colonization and has remained present in its social structures, its political structures and its identities. The objective is not to create a conceptual space for the other, but recognizing that otherness is a constant in processes of social development.

In that sense, race should be address critically, as argued by Appiah (1992: 176),

“Race” disables us because it proposes as a basis for common action the illusion that black (and white and yellow) people are fundamentally allied by nature and, thus, without effort; it leaves us unprepared, therefore, to handle the “intraracial” conflicts that arise from very different situations of black (and white and yellow) people in different parts of the economy and of the world.

A critique of the politics of race in school and in the curriculum could contribute for a different construction of identity within modernity, allowing that “we can choose, within broad limits set by ecological, political, and economic realities what it will mean to be African in the coming years” (Appiah 1992: 176).

Bearing that in mind, race is a social construction, as a result of a certain moment in history and reshaped continuously in the formal and informal settings of education. As mentioned before, race is the first category to organize ethnicity in post-colonial contexts. Ethnicity is the description of the ethnic groups that co-exist in the Mozambican space and time, with all the historical implications of the impact of European colonial powers in the shape of the country. The links between ethnicity, language and geographical borders are addressed in the following sub-chapter about ethnicity and ethnic groups in post-colonial Mozambique.

3.3.7. Ethnicity and ethnic groups

Ethnicity is a social construction where each ethnic group in Mozambique negotiates its space and meaning. Ethnic identity is always the outcome of a negotiation and a relation (e.g. Barth 1969). As it is argued by Patricio (2011: 1),

The academic debates about ethnicity have been largely discussed in the past decades, specially the ethnicity historicity, i.e. if ethnic groups are deep-rooted in ancestral identities or if they were invented by colonialism ... nowadays there is an emerging consensus about the importance of looking to ethnic identities as a process of constant transformations, adaptations and negotiations previous to
... more than looking for exact moments of crucial construction or rupture.

Furthermore, to understand ethnicity in post-colonial Mozambique is to go back in history and analyze the impact of colonial powers in the physical borders of the country. Indeed, the current borders of Mozambique do not correspond to the ethnic groups space, dividing this way the groups into several neighbouring countries. For example, the Changana people, an ethnic group from the south of Mozambique, live in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and South Africa. Because they live in different contexts, they speak several languages, such as: xiChangana and Portuguese in Mozambique; English and xiTsonga in South Africa, where xiTsonga is one of the 11 official languages of the country. Indeed, the colonial impact in post-colonial Mozambique is strongly related with the geographical configuration of ethno-linguistic or culture groups in the country, impacting in all three generations of Mozambican in this study.

The key to the indelible impact of colonialism on Africa was the division of the continent into colonial territories. In the period 1885-1914 the European powers partitioned Africa between themselves. The partition was imposed on the continent with little regard to the distribution of peoples (ethno-linguistic or culture groups) or pre-colonial political units. Thereafter slight adjustments were made to that division of the continent by agreement between the European powers according to their own interests (Griffiths 1995, 2).

In that sense, when looking to contemporary Mozambique, it is argued that,

... the relationships between states and their borders may be of two kinds: borders that are built by states or states that are built by their borders – and most African states clearly belong to the second type. Indeed, today is generally agreed that African borders are merely artificial, formal and symbolical and that’s the reasons why they are porous (Patrício 2011: 2)

However, with the impact of globalization, the ethnic belonging is being negotiated differently within the three generations of Mozambicans in this study. In order to have an understanding of this process, I present firstly (a) the ethnic groups in Mozambique, followed by (b) the implications of war for the reconfiguration of ethnicity in post-colonial Mozambique, and finally (c) the legacy of colonialism to understand ethnicity.
According to Firmino (2005), Mozambique has 13 ethnic groups, namely: Suahilis, Macuas-Lomués, Macondes, Ajauas, Marave, Nhanjas, Sena, Chuabo, Shonas, Angonis, Tsongas, Chopes and Bitongas. The ethnic groups in Mozambique are generally linked to a matrilineal society in the north of the country and a patrilineal society in the south (Chichava 2008; Nordstrom 1997). But at the same time the ethnic belonging does not explain totally what happened in terms of schooling patterns in Mozambique. Indeed, in the three generations of Mozambicans the ethnic belonging is becoming more related with Mozambique as a nation and a national identity than a particular ethnic group, particularly for the youngest generation. This phenomenon is related with schooling patterns and regions of the country – the generations are defining
their identity as a national identity, being Mozambican, related with the urban space and formal qualifications. However, for the 1st and 2nd generations it is still an important part of their narratives to speak about their ethnic belonging (see chapter 5, findings).

Furthermore, the ethnic belonging in Mozambique is also understood through the political situation after independence. Ethnicity in post-colonial Mozambique is highly linked with the period of the liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonialism (1964-1974) and continues during the Civil War period (1976-1992). These social experienced-events mark a kind of fusion among ethnic identity and political identity in post-colonial Mozambique. Indeed during the Civil War there was a strong association between social categories and professions, such as traditional healers or teachers, and political affiliation (i.e. Frelimo or Renamo).

Because Renamo, as a rebel group, did not have formal government structures during the war, a number of collaborators interfaced between the soldiers and the populations they controlled. Neither Renamo nor noncombatant, these people played an important part in the war. Frelimo focused on the role of traditional chiefs (mambos) and traditional healers and spirit mediums (curandeiros, macangueiros) as Renamo collaborators, primarily because these groups were ostracized under Frelimo scientific socialism as obscurantists (Nordstrom 1997: 55).

In terms of social categories and professions, during the Civil War, teachers and health care workers were the targets of Renamo and traditional healers of Frelimo. The Ndau/Shona ethnic group from the central provinces of Mozambique, formed the elite of Renamo; being the ethnic groups of the south province of Gaza, such as Changana, the Frelimo’ elite people (Nordstrom 1997; Florêncio 2002).

In addition, the category of assimilados, as the outcome of the ethnic colonial policies, is also part of the ethnicity landscape in post-colonial Mozambique. During colonial times the social category of assimilados was constructed, which turn out to be a kind of social belonging with similarities to an ethnic group. Assimilados is a legal term and a social status recognized and used to nominate African people by the Portuguese and French colonialists regarding people who were considered to be “civilized” by them (e.g. knowing the language and imitate the social customs). The assimilados were considered to be, after the independence of Mozambique, pro-colonial and were
stigmatized by the socialist government. However, due to the fact that the assimilados learned Portuguese and went to school studying more than the majority of other African people, they gradually become part of the dominant social class in the post-colonial Mozambique (e.g. Cabaço 2010; Castelo 1998; Vale de Almeida 2000; Bastos 1998; Freyre 1933; Cahen 2012). In the narratives of the 1st generation of Mozambicans, assimilados are not described as an ethnic group per se, but they are socially recognized as a group of people that shares particular memories and a specific language that unifies them (i.e. ethnic identity, see Barth 1969, Smith 1997).

So in this universe [assimilados] there is no much talk about race ... People did not think about themselves as being Mozambican, they thought as being Portuguese ... In that perspective, I was not taught to notice issues related with race… Well I am saying that there were no talks about race, but it was not really like that. There were no talks about your own race! Where do to you fit? What are you? No one spoke about that ... But the issue of race was always present related with the Negros. So, you could not speak with Negros, you could not mixed with Negros, you could not have Negros friends. It was speaking through denial, through the absence of the question (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

In that sense, ethnicity is also the outcome of social and political history as a social construction, changing categories and classifications. Even if the assimilados do not refer themselves as being an ethnic group, they describe themselves as being part of that group where they share a certain language (i.e. Portuguese) and a way of being (i.e. similar to the external colonial Portuguese image). Also they had a different social status when compared to other Mozambicans during colonial times. According to Cabaço (2010: 39),

Joaquim Chissano, that was the President of independent Mozambique after the death of Samora Machel, was born from a family of assimilados, reason that gave him the possibility to study in the official education system. From his mouth I heard that, when he was a student in secondary school in the capital city during the 50s, he went with a group of colleagues from school to the cinema Gil Vicente, one of the main cinemas of the city, to see a movie... He was the only black in the group (in fact at the time there were only 3 black students in the only official secondary school). When he presented his student card, only to him was refused the ticket sale... His colleagues went to the cinema and said goodbye to him at the door.
Indeed, assimilados were considered to be an African elite created by the colonial state to control society with few links to traditional ways of power in Mozambique. However, they were a very minority group of people: about 5000 in 8 200 000 population before independence. As it is argued by Sumich (2008), there are few differences between the authoritarian regime of colonialism and the authoritarian socialist regime post-independence in Mozambique, meaning that both were leaded by an elite group as well. Nevertheless, the socialist regime had national goals that included all population when compared to the colonial politics of education and economic development. In that sense, the implications of living history is present in the narratives of the three generations and in the classroom when dealing with an ‘ethnic’ colonial construction that still impacts upon social reality in Mozambique. Facing the example of the assimilados in Mozambique, can school have curriculums that do not deconstruct those constructions of ethnicity and race? The implications for the self and personal identity are present in the narratives of the three generations contributing for the construction of a social identity. The impact of those notions in the development of the self is clearly stated in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans (see chapter 5).

In sum, in spite of the different ethnic origin and national languages, all three generations of Mozambicans in this study did acquire their formal knowledge in school through a colonial/post-colonial language, Portuguese. But how does the history of school and the education system in Mozambique changed since the end of colonialism? What kind of knowledge is being shaped in schools in modern Mozambique and to whom?

3.4. Education system in Mozambique
To understand the construction of knowledge in the education system over three generations in post-colonial and modernity in Mozambique I address the following: (i) education system and ideology; (ii) an overview of the education system over the three generations; (iii) education policies over the three generations; and finally (iv) schooling data over the three generations of Mozambicans.
3.4.1. Education system and ideology

The education system is a reflex of the ideological momentum in which each country is developing its cultural, social, economical and political policies. The construction of knowledge in the education system over the three generations of Mozambicans is deeply embedded within the notion of ideology in a certain culture. As it is argued by Giroux (1981: 27), culture and schooling are related with a certain idea of ideology:

Culture is the instance of mediation between a society and its institutions such as schools and the experiences of those such as teachers and students who are in them daily. But since culture is informed by the way power is used in a given society, the notion that culture is the ‘instance’ of a particular social practice that becomes objectified and produces meaning has to be qualified in order to become meaningful. Instead, it is more appropriate to view culture as a number of divergence instances in which power is used unequally to produce different meanings and practices, which in the final analysis reproduces a particular kind of society that functions in the interest of a dominant class. Thus, it is more appropriate to speak of cultures, rather than culture.

In this sense, ideology is used in this study following the two dimensions developed by Loomba (1989) and Thompson (1984). According to Loomba (1989: 26), ideology “does not, as is often assumed, refer to political ideas alone. It includes all our ‘mental frameworks’, our beliefs, concepts, and ways of expressing our relationship to the world”. Adding Thompson (1984: 4), ideology is “essentially linked to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power – that is, to the process of maintaining domination”. However, it is argued that ideology is not only the process of sustaining relations of domination in school and society, but also the ‘hidden’ practices developed by students and teachers inside and outside school allowing social change to happen (see chapter 2).

Taking that in account, I argue that the knowledge construction process in post-colonial societies is the outcome of looking at school as a micropolitical organization or micropolitical site of power (Davies 2000). As a micropolitical site of power, school reflects the historical, economic and social context of a country reproduced as well in the organization of students and teachers for learning and living (Davies 2000). In school there are several hierarchies that provide different types of access for both teachers and students regarding opportunities of learning and developing knowledge. As
Davies (2000: 285) writes “schools are responsible not just for the academic attainments but for orientations to power and politics”. Furthermore, as it is stated by Woolman (2001: 38), there is an inequality in school policies when comparing traditional African education and post-colonial African education systems:

Inequality in access to formal, modern education contrasts sharply with traditional African education that was inclusive of all children in the village. In most cases, formal education in Africa reproduces a Western-type class structure with greater inequalities than that found in industrial societies where a wide range of wealth and poverty influences individual opportunity.

In addition the Western European education system that has been adopted by the African post-colonial societies should be critically addressed regarding how school produces knowledge. As Appel and Taxel (1982: 167) argues, ‘schools do more than ‘process people’; they ‘process knowledge’ as well… They help define certain groups’ knowledge as legitimate, while other knowledge is considered inappropriate as school knowledge”. In this sense it is necessary to describe the education system in post-colonial societies to enlighten how and what kind of knowledge is constructed in school. Indeed, the impact of the historical and cultural heritage from the colonial period is fundamental to understand the development of the education system in post-colonial Mozambique.

3.4.2. An overview of the education system over the three generations
To understand the construction of knowledge in the education system over three generations in post-colonial Mozambique it is necessary to contextualize each generation within each ideological period of the education system after independence in 1975. Indeed, each political and ideological period as different outcomes in terms of education policies, official programs and the strategic plans for education in Mozambique. Also, linked to the history of the education system in post-colonial Mozambique there are social, economic and political factors such as: the heritage of both colonial infra-structures and policies of education; the impact of the socialist period and the 8th March generation (i.e. part of the 1st generation in this study); the Civil War; several environmental disasters; the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Policies by the IMF and the World Bank; and the impact of foreign
investments. Those factors impact upon the schooling reality in the country and in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans.

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<tr>
<th>Generations and ideology</th>
<th>Education system in Mozambique</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1st generation</strong></td>
<td>Abandonment of Mozambique by the Portuguese teachers after 1975 leaving the country with a lack of teachers; Portuguese as the official language; Alphabetization campaigns; The creation of the Frelimo’ school for the sons of Frelimo’ members; Nationalization of all schools; Students teaching in the 5th, 6th and 7th grades, with 16, 17 and 18 years old (8th March generation); Suspension of the two last years of the secondary education (10th and 11th grade) between 1977 and 1980 to change the schooling reality; Studying abroad after the independence (e.g. Cuba, Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2nd generation</strong></td>
<td>1983, Implementation of the National System of Education (SNE); 1995, private HE institutions were created; Introduction of mandatory schooling until the 7th grade; The idea of mobility (due to the Civil War and the “invention” of African borders by Europe); The constant need of changing places due to the lack of schools reinforce the idea of a “nomadic identity”; The experience of communal villages in the socialist period outside Maputo (rural areas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd generation</strong></td>
<td>2004: Introduction of national languages in the National System of Education (SNE), particularly at the Primary Education level; Decentralization of school management; Inclusion of educational materials in local/national languages; Achieve universal primary education (MDG); Development of technical education</td>
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Table 10: Education system in Mozambique

One factor that is common to the education system for all three generations of Mozambicans is the regional patterns of schooling. The regional disparities are the outcome of the colonial heritage and the Civil War effects in the country. After independence in 1975, the government encouraged communities to provide education opportunities in rural regions of the country: “The construction of make-shift classrooms, or provision of classes under trees, was the norm” (Bartholomew, Takala and Ahmed 2011: 16). However, the regional differences in the country continue to represent a challenge in the education system: in rural areas, more than 80% of the adults don’t have any formal education. The levels of primary and secondary education
are very low compared with urban areas. The reasons pointed to cause low attainment in rural areas are: (i) earlier marriage; (ii) low perception of the importance of education and (iii) distance/availability of schools.

The two most populated provinces of Mozambique, Nampula and Zambezia, present the worst scenarios of educational attainment. In Zambezia, 79% of population has no formal education, only 19% have primary education, 3% have secondary education and few have a higher education level (Bilale 2007: 106).

Also, due to colonial heritage, a substantial lack of qualified teachers continues to exist, which according to Bilale (2007) illustrate the relationship between education and economic growth. In rural areas 47% of the teachers have no formal qualifications, 47% have only basic training and 1% has higher education compared to urban areas, where 25% of teachers have no formal qualifications, 50% have basic education and 11% have higher education. In that sense, the urban areas have more qualified teachers because they can find more opportunities with better salaries and the possibility to do complementary work.

In spite of the fact that the Mozambican government is increasing the state budget for the area of education, the reality continues to be that Mozambique is highly dependent regarding foreign funding.

For 2013, 18.6% of state budget has been reserved for the education sector; while this sounds like an impressive contribution, a look at donor involvement in the sector shows that education in Mozambique largely remains dependent on foreign funding. Donor assistance accounted for 35.4% of the total education budget, and was in this respect considerably above the sub-Saharan Africa average (23.1%) (BTI 2014: 28).

Furthermore, to increase the number of enrolments it is necessary to build more schools in a country where, for instance, 32% of the rural areas don’t have any schools and where students have to walk around 45 kilometres to get to school, living the majority of the population in rural areas. Bilale (2007) states that access and distance to school in rural areas is not a major constraint for primary school enrolment because most of the villages have primary schools, but access to secondary schools is difficult as there are few secondary schools in the rural areas. Also, the quality of the infrastructure of
schools does not answer the demand for education, providing no basic needs such as water and electricity. Most of the schools don’t have the necessary teaching materials such as textbooks, libraries, blackboards and other teaching facilities. In Mozambique, availability of resources is still a concern in the education system.

Education funding is poor. Schools are not financially autonomous and incapable of collecting funds for daily activities. The education budget is mainly funding by external sources (donors). Most of the budget is currently used for school construction and equipment. Other aspects, such as teachers’ training, teachers’ incentives and learning materials are second priority (Bilale 2007: 146).

3.4.3. Education policies over the three generations

In terms of education policies, until 1983 Mozambique had curriculums similar to Portugal, but with specific textbooks that made reference to the history of Frelimo and African history in general. For example, during the socialist period political education was introduced in the curriculum even before the formal independence of the country, during the Transitional Government in Mozambique (September 1974/June 1975) led by Joaquim Chissano (i.e. 2nd President of Mozambique after independence). In those times students were sent to teach in other parts of the country, such as in the north region, due to the lack of teachers. They were the genesis of the 8th March generation that was created in 1977. The curriculum was implemented as it is the described by a female student-teacher of 18 years old at the time, referring to political education through the discipline of history in high school:

Of course they changed [the curriculum] … I start teaching with the Portuguese curriculum, using the same textbooks … The same textbooks I had when I was learning and I was basically imitating the way and what they taught me [during colonial times] … And then, there is this Transitional Government directive … where it was cancelled the use of the textbooks of universal history for the three years: 7th, 8th and 9th grades. And what we should teach… we received a little book with 30 pages about the history of Frelimo [for the three years] … At the time … I didn’t know … how am I going to look for more information to supplement the little book?! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

The way the curriculum was changed is part of the social memory shared by the 1st generation narratives, when they become student-teachers at the time, describing the
pedagogical strategies they found to teach. The description of teaching after 1975, in the beginning of the new nation, is very emotional and brings back the pedagogical challenges faced by the students-teachers of the 1st generation.

It was beautiful! In that period I was inexperienced, not only inexperienced in teaching, ignorant. And all that is part of a young girl with 18 years old, it’s the only explanation I found! So when I was teaching English, I taught exactly the same structure that I have been taught. So the vocabulary of, for example, related with the household space. I used what I had learned. Well, how we say bathroom, chair, table, etc. One day I asked my students to write about something, and I only woke up for reality when one of my students, very Mozambican!, wrote something like this joking with me: “my bathroom...” ... he wrote: “my bathroom is made of grass, I have no toilet ... and besides it is very windy!” ... You see? ... The student was much more realistic than me! ... He was questioning the ridiculous of what I was teaching; the vocabulary … and he had all the reason in the world! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

Also, they describe the introduction of Mozambican authors in the curriculum, after 1975, in secondary education. What came out of that is now part of the 1st generation’s social identity (see chapter 5, findings).

After 1983, a new education system was introduced with new curriculums and textbooks, the so-called National System of Education (SNE). “The New Education System was revised in 1992 and includes General Education, Adult Education, Teacher Training and Technical and Vocational Education” (Bartholomew, Takala and Ahmed 2011: 16). However, the 1980s and early 1990s represents a period of stagnation in terms of education that still impacts in the twenty first century education reality in the country. As it is argued by Bilale (2007: 11), “The stagnation of the education system during 80s and early 90s was mainly explained by negative factors such as infrastructure destruction, social disintegration and the economic crisis”.

In 1992, it was approved by the Mozambican authorities the creation of independent private schools, to increase the access to formal education. However, private schools in the primary education system represented only 1.6% of the total schools in the country, and the majority of these private schools are in the urban regions, especially in Maputo.
city and in some provincial capitals. The educational landscape did not change much with the introduction of democracy and the first multi-party elections in 1994.

After winning the first multi-party election in 1994, the Mozambique Government faced an enormous education deficit. High absolute poverty levels and difficulties in accessing areas outside provincial capitals during the 20-year civil war caused enrollment to plummet, with gross enrollment in primary school at only 50 percent and net enrollment below 40 percent. Infrastructure was in very poor shape, and schools were completely absent in many rural areas. Schools often lacked inputs (teachers, books, supplies, and the like). Many teachers were not qualified to teach (Fox et al. 2012: 2).

In 2004, new curriculum for primary education was introduced with seven years, bilingual education and semi-automatic promotion. According to Fox et al. (2012: 69), “Parents responded to the 2004-2005 reforms by sending more children to school for a longer time, as they recognized that they needed to respond favourably to the public sector doing its part to improve access”.

The same authors (Fox et al. 2012: 20) state that the 2004 reforms were accompanied by a program of school construction and hiring of teachers, which resulted in a “considerable higher supply of schools and classes in both lower and upper primary”. Nevertheless, the reality of the education landscape in Mozambique is still characterized by ‘systemic weaknesses’, as it is characterized by BIT (2014: 28):

Mozambique’s education system, which in the past 20 years has been forced to address the impact of decades of civil war and a very low adult-education level, primarily focused during the period under review on expanding supply and enrollment levels. In 2012, 41.1% of government expenditure went into the education sector. The focus remains for now on primary education, and the 2012-2016 Strategic Plan for Education continues to place its emphasis on creating universal access to primary schools. However, systemic weaknesses are having an effect on education output. Completion rates are falling, and are worst in secondary schools, where only 7% of students go on to complete 12th grade. But even at grade five, only 63% finish. The quality of teaching is a decisive factor here. There is a chronic lack of qualified teachers with the necessary didactical and pedagogical competences (only 8,500 teachers were hired in 2012, well under the projected need of 15,000). The teacher/pupil ratio remains high, at 58 pupils per instructor, although this has improved from more than 60 pupils per class in 2009.
In terms of official programmes, the Mozambican government has been developing strategic plans for the Education sector (Bartholomew, Takala and Ahmed 2011). Mozambican government elected education, among other areas, as a key area of development and poverty reduction, with an increase of investment in this area. The investments in the education sector are the second ones after road construction and maintenance, in a country where 70% of the investments are financed by external funds/donors. The Strategic Plan of Education from the Mozambican government was designed to face the current gaps in the education system such as: (i) low attainment and not finishing primary school; (ii) limited access to secondary school; (iii) and lack of expansion of schools (Bilale 2007). In fact, and according to the Third National Poverty Assessment (MPD 2010b), the school network in Mozambique has improved, with an increasing number of schools: in 2004 there were 9,659 schools and in 2007 11,455 schools, with a growth as well in the number of students enrolment: in 2004 there was 3,670,991 students and in 2007 they increased to 4,844,077.

Besides the Poverty Reduction Strategy 2011-2014 (PARP), the strategic plan of education took into consideration the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) defined by the United Nations, as mentioned previously. The Millennium Development Goals for education established an elimination of gender inequality in primary and secondary education, the conclusion of primary school for boys and girls by 2015, and the reduction by a half of the illiteracy rate in 2015. However, Sub-Saharan countries, such as Mozambique, are far from achieving the goal of universal primary conclusion and rural population and girls are less likely to attend school in those regions.

In the 2012-2016 Strategic Plan for Education (PEE 2012) it is also stated that the Mozambican government will continue to expand the access to education in terms of decreasing regional and gender disparities, putting also in the equation the new technologies that allows distance learning with educational quality. In a general overview, the primary education continues to be the number one priority of the educational policy in Mozambique. Also the 2012-2016 Strategic Plan for Education is tuned with the Poverty Reduction Strategy 2011-2014 (PARP), linking development, poverty reduction through qualification and formal education.
Bearing that in mind, in developed countries the attention is focused on quality of education rather than on availability of schools and teachers (Bilale 2007). It should be added that the notion of quality in education is also being debated in Sub-Saharan African countries, being stated by authors such as Tabulawa (2013) that quality for teachers in the above context is synonymous of student performance in texts and examinations. Debating quality and the meaning of it in the Sub-Saharan African context of education is necessary; while at the same time quality is crossed with studies that enlighten the infra structures/school facilities available in rural and urban contexts.

In order to understand the education policies and official programs it is necessary to present as well the structure of the education system after 1983 until the present day:

![Diagram of Levels of Education in Mozambique](source)

**3.4.4. Schooling data over the three generations**

In terms of schooling data, according to INE (2009), there were 4,233,454 students in primary education 1st level (EP1) and 752,884 on the 2nd Level (EP2), presenting a high number of dropouts between these two levels of education (3,480,570 students).
At the end of secondary education (2\textsuperscript{nd} cycle), there were 71,748 students in 2009 from the initial 4 million students\textsuperscript{7}. However, it’s important to note that since 1980 (when 413 students reached this level of education) the enrolment of students has been increasing exponentially when looking to Mozambique recent history (e.g. independence or colonial war; Civil War until 1992).

In terms of higher education, and according to MEC (2009), Mozambique has 38 public and private institutions with this level of education (17 public and 21 private). There were 112,787 students (43,773 men compared with 69,014 women) enrolled in higher education in 2011 (INE 2012). The majority of the students were enrolled in private

\textsuperscript{7} According to MPD (2010b) data, the enrolled students in Secondary Education (2\textsuperscript{nd} cycle) in 2004 were 21,350 to 47,388 in 2007.
institutions being 79.333 when compared with public institutions that had 33.454 students. When doing a gender analysis regarding higher education enrolments in Mozambique, women are in higher number when compared with men. However when comparing the number of students that graduated from university there are a total of 9.996 in 2011, being the majority from private institutions (7.182) when compared with public universities (2.814). In terms of gender, before getting into higher education, girls have a higher dropout rate when compared to boys in the secondary education due to lack of financial conditions, distance, marriage, pregnancy among other reasons (INE 2012b).

Furthermore, over the last four decades, sub-Saharan African countries have an annual growth average rate of 8.4% when compared with the global rate of 4.3% in terms of enrolment in higher education (UNESCO 2012). Nonetheless,

About 100,000 students are enrolled at tertiary education institutions throughout the country. Given Mozambique’s population of 23.9 million in 2011, the 0.42% of the population attending higher academic schooling is substantially below the African average of 5.4% (BTI 2014: 28).

However when analyzing the labour market in Mozambique related with qualifications, there is a trend that points for an increasing number of Mozambicans that concluded secondary education and went to higher education afterwards. In a comparative analysis between 1997 and 2009, it is possible to observe that the schooling patterns are slowly changing (see figure below):

- Men: from 1997 to 2009 the number of men with no formal education has decreased considerably, having in 2009 a clear trend that points to studying beyond secondary education;
- Women: in 1997 women with no formal education where almost the double when compared to men in the same year; however from 1997 to 2009, the number of women with formal education increased considerably, having now as well a clear trend that points to studying beyond secondary education. Indeed even tough in primary education the number of drop outs is majority among
girls, when looking to higher education rates of completion, women are present in higher number when compared to men (as mentioned before).

Figure 11: Education Levels of new workforce entrants 1997, 2003, 2009 (Source: Fox et al. 2012)

In conclusion, the education system in post-colonial Mozambique can be characterized by three stages since 1975 until the present day:

• First, from 1975 to 1983, having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology, with the socialist implementation of education policies to reduce the high illiteracy rates inherited from Portuguese colonial times; the education policy of transforming students into teachers (i.e. particularly with the phenomenon of the 8th March generation);

• Second, from 1983-2004, having Democracy as an ideology, with the implementation of the National System of Education (SNE); the creation of private schools to increase access to formal education; and the introduction of mandatory schooling until the 7th grade;

• Third, from 2004 to 2014, having Global Capitalism/Neo-liberalism as an ideology, with the introduction of national languages in the National System of Education (SNE), particularly at the primary education level; designing policies
to achieve the universal primary education to all according to the MDGs; and the development of technical education.

The three stages of the education system in post-colonial Mozambique have several factors in common, such as the following:

• Regional disparities in terms of rural and urban school facilities, providing a better education in urban centres;
• Gender inequalities;
• Weak school infrastructures;
• Lack of qualified teachers;
• Teacher/students ratios are very high;
• Social and economic inequalities among the population linked with the levels of development and poverty in the country, with high levels of unemployment.

In sum, the education system in Mozambique is the outcome of a long colonial history of education policies that aimed particularly to the creation of a distinction and discrimination system of knowledge among races and gender. After the independence, Mozambique developed the first policy of education in an ideological frame of socialism aiming to reduce illiteracy and to develop the nation against the patterns of the former colonial power. However, due to historical constraints and the fact that Portuguese became the official language of the country, there is still a reproduction of knowledge inside the elites of the country. Nonetheless, education for all became a symbol associated with the first ideological moment in the narratives of the 1st generation of Mozambicans. Schooling patterns started to change, in spite of the trends of gender inequality and poverty that characterizes particularly the rural areas of the country. Nowadays, and after the period of the Civil War, that resulted in the destruction of many school infra-structures, the numbers of population with access to education is increasing. However, the fact that Mozambique continues to be highly dependent on external sources/donors, will continue to tune the country with the neo-liberal agenda of education that is ‘producing’ knowledge for the labour market needs. In that sense, the 3rd generation of Mozambicans is the voice of disenchantment with the way knowledge is constructed in school and the purposes of school itself, as it will be narrated in chapter 5 of this study (i.e. findings).
Chapter 4: Methodology and methods

Knowledge is something that is not finished, it’s something that is always in construction, something that we can question about … but I question this hierarchy of knowledge, the denial of other forms of knowledge … I associate very much knowledge with something formal, to science, to the materialization of knowledge even in an absolutely conventional way of looking to it: books. Why books?! Why only books?! It is the empire of writing; of books ... We need to be open and prepared for what you are going to find in the field, in the reality. And this attitude doesn’t come easily! To be able to hear, to see, to feel, to smell, be open to other ways of knowledge (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

In this chapter I present the methodological approach and subsequent methods used in this research about three generations of students in post-colonial Mozambique. Firstly, I describe the ethnographic and narrative approaches used within the epistemological position of constructivism exploring the notion of meaning-making in this process. Secondly, I address life history as the main research method used, complemented with ethnographic research techniques such as participation and direct observation, and fieldwork diary reflections. Taking that in account, I present a sociological characterisation of the three generations of Mozambicans, data that derives from the life histories collected, addressing the following: (a) links between the personal identity and the social identity over the three generations; (b) age ranges (date of birth); (c) qualifications (educational degrees), current professional area of work and (d) region of origin in Mozambique. Thirdly, I present the analytic frame used to understand the discourses and organize the findings from the collected data (i.e. discourse and conversation analysis). Finally, I address the ethical challenges when carrying out educational research at a macro level (i.e. principles that guide an ethical practice in research and in education research in particular) and a micro level (i.e. the study about the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique over three generations of students, lessons from the field and positionality of the researcher).

4.1. Description of methodology and methods – a critical approach

I begin by addressing critically the need to draw upon a narrative and ethnographic methodological approach based upon the notion of meaning-making within the epistemological position of constructivism. After that, I address critically the research
methods used in this study (i.e. life history), debating also the use of ethnographic techniques such as participation and direct observation, and fieldwork diary reflections. Finally I bring a sociological characterization of the three generations of Mozambicans in this study within a research reflexive account.

4.1.1. Narrative and ethnography as a methodological framework

The methodological approach used in this study is a qualitative one, grounded in the epistemological position of constructivism particularly by Jerome Bruner (1996). Bruner developed the theory of narrative “as both a mode of thought and an expression of culture’s world view” (Bruner 1996: xiv). Reality is a social construction, in which social actors are constantly reconstructing their narratives in their everyday life interactions (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Goffman 1956; Bruner 1996; Hacking 1999; Geertz 1973). As it is argued by Bruner (1996: xiv), “it is through our own narratives that we principally construct a version of ourselves in the world, and it is through its narrative that a culture provides models of identity and agency to its members”. The construction of knowledge is achieved through constant experience of the world organized through narratives that systematizes the innumerous levels of ‘meanings’, giving in that sense a feeling of self or an identity belonging to each human being. Bearing that in mind, ‘meaning’ has a centrality in the way social reality is constructed and simultaneously interpreted. The idea of ‘meaning’ brings together the two methodological approaches used in this study (i.e. the narrative and ethnographic approaches).

The notion of ‘meaning’ has its roots in the critical theory, a school of thought that started in Germany associated with the Frankfurt School in the early 1920s. Following that path, Paul Ricoeur developed a hermeneutical project that defines the notion of ‘meaning’ used in this research. The human being is a ‘linguistic being’, using language to express and manifest his/her way of being. Language is the mechanism that people use to relate with others and with the world. However, the human being is more than language itself, creating several linguistic possibilities that could give us an understanding of the self. As it is argued by Ricoeur (1974: 265), “language speaks, that is, shows, makes present, brings into being … language as belonging to being requires, then, that one reverse the relation once more and that language appears itself as a mode
of being in being”. Additionally it is argued that a human being is as much polysemic as language in itself and it is the researcher’s task to reveal that rich context, in which human being is represented and constructed through language and language is the reflex of the human condition. “All our words being polysemic to some degree, the univocity or plurivocity of our discourse is not the accomplishment of words but of context” (Ricoeur 1974: 94). It is within the context that the ‘meaning of self’ assumes its entire purpose through language, using narrative as a mechanism of expression, creation and representation. In addition, ethnography presents itself as a way to have access to the several narratives and ‘meanings of self’ by each generation of Mozambicans in this study.

With the idea of ‘meaning’ as a centrality in the methodological approach used, this study was developed based upon an interdisciplinary methodology, combining an ethnographic and a narrative approach in the field from areas such as anthropology, education, linguistic, literature, social psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology and history (e.g. Malinowski 1932, 1967; Mauss 2007; Geertz 1973, 1988; Bruner 1996; Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou 2008; Horsdal 2012; Ricoeur 1984; Spindler and Spindler 1987; Horsdal 2012).

The ethnographic methodology is defined as being both a participant observation and a participant description made by the researcher and in co-operation with the participants (Geertz 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986). Ethnography as a methodology allows the researcher to articulate his/her experiences in the field. The ethnographic methodology was formally established by Malinowski in 1922, when he argued that to have an understanding of what was going in the field the researcher should live among the ‘other’ for a long period of time, having knowledge of the local language (Malinowski 1932). This was called participant observation. However, a critical approach to participant observation was done by several authors (e.g. Geertz 1973, 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Taussig 2011) reflecting upon the transformation of the daily fieldwork experience into a written account of the ‘other’. In that sense, Geertz (1973, 1988) proposed the notion of participant description based upon the idea of ‘thick description’. A ‘thick description’ is a description of a specific form of communication that happens between the researcher and the participants where it is possible to draw
answers regarding the participants’ knowledge system of being and living. With a ‘thick description’ it is possible to answer questions such as: who they think they are? What they do? And why they say they do it? Indeed, the researcher using the ethnographic methodology is ‘inscribing’ social discourse (Geertz 1973) and should take into account what it is to do ethnography. As argued by Geertz (1973: 10),

Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of ‘construct a reading of’) a manuscript-foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour.

Conversely, Geertz’s perspective about the ethnographic methodology was critically approached by Clifford and Marcus (1986) who argue that traditional ethnography was linked to the idea of ‘looking at’, ‘objectifying’ or ‘reading’ a certain social reality with an outsider perspective. In that sense, Clifford (1986: 2) argues that when doing ethnography, “we begin, not with participant-observation or with cultural texts (suitable for interpretation), but with writing, the making of texts... in the field and thereafter”. The ethnography methodology becomes a dialogue with several voices where knowledge is co-produced by and with the researcher and the participants. Indeed, there is a “general trend toward a specification of discourses in ethnography: who speaks? who writes? when and where? with or to whom? under what institutional and historical constraints?” (Clifford 1986: 13). In addition, later on, Geertz also adds that the ethnographic description is a ‘highly situated’ description (1988), calling for the need to know the specific time, space and social actors involved in the description in order to have an understanding of what is been written and why.

In that sense, using an ethnographic approach over three generations in post-colonial Mozambique takes the researcher to question the moment of inscription made by the participants and transcription made by the researcher. In the act of description/inscription the three generations of Mozambicans call for personal, familial and social memories, being memory about representation of social reality much more than the actual events (see chapter 2). Ethnography allows a social re-construction of past experiences and events made by the participants, with a ‘thick description’ of their lives (e.g. Geertz 1973, 1988). Indeed, classical ethnography (e.g. Malinowski 1932)
underlined the existence of ‘objectivity’ when collecting data; nowadays within contemporary ethnography (e.g. Clifford and Marcus 1986; Geertz 1973, 1988) there is no call for ‘objectivity’, only for a ‘thick description’ that occurs within a dialogue between the participants and the researcher. The researcher also needs to acknowledge his/her living experience when doing ethnographic fieldwork, because she/he is a co-producer of a ‘highly situated’ description, as argued by Geertz (1988).

As a researcher, I have lived in Mozambique in the middle 80s, having studied in a public school, with teachers of the so-called 8th March generation (i.e. part of the 1st generation), experiencing the socialist period (i.e. 1st generation); and being a teacher with students from the three generations in this study in the ideological and political current period of neo-liberalism that characterizes the 3rd generation (see chapter 1). However, the ethnographic fieldwork conducted for this research was done in May 2013; but I also used my fieldwork notebooks from my ethnographic fieldwork developed between 2011 and 2012. Those were the times of the neo-liberal 3rd generation, but simultaneously the times of the 1st and 2nd generation reconstruction of the past. Indeed, when doing ethnographic fieldwork with the 1st and 2nd generation I called for the living memories and representations of social reality about the socialist and democratic period, with memories that goes back to the Portuguese colonial times. Those are part of their oral narratives, through the collection of their life histories. The idea is to re-construct historical, along with present, experienced-events in modern times, knowing that history is always a representation through memory much more than an objective social reality (see chapter 2 and 3).

In addition, I called for the collection of the historical events of post-colonial Mozambique regarding schooling settings (i.e. bibliographic reconstruction of the past using books, articles, and policy documentation; see chapter 3) to create my own subjective description and representation of the past. Bringing historical perspectives allowed me to reconstruct the meta-narratives (i.e. ideological and political periods in post-colonial Mozambique over three generations) to contextualize the life experiences of the participants. In conclusion, ethnography allows both an inscription made by the participants and a transcription made by the researcher in a permanent dialogue with the participants (e.g. Clifford and Marcus 1986), knowing that social reality is always a
representation and a constant re-construction in the moment of telling the story/history. Ethnography brings the subjective representations of the schooling experiences of both participants and the researcher over three ideological and political periods in post-colonial Mozambique. Indeed, ethnography is much more about how we, participants and researcher, represent social reality than reality in itself (see chapter 2). In the end, can the researcher call for an ethnographic methodology when she/he has not lived all the historical experienced-events described by the participants? When using contemporary ethnography the focus is on the ‘thick description’ made by the participants, as mentioned earlier, co-organized by the fact that the researcher has been living in the context and share the same language of the participants in an acknowledge period of time. The fact that the researcher lived and speaks the same language of the participants, collecting and being part of the everyday life interactions and practices with all three generations (i.e. 2011/2012; May 2013), brings a contextualized meaning that enables her/him to create a co-description and co-inscription of their experienced accounts of schooling experiences and impact upon their identity.

Bearing that in mind, a narrative methodology is also employed in this study to collaborate and co-operate with the ethnographic approach. Both methodologies share the idea of meaning, dialogue and situated description. Indeed, and according to Stephens (2011: 326), “narrative as an approach to research is epistemologically different to methods such as questionnaires, interviews and focus groups … the narrative ‘turn’ calls for a fundamentally different – and I would argue – more meaningful representation of reality”. When telling a story, the narrator is speaking about the construction of his/her culture and identity much more than ‘providing answers’ (Stephens 2011). The importance of ‘context’ to understand the narrative meaning is a central issue in the narrative approach. Drawing on Wittgenstein ideas, among other authors, Stephens (2014) argues that what is most important is what ‘context means’ rather than ‘on how it is used’. In that sense, working in international settings of education, particularly in what is called the Global South, the narrative approach offers a ‘distinctive characteristic’ namely “its relationship to culture” (Stephens 2011: 327). Furthermore, “Narrative research offers us an opportunity to generate much needed data into the relationship between ‘school life’ and ‘whole life’” (Stephens 2011: 327), knowing that many times there is a lack of understanding
regarding the ‘lived world’ and the everyday life of teachers and students when taking
in account the ‘cultural world’ of the researcher (Stephens 2007).

In that sense, as it is argued by Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008: 1-2),

… we frame our research in terms of narrative because we believe that by doing
so we are able to see different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning, to
bring them into useful dialogue with each other, and to understand more about
individual and social change. By focusing on narrative, we are able to
investigate not just how stories are structured and the ways in which they work,
but also who produces them and by what means; the mechanisms by which they
are consumed; and how narratives are silenced, contested or accepted. All these
areas of enquiry can help us describe, understand and even explain important
aspects of the world…

The narrative approach is tuned with the spirit of the ethnographic methodology,
allowing looking for different, complementary, opposed or silenced meanings of a
narrative that is constructed by the participants and the researcher. When describing and
interpreting the verbal and non-verbal discourses of the three generations of
Mozambicans in this study, the researcher should take in account that “the construction
of reality has always already been undertaken by the people themselves in their own
languages before the intervention of the ethnographer as translator” (Borneman and
Hammoudi 2009: 6). Both ethnographic and narrative approaches enable the researcher
to uncover the several layers of meaning inside one-multiple narrative(s), knowing that
when telling a story the storyteller is telling several versions of the same experience(s).
And after telling the story, the researcher becomes also a storyteller re-telling and re-
constructing the narratives of the ‘subjects’. Bearing that in mind, I will develop below
the experienced-centered narrative research in particular (Andrews, Squire and
Tamboukou 2008), within the life history research method used in this study.

Indeed, using a narrative and ethnographic approach allows the researcher to construct
upon the notion of polyphony and dialogism (i.e. many voices and dialogue with others;
see James Clifford and Mikhail Bakthin) “as an alternative to the monologic authority
of modes of voicing” in the writing process of the research (Marcus 1997: 92). This
research is a dialogue between the researcher and the ‘subjects’, calling for a critical
analysis of this dialogue using the notion of ‘synoptic illusion’ by Bourdieu (1977). As
it is argued by Bourdieu (1977), the researcher, in order to produce knowledge, usually uses a structured discourse about it, creating a ‘synopsis’ as a mean of simplification and condensation of rich and deep data into a unified and unifying frame of reference. Bourdieu had in mind examples such as diagrams, genealogies and calendars. The author considers that the ‘synoptic illusions’ are most of the time distortions of the reality. To avoid such pitfalls, the researcher should be always reflexive about his/her practice and the influence of his/her own knowledge and impact upon the ‘subject’ world. This also implies a critical approach to the researcher’s own systems of beliefs and the way the representation of ‘subject’ world is done. In that sense, to achieve a better understanding of the complexity of social reality the researcher needs to turn the familiar into strange and the strange into familiar (Bourdieu 1977; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992).

Furthermore, a qualitative methodology calls for methods of collecting data that are by its nature a kind of ‘mirror reflection’ of social reality, being characterized by their flexibility and adaptability to a specific social context. However, the fact of addressing a qualitative or a privileged sample does not mean it is blocked to other settings. In that sense, the idea of this study is also to present the findings as having the potential to be applied or transferable to other settings, knowing that to achieve ‘external validity’ of the data it is necessary to present both the reflexive position of the researcher in the field and the deepness or ‘thick description’ of the collected data (Payne and Williams 2005; Geertz 1973).

**4.1.2. Life history as a research method**

Being aware of the complexity of social reality, I took the decision to use particularly life history as a research method (e.g. Poirier et all 1995; Goodson and Sikes 2001; Goodson 2008; Miles 2000; West, L. et al. 2007). To be able to apply this particular research method, the narrative and ethnographic approaches are part of the nature of life history itself, because both approaches also intend to understand the ‘meaning’ of a specific group of social actors. Indeed, “one’s goal as an ethnographer is to focus on a setting” and understand “what is going on there” (Wilcox 1982: 458). To understand this social phenomenon, I focus on a setting (i.e. post-colonial society, three generations in Mozambique) to obtain a ‘thick description’ through narrative: what they do, how
they do it and how they say they do it (Geertz 1973). To obtain this kind of narrative, I find the life history method to be the more appropriate to achieve a description that puts the story of each individual in a historical context, giving the possibility to understand the personal and social identity of each generation linked with the transmission and appropriation of formal and informal knowledge. Indeed, the life history method allows the researcher to create two possible dimensions in the narratives: the life story related to the life-journey of the three generations of Mozambicans and the life history related with social, cultural, economic and political stories of events/experiences that occurred in the country.

Essentially, life history research within the context of the so-called developing country context concerns the relationship between two inter-dependent worlds: that of the individual with their unique life story and that of the past, present and future contextual world through which the individuals travels. Life story is “the story we tell about our life” (Goodson, 1992) while life history is that story “located within its historical context”… (Stephens 2000: 32).

Furthermore, and according to Goodson (2006: 15-16) life history as a research method is applied in this research as following:

➢ “First the personal life story is an individualizing device if divorced from context. It focuses on the uniqueness of individual personality and circumstance and in doing so may well obscure or ignore collective circumstances and historical movements. Life stories are only constructed in specific historical circumstance and cultural conditions”;

➢ ”Second then, the individual life story far from being personally constructed is itself scripted. The social scripts people employ in telling their life story are derived from a small number of acceptable archetypes available in the wider society. The life story script, far from being autonomous, is highly dependent on wider social scripts. In a sense what we get when we listen to a life story is a combination of archetypal stories derived from wider social forces and the personal characterizations the life storyteller invokes. The life story therefore has to be culturally located as we pursue our understandings”.

Life stories do not explicitly acknowledge the culture of the storyteller or their ‘historical location’ in a certain time and space. In that sense, as argued by Goodson (2006) and Stephens (2009), the ‘context’ should be brought in order to enlighten the
narratives and its meanings. “This means that the historical context of life stories needs to be further elucidated and they need to be understood in relationship to time and periodization” (Goodson 2006: 15-16).

In addition, the concepts of public and hidden transcripts (Scott 1985, 1990, 2011; see chapter 2) are addressed within the method of life history used in this study. The life history as a research method calls for a particular attention to the double meaning that characterize people’s lives and narratives: the public and the hidden transcripts. In the every life practices and forms of resistance of each generation in this study I encountered what was described by Scott (1985) as the public transcript. The public transcript is described as the self-portrait of the dominant social and political classes. Simultaneously the public transcript is the mechanism that contributes for the creation of a social critique. The social critique is present in the so-called hidden transcripts (Scott 1985). As argued by Scott (1985), within the public transcripts, that become openly recognized by the social actors but not necessarily accepted, a hidden transcript is created and co-exists within (e.g. accepting colonial discrimination based on race does not mean that Mozambicans/Africans accept that they are inferiors to the colonizer; see chapter 3) . The hidden transcript is a form of resistance that allows people to express their discontentment, creating resistances towards the dominant social and political discourse and practice. In that sense, according to Scott (1985), when the public transcript is characterized by a particular ‘severe domination’, “it is likely to produce a hidden transcript of corresponding richness” (Scott 1985: 315), as mentioned in chapter 2.

In post-colonial Mozambique there are several examples of ‘severe domination’ periods: (i) during colonial times, when Mozambicans did not have access to school beyond primary education and were considered to be ‘inferior’ to the colonizers; (ii) during socialist times, after independence, when everyone should agree with the ruling political party and their schooling agenda or ended in the ‘re-education camps’; (iii) during the Civil War period, people should be aligned with Frelimo or Renamo to avoid being killed, in a period when school existed primarily in informal ways (e.g. improvised schools under trees); (iv) during the transition to capitalism when the national political elite and the international community were considered to have
developed an unbalanced economic process of liberalization; (v) with the neo-liberal state in Mozambique having to accept, for example, the continuation of ‘grand projects’ and exportations that contributed for unequal patterns of development and poverty in the country, including schooling landscape (see chapter 3). Those periods of ‘severe domination’ contributed for the creation of hidden transcripts that allowed people to elaborate counter-discourses and practices along with the public transcripts. Life history as a research method allows the researcher to have access to the duality of everyday life practices through the narratives of each generation, arbitrating between the two modalities that compose it (i.e. public and hidden transcripts). It is in the moment of telling the story/history that each generation becomes aware of their discontentment and resistance to what is going on. In order to understand that, the researcher needs to be ‘in the context’ or know the history, events, language that characterizes the participants’ lives. When constructing their narratives each generation shares the publicly accepted discourse with the researcher, but at the same time reveals the hidden transcripts, even in small gestures. For example, when listening to the life stories/histories of the 1st generation, there was an acknowledgment of the socialist educational programmes, but at the same time a critique about being done without any plan or just as the continuation of the dominant social and political classes (i.e. from Portuguese colonial figures to Frelimo’s dominant political and social figures). When the 1st generation criticized the socialist period, usually they lower their voice to avoid being listened by others besides the researcher, and by the fact that anonymity was guaranteed to them by the researcher as well. Another example could be found in the critiques made by the 3rd generation about corruption in the country and in schools. Again, speaking with a different tone of voice and knowing that the researcher was/still is one of them, because she had also experienced the same reality in the education system. In conclusion, life history allows the participants to incorporate these two dimensions of their life experiences: to live in society is to accept the rules and norms, while creating solutions or options for what is consider to be socially and politically inadequate by each generation.

Furthermore, the choice between researching events or experiences in narrative research is necessary to define the kind of data to be collected and analyzed. A narrative approach to social reality, particularly through the life history method, is an act of reconstruction of words and images, conceptions and representations, vision(s) of the
world in a shared context of culture and political environment. When people narrate their story and history they re-live or re-enact their past, present and project their future to be or their hopes in being. To be able to understand the explicit and the implicit meanings of their narratives is necessary to explain if I will address an event-centred or an experience-centred study within the narrative research. Both event- and experience-centred narrative researches share the idea of ‘external expression’:

What is shared across both event- and experience-centred narrative research, is that there are assumed to be individual, internal representations of phenomena – events, thoughts and feelings – to which narrative gives external expression. Event-centred work assumes that these internal and individual representations are more or less constant. Experience-centred research stresses that such representations vary drastically over time, and across the circumstances within which one lives, so that a single phenomena may produces very different stories, even from the same person (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou 2008: 5).

This study will focus on experience-centred narrative research, arguing that narratives are “stories of experience” more than “of events”. In this sense, narrative organizes the life-journeys of the three generations of Mozambicans in this study, and it is in the act of listening that I find the voices of the three generations. Indeed, the act of listening is linked with the notion of language itself: it is through language that we find meaning of our self in the world and construct a meaningful world to live in. When the narrator speaks, he/she is creating ‘meaning’, understanding and sharing ‘who he/she is’. The representation process itself is polysemic as the person who speaks, since stories have a distance regarding the described experiences, creating in this sense several meanings and the notion that each story changes every time it is told – regardless the fact that we always find some constant patterns, probably identified through the history that gives a diachronic meaning to the story told. As part of the experience-centred research both actors – the storyteller and the listener – co-construct the story (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou 2008).

Furthermore, in the experience-centred narrative research it is possible to identify the following characteristics that helped to organize the collected data and subsequent analysis of it (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou 2008: 42-46):

- Narratives are “sequential and meaningful”, giving space to capture the fragmented and contradictory visions of each personal experience;
Narratives are “definitively human”, due to the fact that is the way human beings produce a “sense-making” of their experiences in the world;

Narratives “re-present experience”, “reconstituting it”, and “expressing it”, in a specific time and space, being able to give the researcher the possibility to understand the context;

Narratives “display transformation or change”, creating the space for transformation through awareness.

The experienced-centred narrative research focuses on the “constructive powers of narrative” is useful for social research and practice. This approach allows the researcher to access several “truths” instead of a single one, providing the possibility to improve or co-operate in social change. Additionally, the social reality becomes clearer within its diversity, giving the researcher the possibility to ‘translate’/interpret a broader range of world’s visions.

Bearing that in mind, to achieve the reconstruction of post-colonial contexts, the comparative approach within the three generations of Mozambicans becomes more understandable, because it increases the possibilities of interpretations regarding the theme studied: construction of knowledge and impact upon identity formation. In addition, a comparative approach provides the ‘antidotes for the narrative construal of reality’ (Bruner 1996: 147-149) such as: contrast, confrontation and metacognition. To be aware of the way actors construct their own narratives and how I, the researcher understand them, I need to hear at least two versions about the same experience (contrast); hear the experience description and then look for the experience itself using others methods (confrontation); and try to understand how thoughts are organized and expressed (metacognition). In addition, as it is argued by Leach (1954 apud Comaroff and Comaroff 1992), social reality is never the outcome of a balanced and organized process and system; it is, in fact, opposite to the notion of a ‘coherent whole’, being characterized by a fragmentary and inconsistent nature.

“How System”, therefore, is always a fiction, an ‘as if’ model of work, for actor and analyst alike. But, Leach added, it is a necessary analytic fiction, because it affords a means by which otherwise invisible connections between social
phenomena may be traced out and explained (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992: 23).

To be aware of the ‘invisible connections’, I complemented life history as a research method with ethnographic techniques such as participant and direct observation, and fieldwork diary reflections, that included policy documentation analysis in order to contextualize the ethnographic observations.

4.1.3. Ethnographic techniques as a complementary research method

Bearing in mind that narratives always have a ‘hidden transcript’ inside the discourse (see chapter 2) and ‘invisible connections’ (Leach 1954), I used complementary methods to have access to the several meanings constructed by the three generations of Mozambican students. The data collection methods used, besides life history method, was direct and participant observation, fieldwork diary reflections and, informed by the field, policy documentation analysis.

Knowing that, I developed my ethnographic fieldwork in Mozambique through the following complementary data collection methods, as stated below:

a) participant observation characterized by everyday interaction in higher education institutions (private and public) in Maputo going to seminars, conferences, and reading research students proposals to end their first degree; also staying outside classrooms speaking with students, teachers and other staff members from the public and private universities;

b) direct observation characterized by observing behaviour and teaching-learning styles inside classrooms without my participation;

c) fieldwork diary reflections;

d) Policy documentation analysis.

Indeed, the combination of several methods allowed me to understand that different political times generate different education systems and identity formation processes. The data obtained is about the life-journeys of the three generations of Mozambicans after 1975 (post-colonial context), related to their human condition as citizens of a certain group, family, culture and country; and about the impact of education and formal knowledge on their personal and social identity.
The process of collecting life histories and at the same time do a participant and direct observation, through everyday interactions with different social actors related with the context of education in Mozambique, gave to the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans a deeper understanding. External episodes always impact upon people’s perceptions and discourses of social reality, calling for a description of the social and political situation in Mozambique when I was doing fieldwork. In that sense, what happened in Mozambique during that time and what is going on currently presents another level of meaning and translation/interpretation of the discourses of the three generations of Mozambicans. During that time (i.e. May 2013) and also as the outcome of my living/teaching experience in 2011/2012, I observed that the Mozambican society is becoming quite critical towards its political regime; however, this does not seem to be the outcome of formal education but the outcome of having access to information through the mass media and the globalization phenomenon with the technological tools available – similar to what happened in the North of Africa with the Arab Spring. The use of mobile phone, texting messages, and social network such as “Facebook”, are becoming highly popular among the population to express their feelings and create a sense of social cohesion and resistance to the current political regime. This trend follows the pattern of globalization and communication system in the modern world. Furthermore, the current social and political scenario, the strategies used in everyday life by the social actors, as well the researcher’s interpretations about reality, are always part of the analysis process that follows the collected data in the field. One must be aware of those, because it is another level of interpretation/translation of social reality and it is part of the narrative constructions by the storytellers.

Finally regarding the policy documentation analysis, as a complementary data collection method, can be described as following: there are documents available through official publication diaries from the government that I had access and acquired when I was in Mozambique, but there are several documents not yet published and the access to them is always a process of negotiation with key informants. I consider that the process of collecting and analysing policy documentation, due to the lack of resources in terms of public access that characterize a country such as Mozambique (e.g. levels of development and consequence of the Civil War), is also something that impacts upon
the research findings. The policy documentation analysis will be part of the production of narratives regarding the three generations of Mozambicans creating parallel narratives: the narratives of the three generations will be put side-by-side with the ‘official’ narratives in education policy documentations to understand another level of ‘meaning’ in the education and identity processes in post-colonial Mozambique (see chapter 5, findings).

Before describing the analytic framework used (i.e. discourse and conversations analysis) to understand the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans, I present firstly a sociological characterisation of the life histories collected: who they are (i.e. personal identity and the social identity; age ranges; formal qualifications; current professional area of work and region of origin in Mozambique), when and how the life histories were collected. The sociological characterisation of the three generations of Mozambicans will allow an understanding of the analytical framework used to construct/interpret their narratives.

4.1.4. Sociological characterisation of the three generations of Mozambicans

In order to understand the ‘invisible connections’ I argue that the researcher needs to have a contextual knowledge to understand which social actors are involved and are part of the ‘system’ (paraphrasing Leach 1954). Bearing that in mind, the data collection methods allowed for a comparative approach over the three generations of Mozambicans in a post-colonial and globalized society.

To be able to create a comparative sample, I putted side by side the three generations of Mozambican students related with the cultural, historical and political context of Mozambique, as mentioned previously (see chapter 2 and 3). Indeed, I used two identity indicators to create a coherent discourse that allowed me to perform a meaningful analysis that can be applied into other contexts with an adaptation to each specific setting:


b) The construction of the ‘public self’ around the idea of a ‘great figure’, a charismatic leader inside the ruling party, Frelimo (that still rules the country
since its independence), linked with the three moments of political history and ideology in Mozambique (i.e. Marxism-Leninism or Socialism, Democracy and Global Capitalism/Neo-Liberalism). To symbolize each moment in the political history and ideology in the country, I presented the three Frelimo’ leaders that represent the ‘public self’ of each period, knowing that most of the times the ‘private self’ is opposite to the ‘public self’ but is part of the personal and social identity constructions (see chapter 5, findings).

In this context the three generations of Mozambican students in this study are characterized as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations of Mozambicans</th>
<th>Public self (personal identity)</th>
<th>Ideological moments (social identity)</th>
<th>Age ranges (date of birth)</th>
<th>Qualifications (educational degrees)</th>
<th>Current professional area of work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st generation</strong></td>
<td>6 interviewees (3 females and 3 males former students)</td>
<td>Symbolically represented by the 1st President of Mozambique, Samora Machel (1975-1986); The identification is towards Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
<td>Born between 1957 and 1966</td>
<td>2 with PhD (women); 2 with Master (1 man, 1 woman); 2 with Licenciate degree (1 man, 1 woman)</td>
<td>Teaching in the university (3 women and 1 man); other areas (working for public organizations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd generation</strong></td>
<td>6 interviewees (3 females and 3 males former students)</td>
<td>Symbolically represented by the 2nd President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005); The identification is towards Democracy as an ideology</td>
<td>Born between 1974 and 1980</td>
<td>4 with Master; 2 Licenciate</td>
<td>The majority are teaching in the university; 1 working in the private sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd generation</strong></td>
<td>6 interviewees (3 females and 3 males college students)</td>
<td>Symbolically represented by the President, Armando Guebuza (2005-2014); The identification is towards Global Capitalism as an ideology</td>
<td>Born between 1982 and 1987</td>
<td>4 Licenciate; 2 in the process of ending their Licenciate’ degree</td>
<td>1 teacher in the university; 2 college students; 3 working in the private sector</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Sociological characterisation of the three generations of Mozambican

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8 This is the designation given to the first academic degree in the Mozambican higher education system, with 4 or 5 years long, inherited from the Portuguese higher education system. Portugal has now a similar system to the UK: BA with 3 years, Master and PhD.
I also collected life histories of students in each generation that are not from Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, to hear the minority voices of the education system. As explained previously (see chapter 3) the education trends indicate that the majority of higher education students in Mozambique are, in general, from Maputo. Indeed, the students that did or are still undertaking higher education degrees are mainly concentrated in the cities, especially in the city of Maputo, a pattern that was inherited from Portuguese colonial times. This pattern is reflected in the 18 life histories collected for this study, as presented in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region of origin in Mozambique (Provinces)</th>
<th>1st generation</th>
<th>2nd generation</th>
<th>3rd generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50% from Maputo (South); the rest are from the Provinces of: Inhambane (South); Zambezia (Centre); Tete (Centre)</td>
<td>50% from Maputo (South, all women); 2 from Inhambane (South) and 1 from Sofala (Centre)</td>
<td>The majority are from Maputo (South); 1 from Zambezia (Centre)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Regions of origin in Mozambique of the three generations of students

From the 1st to the 3rd generation it is possible to observe that the majority of the students are from the south regions of the country, particularly Maputo. This trend is even more underlined in the younger generation (90% are from Maputo).

In addition, the qualitative data reflects the national trends of a high level of migration from a rural environment to the capital city, as it is possible to observe from the origin of the 1st generation until the youngest one, the 3rd generation (see chapter 3). In the 3rd generation the majority are from Maputo when compared with the two other generations that still have students from other regions of the country. In that sense, the 18 life histories collected are considered to be representative of the national trends, because they represent the educational patterns that it is possible to encounter in each generation’s time and space.

Regarding the life histories collected over the three generations of Mozambicans, I collected 18 life histories in May 2013, in Maputo. The 18 life histories are divided equally among each generation and taking into account a gender perspective. Gender inequality is a characteristic of the educational landscape in post-colonial Mozambique.
(see chapter 3). The life histories were collected during the fieldwork developed in Mozambique. Each interview has an average of three hours, and are equally divided among women and men, from different regions of Mozambique. As mentioned previously, the life histories were collected in May 2013, during my fieldwork in Maputo. The preparation to collect the life histories started in October 2012 using privileged key informants that gave me access to each generation. The contacts started through email and Skype, also by phone, to identify at least 36 potential women and men interested in giving an interview about their life story/history. This strategy proved to be useful in the field, because it happened that interviews schedule between October 2012 and April 2013 were not viable in May 2013, when I was in Mozambique, due to several reasons (e.g. people being abroad suddenly; having personal issues that didn’t leave time to give the interview; not being interested any more). Also May proved to be a good month to collect the life histories, because the academic year begins in February and in May teachers (former students) and college students still have time to give the interviews. When choosing this particular month to carry on the fieldwork, my previous experience as a teacher in higher education in Mozambique also gave me the practical knowledge of knowing which months are particularly difficult in matters of time and availability in a context where teachers (former students) are overload with work due to the lack of qualified teachers and facing a very low salary compared with the cost of life having to work in more than one university.

Moreover, in each generation I used the ‘snowball sampling’ technique before arriving in Mozambique. With this technique it is important to be aware of the characteristics of the first interviewee and the predisposition to indicate similar persons (Foddy 1996; Quivy and Campenhoudt 1992). Therefore, being aware also of the context prior to the arrival in the field is essential to develop the fieldwork planned previously, e.g. achieving the target designed in the research project. Also it is important to state that when using life history as a research method, I followed Goodson (2008) and Goodson and Sikes (2001) suggestions: (a) using few questions to leave the participants able to construct or unfold his/her narrative regarding his/her story/history avoiding the pitfalls of hearing the researcher concerns instead; avoiding co-create descriptions of experiences because of the researcher’s questions; (b) when the storyteller or the participant tells the story/history, he/she engages in an artificial dialogue, and can
describe what he/she thinks the researcher will recognize or is expecting to hear - to avoid this as much as possible, I used the ethnographic complementary methods described above.

In addition, nowadays using technologies such as Skype and email allowed me, as researcher, to maintain a proximity whilst I was living in another country (i.e. UK), providing a constant contact with each interviewee after leaving the field.

I now present the analytical framework used to analyze the narratives of the three generations of Mozambican students in this study.

4.2. Discourse analysis in practice
The analysis of the collected data in Mozambique is guided by the idea that “analysis is the search for meaning in relation to the research purpose or question” in a triangular approach: relationships between theory, data collected and context (Stephens 2009: 98). With that purpose in mind, I used the discourse analytical approach, namely through discourse analysis of the texts produced by the three generations of Mozambicans, as well the discourse analysis of the policy documentation. Adding to those discourses, the complementary ethnographic techniques used are also analyzed using conversation analysis as a complementary data analysis tool.

4.2.1. Discourse analysis as the main method of analysis
The discourse analytical approach used in this study is based on social constructivism theories (Jorgensen and Philipps 2002). The discourse analysis is the method used to understand the narratives about the construction of knowledge in the education system in post-colonial Mozambique over three generations.

No discourse is a closed entity: it is, rather, constantly being transformed through contact with other discourses. So a keyword of the theory is discursive struggle. Different discourses – each of them representing particular ways of talking about and understanding the social world – are engaged in a constant struggle with one other to achieve hegemony, that is, to fix the meanings of language in their own way. Hegemony, then, can provisionally be understood as the dominance of one particular perspective (Jorgensen and Philipps 2002: 6-7).
Using the discourse analysis method to analyze the life histories and complementary data collected in the field allowed me to draw a description and interpretation of the findings organized around education and memory (see chapter 5).

To develop a discourse analysis the researcher should take in account the following (Jorgensen and Philipps 2002: 12):

- Language does not reflect a pre-existing social reality;
- Language is organized in patterns or discourses within several systems or discourses, meaning that each discourse provide one insight and another one a different, complementary, opposed, etc, one;
- The discursive patterns are influenced by the discourse practices; this could be something that persists or changes in relation with the context;
- The ‘maintenance’ and ‘transformation’ of the discourse/patterns are understood through the analysis of the «specific contexts in which language is in action».

It is argued that discourse analysis is both about ‘ways of thinking about discourse’ and ‘ways of treating discourse as data’ (Wood and Kroger 2000: 3). In this chapter I am interested in the dimension of discourse analysis as a method to analyse the collected data. Discourse is here interpreted as a category that “cover all spoken and written forms of language use (talk and text) as social practice” (Wood and Kroger 2000: 19).

My first approach to discourse analysis method was initially drawn upon the three dimensions designed by Osgood (explored by Vala 1986: 104-105), as explained below:

(i) frequency analysis of the most and least themes, concepts and memories, as well the “silenced” ones, focusing in the central point of the life histories;

(ii) evaluation analysis of the favourable and unfavourable perceptions, attitudes, gestures (verbal and non-verbal), and so on, inside the value system upon they based their life histories;

(iii) associative analysis of the structure in which each generation tells their life histories (every generation – social identity – and every individual – personal identity – have their own social and personal structure that is based upon a thinking system that allow us to understand the ‘meaning’ of the words and gestures used).
The idea is to obtain a comparative approach to identity processes in each generation linked with the knowledge construction processes in post-colonial Mozambique. However, Osgood’s approach to discourse analysis seemed to be insufficient for the purposes of this study. After collecting life histories in Mozambique combined with the complementary ethnographic techniques, I understood that I needed something else that could help me to understand the interactions I observed and participated in. With that purpose in mind, I look to what is called ‘talk-in-interaction’ (i.e. conversation analysis).

4.2.2. Conversation analysis as a complementary data analysis tool
During the fieldwork in Maputo, in May 2013, I observed and participated in several episodes that illustrated the need to add another dimension to the initial proposal for the data analysis method. The first proposal did not contemplate observations and understanding of casual or everyday life conversations contextualized in a broader context (i.e. Mozambican society).

Bearing that in mind, firstly I present the rationale for adding another dimension to the data analysis method through an ethnographic example of May 2013 that has its roots in my living experience in Mozambique in 2011/2012. Indeed, even when it seems that the researcher is ‘detached’ from the context he/she is always ‘attached’. Through this ethnographic example I understood the need for more theoretical approaches to data analysis to conduct a polysemic description and interpretation that could reflect the social reality of the three generations of Mozambicans. Secondly I present the conversation analysis as a complementary data analysis tool

4.2.2.1. Rationale for adding a complementary data analysis tool
In May 2013, I observed and participated in several episodes related with the education system, in Maputo, such as going to classrooms, seminars, conferences, etc. The analysis method named ‘talk-in-interaction’ or conversation analysis could be described as aimed to understand particularly the acts and social interactions in a certain situation, such as the one described below in my field notebooks during my fieldwork in Maputo:
The implicit knowledge (informal education) inside scholar environment becomes very deep. Certain day I was in a seminar in a university and in the middle of the event, when a professor was speaking, a student didn’t feel well and had an epileptic episode. The student started to scream in a fear spooky way, it seemed that the cry was coming from ‘another world’. After screaming, the student started to salivate abundantly, with rolling eyes. It was a moment of deep silence. Complete silence. No reaction. No one moved, not even teachers at first, because people believe that it has something to do with the “spirits world”, a manifestation of “spirits will” … During this event, and after the first impression, the teachers tried to find the medical support that should exist in the university, but usually there is no one there. Later on, I spoke with the mother of this student and she told me that the student had this kind of episodes since the student was 3 years old. After a while, the medical staffs gave up on the student and send the student to the traditional medicine man, cutting the medication off. Since then, without the medication, the student had several epileptic episodes (Fieldwork notebooks, May 2013, Maputo).

After this experienced-event, I listened to a group of students outside classroom/school facilities that decided to engage with me to ask questions about the meaning of epilepsy and providing their own interpretation of the phenomenon. What I recall in my fieldwork notebooks is that the system of belief around epilepsy is linked with notions such us spirit possession, which can be identified through the following manifestations: when someone starts to salivate abundantly, roll the eyes and shakes, this kind of behaviour indicates that the person is possessed by the spirits. The students said that epileptic events are very common in Mozambique, and people should not approach the person who is experiencing the event – “we should not interfere with the spirits, they could be angry and we could be punished with the same thing” (one of the student’s interventions that reflected the student-community opinion regarding this phenomenon).

With this ethnographic description I added the interpretation of the students and the experienced-event itself. But the data analysis and interpretation has two layers at least: (i) the people involved directly (i.e. students, teachers and other staff of the institutions); (ii) the people involved indirectly (i.e. researcher). And both layers take in account both the context (culture) and the life-journey of people involved in it (experiences throughout life). My interpretation of this phenomenon in 2013 was the result of past experiences when I was living and teaching in Mozambique. In fact, my previous experience in 2011-2012 as a member of the Mozambican society, integrated in the everyday life of the city, was present during the seminar and in the informal
conversation with the students in the ‘here-and-now’ moment (i.e. in May 2013). Going back to my fieldwork diaries from 2011-2012, one story among others was always present during my analysis of the everyday interaction or ‘talk-in-interaction’ that occurred in May 2013. Those memories informed me about the behaviour and interpretation as a human being before being a researcher (if such thing is possible – the separation of our identities and the use of only one in certain situations). In my fieldwork notebooks, March 2011, Maputo, I wrote:

A young woman told me a story about her younger sister. Her sister is still an adolescent and she was called by the spirits; she was called to become a healer or a traditional medicine woman. Her sister does not want to answer the call, but there is nothing she can do about it. The manifestation of the spirits in her sister was described in the following way: her sister has strange dreams; her sister cannot control her behaviour in front of other people (she starts to salivate abundantly, roll the eyes and shakes with no control). Her sister was called to become a traditional healer because her grandmother promised her to the spirits.

In the ‘here-and-now’ experienced-event in 2013 I already had the knowledge about the epilepsy phenomenon in Maputo; I had my own interpretation of it after listening to other peoples systems of beliefs. To make sure that I was listening to the perspectives of the “subjects”/social actors in the ‘here-and-now’ situation, the informal conversation that occurred after the seminar was important, but also demonstrated how little knowledge I had about the social event that took place and how easily I wrote in my fieldwork diary in 2013, as mentioned above: “No one moved, not even teachers at first, because people believe that it has something to do with the ‘spirits world’, a manifestation of ‘spirits will’”. Is that so? Teachers did not move, at first, because they believed that or because they were not expecting that to occur? What were the teachers’ interpretations and descriptions of the experienced-event?

4.2.2.2. Conversation analysis

With this in mind, and after reflecting upon it, I needed to add another dimension into the data analysis method, a dimension that allowed a deeper understanding of the practices or ‘talk-in-interaction’ integrated in a specific context. Indeed, besides analyzing the ‘discourses’ produced in the life histories of the three generations, I needed a complementary method of analysis for the everyday life interactions in Mozambique. In that sense, I also engaged with the conversation analysis method.
designed by Goffman, Garfinkel, and by authors such as Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the late 60s.

American social scientists – Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel – dissented from the idea that the details of the everyday world are an inherently disorderly and unresearchable mess. They are central figures in the demolition of this idea, and their perspectives have been combined to create a major social science paradigm, conversation analysis, which is beginning to unlock fundamental structural and processual features of social interaction (Heritage 2001: 48).

Conversation analysis as a form of discourse analysis is characterized by observing and understanding casual or everyday conversation contextualized in a broader context. For example: interaction among peers (e.g. students/students and teachers/teachers) in a certain place that represents an institution (i.e. an auditorium in a certain school institution) allow an understanding of the “hidden curriculum” (see Wilcox 1982).

Indeed, conversation analysis can be defined as the study of “interactional organization of meaningful action (including its non verbal feature...”) (Wood and Kroger 2000: 21). Goffman contributed to the established of ‘conversation analysis’ underlining that social interaction is “a form of social organization in its own right” (Heritage 2001: 48). Social interactions are considered to be like other social institutions (e.g. family, education). To understand what is going on during social interactions we need to look at the notion of ‘face’ (Goffman 2005), meaning that people claim one of their identities, the one that is recognized in social interactions and have consensual social attributes.

The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes—albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself (Goffman 2005: 5).

For example, in the classroom environment in Mozambique it is not expected that students would approach the phenomena of epilepsy by believing that is only a manifestation of the spirits’ world. They should take in account their own systems of beliefs (i.e. informal education/culture) and add what school and teachers say about this phenomenon to create a synthesis of what the social phenomenon represents. Social
interactions are the result of a dialectical relation between social actors that need to have a common language characterized by social consensus. In this case, outside classroom environments’ students can use their ‘face’ or claim their social identity that is linked to their group/family, by believing in the influence of the spirits. However, inside the classroom, the same students claim another social identity, using another ‘face’ that able them to construct a scientific explanation of what is going on. Of course, the informal systems of beliefs are always present and have an influence in the students’ perceptions of the phenomenon, but formal education should deconstruct such social reality. The question is: does school deconstruct informal or not-aligned (with school’ curriculums) systems of beliefs? Should school do it? How are teachers prepared to do that? Are not teachers also the outcome of formal and informal knowledge systems?

Adding to Goffman’ theoretical frame, Garfinkel also contributed to the development of ‘conversation analysis’, arguing that social institutions are based in a shared sense of what is going on, developing what he called ‘ethnomethodology’. “Garfinkel wanted to know how this is possible, and he hit on the notion that persons use shared methods of practical reasoning (‘ethno-methods’) to build this shared sense of their common context of action, and of the social world more generally” (Heritage 2001: 49).

In order to understand social interactions I need to analyse the shared knowledge and shared methods for acting among social actors, understating in this way what constitutes the meaning-making process in the social construction of reality. The method of ‘conversation analysis’ was designed to address social interactions in ‘talk’, becoming a useful tool to understand and analyse what people ‘talk’ about in institutions such as school, family, religion, etc.

When looking at the meaning-making process of social interactions we discover the “subject”. Using discourse analyse as a method of data inquiry allow an understanding of how “subjects” construct themselves in time and space, meaning through their life-journeys or life histories/stories. In the end, the question of what kind of knowledge discourse analysis produces can be answered in the following way: it allows the researcher to obtain a comparative approach to identity processes in each generation of Mozambican students linked with the knowledge construction processes in post-colonial
Mozambique. Of course, the data obtained is a dialogue between the participants and the researcher, where both co-construct social reality. In that sense, reflexivity is part of the critical process of collecting data, knowing that reflexivity is a personal inquiry made by the researcher about knowledge construction and as well an ethical issue in the research (Guillemin and Gillam 2004, quoted by Hamdan 2009).

4.3. Ethics and ethical dilemmas in the educational research

When doing research ethics and ethical dilemmas should be addressed. In this sub-chapter I consider two main areas: (i) the macro-level ethical approach to research (i.e. principles that guide an ethical practice in research and in education research in particular); and (ii) the micro-level ethical approach to research (i.e. the study about the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique over three generations of students, lessons from the field and positionality of the researcher).

4.3.1. The macro-level ethical approach to research

In terms of the macro-level ethical approach to research, ethical issues in research became an important area of reflection after the end of the II World War, particularly following the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi War Crimes (see the Nuremberg Code 1947). As it is argued by Iphofen (2009: 19), the “behaviour of Nazi medical scientists was judged to be unethical and led to the establishment of a general agreement that the ends of research can never alone justify the means”. Following Iphofen (2009), Kimmel (1988: 9) considers that “ethical issues in the social sciences have become a topic of growing concern as researchers try to ensure that their studies are directed toward worthwhile goals and that the welfare of their subjects and their research colleagues is protected”. In this sense, the researcher needs to combine two areas: (i) the goals of research following a specific methodology and methods; and (ii) the impact upon human rights and values avoiding threatening the “subjects” world by the research.

Indeed, knowing that research involving human participants always interferes with the “subjects” wellbeing and life, the researcher should be prepared to address a priori the following issues:

   a) Was this study carry on previously? (Iphofen 2009);
b) If not, what can the researcher anticipate as possible ethical problems that could result from the development of the study? (Kimmel 1988).

In a macro-level approach to research and to understand the ethical boundaries of our study, three levels of research or a typology of ethical problems are advance by Kimmel (1988):

- **First level - Research and individual research participants:** what is the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the participants of the study? “As Kelman (1972) has argued, there is an inevitable power discrepancy inherent in the social role of the researcher due, in large part, to his or her specialized knowledge and responsibility in defining the conditions of the research” (Kimmel 1988: 36-37). In that sense, what kind of risks can participants encounter when accepting to be part of a research?

  i) They could face changes in their attitudes, in their *self-conception*, etc (e.g. if a researcher is engaged in a participant observation where people are claiming for the end of corruption in the health sector, as occurred during the fieldwork in May 2013 in Maputo, I argue that it is not the role of a researcher to present solutions or intervene in an active or political way; however, I also argue that the researcher should not present any kind of moral evaluation regarding the situation);

  ii) the interview process could create personal anxiety, and for that the researcher should “be in the field” to deal with any kind of manifestations in order to co-solve it with the participant (i.e. it is argued that each person have a personal way of integrating the experiences into the *self*; the researcher should be as much as possible a mirror);

  iii) the participants could revel personal and private information that could be used to publicly embarrass them or even to draw eventual legal actions (e.g. if a participant said that was involved in illegal practices and explain the reasons, should the researcher use this in the research or not? What is more important: the research study or the human being? It is argued that the illegal practices should be contextualized, and the code of practice to deal with what is or not legal should be understood in the light of the participant’s culture);
(iv) the participants could be aware of something about themselves in an explicit way that could cause discomfort. In this case, the researcher should be available to listen, avoiding any kind of moral judgments;

(v) invasion of participant’s privacy. In such a case, the researcher should withdraw invasive questions, explaining that the participant’s privacy is something to be respected and not part of the research itself.

To address the risks in which the participants could be involved, the researcher should develop a partnership, “sharing common norms and values with them” (Kimmel 1988: 38), defining the limits and conditions of the research.

➢ **Second level - Research and society:** “Special care must be taken to protect the rights of the public at large so that they are not jeopardized by the social consequences of research discoveries or by the publication of research results” (Kimmel 1988: 38). In this sense, it is argued that if it is consensual among the majority of the participants to reveal something that contradicts clearly the public image of a certain institution, the researcher should reflect that in the public presentation of the data. However, it is the responsibility of the researcher to have particular attention in the way it is written or presented publicly in order to respect the privacy/anonymity of the participants.

➢ **Third level - Research and scientific knowledge:** This addresses particularly two characteristics of the researcher: (i) intellectual integrity and (ii) trustworthiness, meaning that research can be manipulated. “As first suggested by Babbage (1969), violation can include ‘cooking’ (the selection of only those data that fit the research hypothesis), ‘trimming’ (the manipulation of data to make them look better), or ‘forging’ (the complete fabrication of data)” (Kimmel 1988: 39).

After reflecting in a general approach to ethical dilemmas in research, and with that aim in mind, professional associations developed ethical guidelines to inform the practices of research, such as the case of the British Education Research Association (BERA) at an institutional macro-level and the “Code of Good Practice in Research” of the University of Brighton (2012) at an institutional micro-level. This study follows the “Code of Good Practice in Research” of the University of Brighton (2012) and the
guidelines stated by BERA concerning the ethic of respect with the person, knowledge, democratic values, quality of educational research and academic freedom (BERA 2011). In doing that the following application of ethical principles were considered and informed this study:

- **Informed consent**: the participants of this study are all adults; they were informed about the purposes and aims of this study, gave consent and are able to withdraw from the research at any time; also they were informed how the findings will be available or accessible to them;

- **Confidentially and privacy**: the anonymity of the participants was guaranteed; they were also informed about what will happen to the data they shared with the researcher; what kind of public outcomes will result from this research (i.e. thesis to obtain the PhD; articles; presentations at seminars, conferences, etc);

**4.3.2. The micro-level ethical approach to research**

In terms of the micro-level ethical approach to research (i.e. the study about the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique over three generations of students, lessons from the field and positionality of the researcher), the respect for anonymity was considered to be the most important of all because of the current political situation in the country. As a researcher I conducted a risk assessment, also shared with the participants involved in the study, and the conclusions were the following: (i) the links between education and identity through life histories does not present any risk for the well-being and life of the participants; (ii) there are certain themes, such as corruption in educational institutions that should be brought to light in a more general context, not identifying any institutions of education in particular; (iii) the need to share the Mozambican experience with a broader and dominant discourse about education, namely related with Western European studies about African contexts that in general ‘reduces’ what is going on to ‘quantitative data’ not reflecting/informing about what is going on.

In order to conduct the fieldwork in Mozambique and as it was presented in the Research Plan (i.e. February 2013), the ethical principles that guided this study followed
the idea of respecting the anonymity of the story tellers. As it is argued by Nordstrom study’ about Civil War in Mozambique (1997:10): “this study is grounded in a topic and a process rather than a place”. Bearing that in mind, this research is based on studying a process (construction of knowledge in post-colonial societies and the influence on personal and social identity) rather than a study based in a limited environment (for instance, a certain higher education institution).

Furthermore, researching life histories is a matter of personal memory and story linked with personal attitudes and positions towards political, religious, social and economical positions that are, after establishing empathy towards the informant, part of each ‘personal life’. By doing so, I consider that “the researchers are ultimately responsible for protecting the participants” (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden 2001:94), since ethnographic methodology is designed to achieve a “proximity” towards the participants, conducting most of the times the subjects of the study to forget the explicit aims of the research when they come to know the researcher/ethnographer as a person (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Addressing this, and considering my previous ethnographical experience conducting researcher in several contexts, it is stated that any personal data that challenges the anonymity of the participants will not be used in the writing process, because ethics is essentially the respect for the other.

In terms of expecting situations that could present ethical dilemmas in this study, the researcher concern about the interpretation or misinterpretation of what was told by the three generations of Mozambicans was always present, knowing that when “listening to a story, we already have some notions of what it is about” (Widdershoven and Smits 1996: 281). To avoid listing to the “researcher voice” in spite of the “participant voices” I asked for detailed explanations about the meaning of what was told, trying to be neutral in terms of verbal and non-verbal reactions. When participants shared with me difficult situations or personal memories where they were engaged, such as for example discrimination situations related with studying abroad with painful experiences because they were ‘African students among non-African students’, I listened and shared the silent moments with the interviewees. And then I asked: “how do you feel about that now?”
Also, this study was conceived to listen to the three generations of Mozambicans, giving them ‘the voice’ in the research. When the participants shared personal memories that were painful to them, I listened and shared, when asked, personal experiences that could have similar patterns so the participants knew that he/she was not alone. It was clearly stated that the purpose of this study was not to reveal personal life-journeys, but to draw from each generation the experiences of education and identity into a broader scenario, and as well trends to inform policy in education. All three generations of Mozambicans that participated in this study expressed their interest in helping to ‘bring to light’ how education works in Mozambique and how they feel about their life story crossed with their life history (i.e. identity and education).

Finally, it is important to state my positionality in the field when collecting the life histories over the three generations of Mozambican students. As an anthropologist doing participant observation and description since 1992, I use reflexivity as a method of personal inquiry. In anthropology there are no claims for neutrality or objectivity when doing ethnographic fieldwork (see Clifford and Marcus 1986; Taussig 2011), knowing the researcher that he/she will always be situated and a co-constructer of social reality. Reflexivity is done through the fieldwork notebooks where the researcher reflects on his/her account and interpretation of reality. Indeed, as it is argued by Greene (2014: 1), “insider research has its roots in ethnographic field research in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology”. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) reflecting on the notion of reflexivity called for “an active engagement of the self in questioning perceptions and exposing their contextualized and power driven nature” (Greene 2014: 9). In this study I consider myself when in the field, and afterwards in the writing process of the research, as an insider/outsider researcher because of my personal biography (see chapter 1) calling for the notion of complicity to understand my positionality as a researcher. Indeed, as stated previously, I consider myself as an insider/outsider researcher, dealing with the issue of complicity as defined by Marcus (1997: 100):

… what complicity stands for as a central figure of fieldwork … is an affinity, marking equivalence, between fieldworker and informant. This affinity arises from their mutual curiosity and anxiety about their relationship to a ‘third’… the specific sites elsewhere that affect their interactions and make them complicit.
In that sense, the researcher is never really an insider, as argued by Marcus (1997: 97), because complicity allows the anthropologist to understand that “given the contemporary local knowledge that is never only... local”, arises the recognition “of ethnographers as ever-present markers of ‘outsideness’”. In addition, and as it is argued by Nixon, Walker Clough (2003: 102, quoted by Hamdan 2009),

Neither we nor the subjects we seek to understand are blank social slates – we are embedded within particular biographies and the communities from which we take our identities. This requires of us a deep and vigilant reflexivity in our research that is attentive to the effects of our own peripheral vision. We might begin with standpoint experiences and voices – both our own and those of others.

Reflexivity in educational research deals with the same issues regarding anthropological research: it is about both researching the systems of beliefs and practices of the researcher and the impact on participants, as well as researching the participants systems of beliefs and practices and the impact upon the research(er) process. In that sense, “crucial values emerge as a result of conducting insider-outsider research. Self-awareness is critical for success in conducting this kind of research” (Hamdan 2009: 377). Self-awareness is linked with the idea of reflexivity done through fieldwork diary reflections or notebooks to acknowledge the world vision of the researcher; and also the implications of studying a post-colonial setting of education with the colonial legacy and the global impact of the neo-liberal agenda in education.
Chapter 5: Findings

That’s precisely why Mozambicanity comes from the fact that we were communists and could study in other countries. We are a country of migrants not immigrants … We have Mozambicans of all possible and imaginary origins, which is what defines the Mozambican people. You can find people from the countryside that has lived abroad, in Zimbabwe, Malawi and other places. You have people who lived in Tunisia, in Algeria, in the United States of America, in Germany … people from the countryside that speaks perfect German and then another person who speaks Italian … There are few Mozambicans who never left their hometown … those are the most respect people in their villages. And due to the Civil War we were forced to migrate a lot. And as soon as the war ended the first thing we did, and the roads were still destroyed by the war, the first thing the Mozambicans did was start to travel. During the Civil War the Mozambicans faced everything to travel and see their family, to go and visit our family is very important for us. This characteristic of mobility is what defines the Mozambican (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation).

In this chapter I present the findings in a comparative analysis of the three generations of Mozambican students in a post-colonial space. The findings are divided into two major clusters that organize the life story and history of each generation: (i) education and identity in post-colonial Mozambique, addressing the formal and the informal education processes and the way it interacts with the construction of identity in each generation and how identity changes educational environment; and (ii) memory and narrative in post-colonial Mozambique, addressing memory and the construction of resistances, and memory and the construction of an autonomous being. The two clusters will be brought together at the end of the chapter with a general overview about identity, memory and narrative in the three generations of Mozambican students. The two clusters overlap several times, however they have different narrative approaches: how the “subjects” construct their identity and knowledge (education and identity cluster) and how they remember the experiences that constitute the process of construction their identity and knowledge (memory and narrative cluster).

5.1. Education and its impact in the construction of identity

In the cluster of education and identity I present the impact of education in the construction of identity within two complementary processes: formal and informal education, and their impact upon identity. These two forms of education contribute in
different forms to the construction of the human condition and agency that can be understood through knowledge and identity construction processes.

5.1.1. Formal education and identity

Formal education is about teaching and learning in a specific space and time, in an institution that has predetermined goals historically created. Social actors such as teachers and students, engaged within a schooling environment, use mechanisms to promote social inclusion that provides access to a participative citizenship. Formal education is intentional in character and has particular goals promoted in specifically designed institutions (e.g. Harber 2002, 2014; Stephens 2000, 2008). To understand these interconnected processes of formal education and identity in the three generations of Mozambicans students who did or are still undertaking degrees in higher education, I present the findings subdivided into two categories:

(1) The three generations, the curriculum and role model (i.e. public self versus personal self);

(2) The three generations and the education system related with life story (i.e. linked to their life-journeys) and life history (i.e. linked with social, economic and political events).

5.1.1.1. The three generations, the curriculum and role model

When looking at formal education, the curriculum represents the schooling programmes with an intentional goal of teaching certain knowledge in a specific space and time inhabited by certain students and teachers. As is argued by Goodson (2005), the curriculum is a social construction that needs to be contextualized in a specific political and social timeline. Indeed, the author refers to the current trend of designing national curriculums in the USA, UK and Australia with the purpose of defining commonalities to be shared by all citizens. In that sense, curricular knowledge is not neutral (Apple 1975 quoted by Goodson 2005). In addition, it is argued that each political and ideological momentum is reproduced in the education system (e.g. Arendt 1961), through the curriculum’s structures and goals. The curriculum also provides a role model in terms of the public self, or the idealized role model to develop one’s identity through school. Each ideological momentum is reflected in the curriculum through an idealized citizen, the commonalities to be shared by all citizens (e.g. Goodson 2005).
To have an understanding of the impact of the curriculum and the educational role model in the process of knowledge and identity construction over three generations of Mozambicans, I firstly present a general overview of each generation and the curriculum in each political and ideological period in Mozambique. Secondly I present the public construction of the self through school in contrast to the personal and familial narratives used by each generation to exemplify the role model that impact upon their identity. Because the two categories are intimately linked, they are presented together.

Regarding the three generations and the curriculum it is possible to present the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1st generation | 1975 – 1981  
Born between 1957 and 1966 and having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology; symbolically represented by 1st President of Mozambique, Samora Machel (1975-1986)  
Socialist pedagogy;  
Portuguese as the official language;  
Creation of the New Man (no ethnic, or gender divisions);  
Introduction of national literature;  
Introduction of manual and voluntary work;  
Alphabetization campaigns;  
Adult education;  
School for the people to take the power;  
Socialist state took over the place of family |
| 2nd generation | 1981 – 1992  
Born between 1974 and 1980 and having Democracy as an ideology; symbolically represented by the 2nd President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005)  
Implementation of the National System of Education (SNE);  
Civil War especially in the centre of the country (Zambezia, Tete and Sofala) resulting in huge migrant movements of people from rural to urban areas;  
Introduction of mandatory schooling until the 7th grade |
| 3rd generation | 1992 – current day  
Born between 1982 and 1987 and having Global Capitalism or Neo-liberalism as an ideology; symbolically represented by the President, Armando Guebuza (2005-2014)  
Decentralization of school management;  
Inclusion of educational materials in local/national languages;  
Achieve universal primary education (MDG);  
Development of technical education (VTE) |

Table 13: The three generations of Mozambican students and the curriculum

One of the major changes in the curriculum was the introduction of national literature, particularly with the book *We Killed Mangy-Dog* (1964) by the Mozambican writer
Luís Bernardo Honwana. During the socialist period, this book “was the pillar of the Portuguese curriculum in school” (informal conversation with members of several universities in Maputo, male professor of literature, May 2013). All three generations of Mozambicans know the stories told in Honwana’s book, particularly the first one.

Situations of humiliation and racism are immediately present in the story that gave the name to the book. Because it is told by Ginho, a Black assimilada child, the reader faces immediately the confrontation between the colonial world – through a supposed innocent perspective, but nonetheless alerting to the fact that even in a school environment, children use the same discriminatory language as adults, perpetuating in that sense racial prejudices (Sousa 2014: 237).

Indeed, several of Honwana’s stories are told from the children’s point of view, debating issues around social exploration, racial segregation, colonialism, class and education distinctions. With independence in 1975, Mozambique replaces the grand narrative that is taught in school:

I was 18 years old ... but I had students with my own age! ... And so they told us “stop teaching The Lusiads” [The Lusiads is a Portuguese epic poem written by Luiz Vaz de Camões, often regarded as Portugal’s national epic]; what you are going to teach is We Killed Mangy Dog by Luís Bernardo Honwana … (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

For the 1st generation the interpretation of the Mangy Dog is linked to Portuguese colonialism and the social and racial inequalities of society. In this generation everybody reads the book: “Yes, it was a thoroughly read book, used and ‘abused’ in the curriculum at the time!” (informal conversation with members of several universities in Maputo, male professor of literature, May 2013).

At the same time that the grand narrative changed in the curriculum, military training was introduced as part of what a teacher should be doing during the socialist period, aligned with the discipline of political education, as described by another female teacher from the 1st generation:

I was in the 8th March Centre [where the 8th March generation was trainee] ... We stayed there for one year, living there ... It was a unique experience for me, I never had left home! ... I am in a dormitory with 8 people ... We had two blocks: the male and the female blocks ... And then we had military discipline, inclusive we had
military trainee... I love that! But there were some exaggerations by the instructors, because they didn’t have a lot of preparation and they thought they were dealing with military people... We were students ... The Minister had to intervene ... because we were going to go on strike ... So things were clear: we should have the discipline of military education but only because it was part of the teachers’ training ... In the 8th March Centre we had several groups: the teachers’ group ... the pilots’ group, from the Air Force; the politicians’ group ... The organization had a lot in common with the military system, we had squads ... people from different provinces of Mozambique ... I think the importance of the 8th March Centre was to learn to work in group ... solidarity ... Learning to discipline our lives ... To manage time (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

Indeed, in 1975, and facing a rate of 93% of illiteracy among the Mozambican population, the socialist government implemented the notion of education for all, based upon the idea of National Unity/New Man, linked with economic progress, construction of the new nation, through the empowerment of the people. In order to achieve those goals, the lack of teachers was an obstacle that was overcome by creating the logic of “mandatory knowledge”, with the 8th March Generation’ student-teachers, following the idea of a certain idealized human being that represented the “purity” of the new society. Socialist pedagogy did not accept differences amongst gender (male and female) or between ethnic groups. Theoretically, after independence every human being was equal in terms of rights and duties. However this reality was not reflected in the public self or role model that was the outcome of a social and national identity constructed in the public arena or public space. In fact, the curriculum that was created at that time for the formal education did not reflect the feelings (“hidden discourse”) and construction process of a personal and social identity, processes that overlap in several stages of the life-journeys of the three generations. If we follow from the 1st generation until the 3rd it is possible to understand the public construction of identity and the resistance to that in each generation, particularly through the example of family members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Public Self (social identity)</th>
<th>Personal Self (personal identity)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>Idealized Peasant (socialist imaginary)</td>
<td>Family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1957 and 1966; Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>Idealized Citizen (people from the urban spaces)</td>
<td>Family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1974 and 1980; Democracy as an ideology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generations</td>
<td>Public Self (social identity)</td>
<td>Personal Self (personal identity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>Born between 1982 and 1987; Global Capitalism as an ideology</td>
<td>Idealized Modern Citizen (accessing to goods and good employment)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: The three generations related with the public and personal self

After independence, the 1st generation accepted the socialist pedagogy because they felt empowered when they were young students, empowered to become teachers at a time when there were not enough teachers in the country. The model of becoming a teacher, that had great symbolic value and a high social status in the Mozambican society, was a sign that things were indeed changing when comparing them to colonial times. In fact, during colonial times to be a teacher was only accessible to colonial staff. On the other hand, the socialist state could never really be a substitute for the family as it was its goal with the socialist role model of an idealized peasant. For the socialist state the peasant was the public role model contrary to the experiences of the Mozambican population that started to migrate to the urban spaces. The understanding of the urban spaces as a good space to live and to be successful was transmitted by familial role models to the three generations. In addition, development trends were underlined in the cities when compared with rural spaces (see chapter 3).

In all three generations it is possible to understand that the role model which prevails is linked to the idea or construction of the personal self. This construction of a role model has made a long political journey (e.g. the socialist image of the peasant) to the self-made “globalized being” where what matters is having a formal education that provides a good job and possibility to buy goods. However, for the three generations of Mozambicans the role model is always described as being drawn from the extended family, from the process of personal identity construction, particularly through the examples of grandparents and parents.

Indeed, theoretically, the change of references in the curriculum after the independence provide the role model for a “good citizen” that evolved with social and economic events in Mozambique as much as in other countries who have experienced neoliberalism and the globalization processes. However, when the three generations tell
their story/history they became aware of their disappointment with the socialist idealization of a better society in which everybody had access to everything. In that context, the patterns of inequality in Mozambique education did not change throughout the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans.

Furthermore, school as a social institution continues to reflect a hegemonic construction of knowledge inside formal education. As is argued by Fanon [2008(1952): 113], the material used in school reflects a hegemonic paradigm of knowledge.

The magazines are put together by white men for little white men. This is the heart of the problem. In the Antilles—and there is every reason to think that the situation is the same in the other colonies—these same magazines are devoured by the local children. In the magazines the Wolf, the Devil, the Evil Spirit, the Bad Man, the Savage are always symbolized by Negroses or Indians; since there is always identification with the victor, the little Negro, quite as easily as the little white boy, becomes an explorer, an adventurer, a missionary “who faces the danger of being eaten by the wicked Negroes”.

As Fanon argues, knowledge formation and the “crystallization” of young children’s are guided by a dominant Western European culture. In fact, in the experiences of the 1st and 2nd generations of Mozambicans studying abroad, being African students, they encountered the same issues described by Fanon. The stereotypes of what is an African in Europe were described during the interviews using the same ideas expressed by Fanon (and also Said 1978). The memories of those specific experienced-events about being an African in European settings will be addressed in the following sub-chapter about memory and the impact in the construction of narratives.

In addition, for the 3rd generation, Mozambique is now facing a new challenge in its education sector. In 2013, according to the Mozambican Minister of Education, 70% of undergraduate students were from the area of social sciences, at a time when the country has a lack of qualified professionals in other areas such as engineering or health (AIM 2013). In this current period of neo-liberalism, linked to the demands of the labour market and the needs to create a national labour force to prevent the country to be controlled by foreigner labour force, one of the current priorities in the education sector is to increase vocational technical education (VTE). According to Ruth Menezes from the World Bank (April 2015),
More than 300,000 people enter the labour market each year. This number could increase to around 500,000 in 2025. The new generation should be prepared for a productive life through education, namely through vocational and technical education … it is essential for the creation of employment, productivity, competitive edge and poverty reduction.

However current “students consider that practical education [VTE] is an ‘inevitable punishment’ and it seems that, for many, technical education is just the precursor to further studies instead of being a preparation for the labour market” (Sparreboom 2004: 6). What we have here is a contemporary demand of graduates in VTE but a perception, shaped by colonial and post-colonial experiences, which suggests that VTE is an inferior route and/or identity for a graduate. In addition, in the 90s due to the Civil War, the system that supported VTE was considered to be obsolete and with lack of infrastructures (Sparreboom 2004). Taking that in account, it is possible to acknowledge the disenchantment regarding the meaning and purpose of education especially for the 3rd generation. To go to school is only – and that is what the neo-liberal politics of education tell us – to be prepared for the labour market (will be further developed below). Simultaneously, the 3rd generation refuses to be stopped at the VTE level, even if that means to have a formal job. They want to go to the university. To have a university diploma is socially recognized as being successful by their families and society.

In a general overview, formal education through the curriculum and its role model has different impacts upon the identity and knowledge construction processes for each generation in Mozambique. In all three generations the curriculum provides role models of what it means to be successful or a good citizen aiming to supersede familial role models.

In the 1st generation Mozambique developed education policies based upon a socialist pedagogy (e.g. military training) providing access to education for all. However the role model developed in the curriculum (i.e. idealized peasant) was not incorporated into the student’s identity.
In the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation the war forced huge migrant movements from rural environments towards the city, when the Mozambican government implemented mandatory school until the 7\textsuperscript{th} grade. Within the curriculum, school provided a role model of an idealized \textit{citizen} (i.e. people residing in urban spaces). In that sense, the familial role model also describes the city as the best place to be, away from the war, merging the public with the personal role model. However, the systems of beliefs and practices are still provided by family members.

In the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation the introduction of VTE as a solution for education linked to the needs of the labour market, is central in the narratives of this generation about their experiences of formal education and their view of the curriculum. Similar to what happened with the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation, school provides a role model of an idealized \textit{modern citizen} (i.e. accessing to goods and good employment). However, the neo-liberal government doesn’t provide employment and access to goods, making the public role model rhetoric. The 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation also finds a role model within family members (to understand the nature of the familial role model, see sub-chapter about informal education and identity).

In summary, what we have is a move from a socialist ideal role model (i.e. rural-based) during the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation, to an urban-based model for the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generations, with a particular emphasis on access to good employment and having goods for the youngest generation. Nonetheless, all three generations construct their identity using familial role models much more than schooling models. Indeed, as mentioned before, the future trend in formal education that is being presented to the youngest generation of students in Mozambique is the reinforcement of VTE, a policy that was left behind during the war, but is being currently supported by the international community. Nevertheless, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation does not want to go to VTE, they want to go to university. School is not providing them with the role model they expect to construct their identity.

In conclusion, the three generations, the curriculum and role model contextualized in each political and ideological period in Mozambique provide us with an understanding about identity. In that perspective, the public construction of the self through school is compared with the personal and familial narratives used by each generation to
exemplify the role model that impact upon their identity. In that sense, formal education through the curriculum provides a role model that is being contested and changed by the narratives of the three generations. These factors allow an understanding of the impact of the education system related with the life story (linked with their life-journeys) and the life history (linked with social, economical and political events) of the three generations of Mozambican students.

5.1.1.2. The three generations, education system and life story/history

When describing the identity and knowledge construction processes over the three generations of Mozambicans, I examine the dimensions of their life story and life history. To have an understanding of the impact of the education system over the lives of three generations I address the following: (i) the socialist period and the 1st generation; (ii) the democratic period and the 2nd generation; and finally (iii) the neo-liberal period and the 3rd generation. Within the structural times I address the agency of each generation, based on the theoretical debate about structure and agency (Bourdieu 1977, 1989; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Giddens 1984; Archer 1982; see chapter 2). Indeed, structural times are reflected in the life histories, being agency present in the life stories of each generation of Mozambican in this study.

The socialist period and the 1st generation

The 1st generation constructs their social identity with a social background of contesting a colonial age and the inequalities of access to education, in a space physically and symbolically divided among Africans and Europeans. This generation grew up in an environment where different education systems co-existed for Africans and Europeans, knowing that being African would only provide access to study until the 4th grade of primary school.

With the socialist ideology, and the creation of the 8th March Generation in 1977, to invert the high rates of illiteracy in the country, Mozambicans from the 1st generation were part of a liberation movement, in which they started to have access to professions that were originally the domain of colonialists, such as being a teacher. Also the experience of going to study abroad, especially to socialist countries, transformed the lives of this generation. However, it is through the narratives and subsequent reflection
about their life-journeys that the 1st generation becomes aware of the differences between the political elite (i.e. Frelimo) and the rest of the Mozambican population.

Thinking now about Cuba, doing a retrospective, the Cuba’ experience was conceived in a rush … that was to launch the poor’ sons as guinea pigs, because no leader's son was sent to pass that test ... But almost everyone that went to Cuba … they did their Masters, PhDs … And the group that stayed in Cuba for 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 years, they did the 12th grade and then they did technical courses … and they return with those qualifications to Mozambique (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

With the 1st generation there is a contradictory interpretation of Samora’s conception of education: for them, education policies were not planned; Frelimo members now occupied the colonialists place in the social space and structure; however it had positive characteristics such as giving access to education for all people in the country, changing the schooling landscape of Mozambique. But, at the same time, the “re-education” camps were created (e.g. West 2001; Thomaz 2008), following the socialist ideology, where the social division among “purity” and “danger” represented a new social space or public arena in the post-colonial Mozambique. To go to school was to learn the new ideology of the regime and deviants were punished with “re-education”. There was, in other words, cost and benefits for the post-independence generation.

Indeed, the “re-education” camps are an image of the new society, the post-colonial socialist society after independence. The notions of purity associated with danger were explored in the work of Mary Douglas in 1966. Douglas identified purity as a central theme in people’s lives, arguing that an event that caused social disorganization was an imminent danger that had to be prevented. If it was not prevented, it could become dangerous for all members of the group. The Mozambican socialist movement in sending people to the “re-education” camps had a social function that was to reorganize society, ‘cleansing any impurity’. Every society has a classification system that allows the world to be organized and be safe from danger. What is not inside this system is something that it is in a liminal stage and demands the intervention of that society. Also the physical body is a microcosm of the social body, meaning that each individual person is a reflection of the social organization (e.g. Turner 1969; Van Gennep 1960;
Douglas 1970, 1966). The ‘body’ represents a danger for society when it is not treated accordingly to predetermined social rules, and can be especially difficult for women.

Bearing this in mind, the social construction of the body and social order during the socialist period of Mozambique followed the political paths of other socialist countries, such as the former Soviet Union. Social organization is reflected in the body of each individual, meaning that each individual should reflect the ideological lines of the political regime. In this sense, bodies or people who are not considered to be pure were sent to the “re-education” camps. In socialist Mozambique, ‘impure bodies’ were women who lived alone, single mothers, political dissidents, people suspected of having ties to the colonial regime, alcoholics, traditional authorities and Jehovah’s Witnesses (see chapter 3). It was during the socialist period that the first social reorganization of the public space in post-colonial Mozambique occurred. Social divisions were not about Africans and Europeans, but about supporters of the political regime and opponents. Nonetheless, the social reorganization was similar to the social division during colonial times: elite versus the general population, Frelimo members versus non-Frelimo members.

Furthermore, these events had an impact upon the education system, particularly when creating a public self or role model around the notion of the idealized peasant, as mentioned earlier. To be ‘educated’ during the socialist period was to follow the model located ideally in the rural environment, because the city represented the ancient colonial society, representing danger rather than ‘purity’. Following the ideology of socialism, the hero is the peasant, who represents all the virtues and ideals of the labour and manual work.

In conclusion, when looking at the socialist period and the impact upon formal education, the educational project was clearly out of the cultural context. The government designed an education policy towards the abolishment of ethnic and gender divisions, which did not reflect social reality. On the other hand, it was a policy tuned with the spirit of globalization aiming to develop Mozambique away from a colonial mentality. Within the 1st generation the formal education discourse regarding ethnic and gender divisions is replaced by the project of a unified nation and the creation of the
new man. However, society and particularly culture were not like that (see sub-chapter about memory and construction of resistances).

The democratic period and the 2nd generation
The 2nd generation benefits from the political change with the adoption of a multiparty system and the introduction of democracy in 1990 in the constitution of Mozambique. In formal education there was no more mandatory political and military training, giving this generation the possibilities to be aware of the authoritarian characteristics of the socialist period. In addition, because of the high level of destruction of school infrastructures during the Civil War (1976-1992), I also encountered students from the 2nd generation that come from rural environments, more exposed to the war, the traditional and moral values, with an authoritarian vision of the world, that co-exist with a more open and cosmopolitan vision of the world in the big cities.

With the collapse of the socialist regime in Mozambique (1987-1994), that did not accomplish the political goal of bringing the urban population to the rural areas – in fact, following the modern social trends of migration, occurred exactly the opposite – I find in the 2nd generation the “big dream” of ‘go and live’ in the city, especially in the capital city of Maputo. As it was during colonial times, Maputo is still the centre of the social, economic and political activity of the country. In formal education I find these patterns, in which a rural culture is associated with “not a modern way of being”. However, in informal education, it is still possible to observe the opposite position among the young daughters of the elite, who are learning with the women from the rural areas the traditional costumes and practices of becoming a good wife (see sub-chapter about informal education and identity).

Indeed, the 2nd generation is deeply marked by the internal war migrations and the collapse of socialism. In addition, in the narratives of the 2nd generation school is described as a place of social inequality but also of a learning space that became accessible to more people than ever before. Their social identity is clearly stated as being part of a generation who had access to public school but also a group that discovered the need to criticize the mandatory socialist knowledge and way of being,
particularly with the end of the Civil War in 1992, and the possibility of going to study in non-socialist countries.

It was a particular time. I had 16 years old, so I decided to … refuse to be frelimista [socialist, member of the Frelimo] … The time was of the Peace Agreements [1992] … And I continue my studies in high school, then I came to the university … In the university I found teachers that return [from studying abroad], and they returned not very socialists … Many were still young teachers and they didn’t like the work conditions that the university offered … This was something that became important for me: to question, to doubt, not accepting always what the regime said … the teachers underlined that … Then I went abroad [to a democratic country, continuing his studies] … … There were a lot of public debates going on, public contestation … there was freedom of speech … That was very important for me … When I return to Mozambique, here a person does not … It was not possible to publicly take a side (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

However, in the narratives of the 2nd generation socialism is defended as a period of political autonomy, compared to the period of democracy and the increasing influence of the international community. Democracy therefore represents both the loss of autonomy and the possibility to criticize the political regime, but not the political party (i.e. Frelimo). The main story/history in the 2nd generation narratives is about the effects and the end of the Civil War, with stories about constant migrations and changing schools, and as well narratives regarding the political opponents in the conflict (i.e. Frelimo and Renamo). In this scenario, the differences between who was studying in rural environments and who lived in the big city - Maputo - is underlined.

Secondary school was very hard for me … Going from home to school was very far away … We had classes in the morning and in the afternoon… I had to wait, I didn’t have money … First there were those kids who had money; the majority of my friends didn’t have money … In that place we found an elite that we never encountered before … That had a strong impact, social inequalities began to be visible, in a serious way! … Those guys were from the city X [south region of the country] … That city was inhabited by the elite, they were the sons of military personnel … the military personnel had a lot of privileges … and there was no war at the time! But they had money! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

In their narratives, as in the 1st generation narratives, is still present the inequality of school both in terms of infra-structures, the existence of school facilities particularly in the cities, and as the outcomes of the war. Furthermore, the 2nd generation considers that
the first democratic elections, in 1994, were important as a social and political event but didn’t have much impact at first when compared to the second elections that occurred later in 1999. According to another male from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation,

To me the first elections were not important. First, because at the time I couldn’t vote, I was too young … but also because the elections didn’t had much to do with me … At the time we didn’t have much political consciousness, we said “if I vote will be a blank vote” … The first time I vote, I vote in blank in 1999 … However the first elections [in 1994] were important because of the historical moment we were living in … It was also because of the propaganda done at the time, the civic education campaigns that were done and included theatre performances … And we went there even though we knew we couldn’t vote … because of the movement that was created at the time (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation).

Also, in the narratives of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation, education appears as something essential, but difficult for people who are coming from rural environments. In that sense, there are descriptions about developing informal strategies to guarantee that other members of the family can go and study in the university, particularly in Maputo. As described below, according to another male from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation,

Today, what is the challenge? Our nephews, the children that my brother left, my sister left … Until now I have paid for 3 nephews to go to higher education… They are now graduated. But we have others… So, what have we done? We created something that we call the University Training Fund Family… Two of my nephews that are graduated are now contributing for the Family Fund. The idea is: each graduate in the end contributes for the Fund… Our wealth is only achieved through education… If they keep up with this model, I am sure my children will go to school… But I am sure this model is to last. So now we are 4 that are paying for 3… Each graduated will lower our costs, because the number of graduates will increase… The future of my nephews is through education (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation).

In the end, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation developed a feeling of equality because of the socialist legacy and the introduction of democracy in Mozambique. As a female from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation says,

I consider myself part of the group that was educated in the public school … Our generation is a communist generation or influenced by communism … We look to each other as equals … I think that the curriculums should help to transmit
certain things, for example, the stories… traditional stories … society values are transmitted through those stories…Also to learn about universal history … It is important, because you need to know the world around you … because we are connected with the world (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation).

This connectivity of the world linked to internal migrations because of the war, and external migrations to go and study in non-socialist countries, brought about an awareness of democratic practices and social inequalities. School is for all, and should be a place where people learn to question things and develop knowledge.

University was very important for me... I would like to teach to me children the importance of breaking with common sense, with pre-conceived ideas ... This is one of the first things you learn in the university, you learn to say things with a purpose ... This is something that is very important for me, the idea of questioning things ... Nowadays children already have this automatically: “why this is like this? Why this is blue and not white? Why?” … This is something that I teach to my students: why this and not that? It helps them to think (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation).

The neo-liberal period and the 3rd generation

With the neo-liberal economy appears an individualist approach to the human being (student and citizen) replacing the socialist notion of “individuals as collective people”. Private institutions of formal education are more representative in this period, even though they first appeared in 1995, giving possibilities of choosing other paths besides those determined by the state. In the 3rd generation there is a synthesis of the previous 1st and 2nd generation, with critiques regarding the high level of corruption among schooling institutions due to the fact that the majority of teachers have a very low income. The period of the 2nd and 3rd generations is constantly compared with the socialist idealism and struggle against corruption. For the 3rd generation there is an idealization of Samora’s times, as opposed to modernity and corruption in contemporary Mozambique.

Furthermore, formal education and having a university degree continues to have a high value and prestige in the Mozambican society, particularly for the 3rd generation. However, in a country in which the majority of the people live in rural contexts and where the symbolic meaning of HE is associated with the city, HE presents itself as a
major outcome, creating a paradigmatic situation for the youngest generation, especially in Maputo.

Many youngsters in Maputo are brought up in an social environment where values of education, work and ‘good behaviour’ make very little sense since ownership of these values has become the privilege of middle-class peers with high school diplomas and access to well paid jobs and luxurious houses: a world where there are no legal means of accumulating cash or getting access to commodities, education and work but where these are the very parameters that define ‘a real man’…” (Groes-Green 2010: 386).

The 3rd generation is struggling against high levels of unemployment and with a feeling of disenchantment towards the future; and facing the global trends of global capitalism and labour market. Formal education seems to be facing the same challenge as in other countries raising questions such as: is higher education an institution for securing a well-paid job or is it about knowledge transmission? What is the purpose of higher education nowadays? With the 3rd generation there is opposition to the idea that school is used to standardize behaviours and knowledge.

University tries to standardize us ... “You have to do the way I am telling you to do”, says the teacher. If not, you are out! ... This thing of imposition does not have good results ... Also the way teachers teach in the classroom ... Their posture, they are fire-fighter teachers: “read this and I am going” [to teach in another university] ... You can be a fire-fighter and also pay attention to your students ... In this context, we had good teachers as well (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

In addition, the narratives of the 3rd generation about formal education and identity are focused very much on moral behaviour and values that are the outcome of the religious education of their grandparents and parents during colonial times; and the cleansing of society via the “re-education” camps of the socialist period. The events related with the “re-education” camps are a common and shared knowledge among this generation. Indeed, those events have a strong impact upon the 3rd generation, with different meanings among women and men, reflected in the schooling environment through teachers and students’ informal systems of beliefs. For the young men of the 3rd generation, the Mozambican women should have a moral conduct so they can marry and have children; the young women apparently accept those values to be tuned with the social landscape, having an extremely elaborated and careful public discourse so they
don’t reveal something that could contradict those values. On the other hand, this can also explain why the system of beliefs and practices of the 3rd generation is highly related to formal aspects in schooling: for this generation is very important to have patterns related with schooling uniforms (not provocative) and a certain hair shape (socially acceptable) to result in a formal appearance of “good moral values”.

The formal school should follow a formal behaviour: for the girls the skirt should be to the knee, the hair must be like this [showing with her hands how to comb the hair until it gets smooth] … It should be formal, following a certain pattern that should be embraced by all, no matter what culture they have at home (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 3rd generation).

Mozambican society, especially in rural contexts, is very critical about young girls’ appearance. This seems to be an inheritance from the socialist ideology and the creation of the re-education camps, reinforcing the traditional moral values regarding women – the 3rd generation, especially women, avoid having a socially recognize “bad conduct” (see sub-chapter about informal education and identity below).

In conclusion, in the 3rd generation there is a critique of the loss of purpose in school; school being characterized as a vehicle for the labour market in a situation of high rates of unemployment; the refusal of accepting without questioning what teachers say in the classroom; and at the same time a strong sense of morality that should be the characteristics of particularly young women. For this generation, formal education does not mean a great deal in people’s life, it is only a stage to become “developed” or “globalized”.

**5.1.1.3. General conclusions about formal education and identity**

In a general conclusion about formal education and identity over the three generations of Mozambicans, it is possible to underline the following: formal education has for all generations an important role inside the family group, but only because it is the symbol of “greater possibilities”, meaning “good job, good salary” especially for the younger generation. This could explain the fact that the more important role model in all three generations can be found inside the family group (informal education). This seems to suggest the way formal education is understood, undermining the importance of schooling.
In the narratives of three generations formal education is still characterized as an inheritance of the Portuguese colonial education system, with: a) higher level of access in urban area as opposed to rural areas; (ii) the continuation of an education for all, but with a notion of an elite linked to the ruling political party that emerged of independence in 1975 (i.e. Frelimo). In the 3rd generation it is possible to see the general outcomes of the education policies developed by the three governments lead by the three Presidents of the country: Samora Machel (1975-1986); Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005) and Armando Guebuza (2005-2014). A new education policy is being supported by the international community toward the development of VTE, creating what was called by the World Bank in April 2015 a “a productive life through education”. Formal education is becoming synonymous for construction of economic productivity, not necessarily knowledge, in a world in which school and success are much more competitive in the current global economic landscape.

In that sense, a question remains: How is such productivity being constructed or understood within school nowadays? A recent study by Coughlin (2015), underlines significant trends of plagiarism in five HE institutions in Mozambique, following global trends in other parts of the world. “For example, in a study of 1.051 students in six university cities, Nonis and Swift (2001: 75) concluded that there is ‘a high ratio between the frequency of fraud in college and the frequency of fraud at work’” (Coughlin 2015: 13). As it is argued by the author, all continents including Africa are showing a high level of plagiarism amongst students, affecting school and “if it becomes an habitus, later on could be linked to a non-ethical behaviour that could endanger government efficiency and its economy” (Coughlin 2015: 1). Is the construction of productivity in school linked to the global trends of plagiarism amongst students nowadays? How are the highly competitive demands of the global labour marketing contributing for this situation? Such questions remain unanswered.

In sum, in order to understand the identity and knowledge construction process over the three generations of Mozambicans and the impact of formal education we need to understand too the informal education setting. Indeed, in the narratives of the three
generations of Mozambicans, the role of informal education (e.g. family, community, religion) is central and constantly underlined when they tell their life story.

In Nampula [a province from the North of Mozambique] I taught … Our role [as a teacher] was to bring together popular and scientific knowledge. [Describing a recent classroom interaction] “Look, let us see: but that happen with you? Did you see? No? So, if you didn’t see you have to think as well that what happened could be your imagination, could be a myth … you cannot believe in everything, I am not saying that you should not believe, but you should reflect upon what happen” … If we let things be as they are, people continue to believe that what happened is true … To a Black person and to us, Africans, there is no natural death, we don’t die due to natural causes, we die because someone killed us … That was something that I tried to talk about … If kids drive a motorcycle in a stupid way and if they die … people are going to say that was the neighbour … they never say it was speed excess … No! It’s always the neighbour! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

5.1.2. Informal education and identity
Informal education (e.g. family, community, religion; Strauss 1984) has different impacts upon the identity and knowledge construction processes for each generation in Mozambique. To understand the interconnected processes of informal education and identity in the three generations of Mozambicans, I present the findings subdivided into 3 categories: (i) The three generations defined by their notion of family and gender roles; (ii) The three generations related with ethnic belonging and language; and (iii) The three generations and religion.

5.1.2.1. The three generations, the notion of family and gender roles
For all three generations, family turns out to be the most important aspect of their lives. The maintenance of a formal language such as Portuguese is also an important part of their social and national identity. The fact that the majority of the population is from a rural environment and with little access to formal education can explain the importance of family and community in the construction of a social and personal identity in all three generations (e.g. Serpell 1993; Harber 2014; Eisenstadt 2003; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).
Indeed, in the narratives of the three generations there is an account of the differences between modernity (i.e. school) and tradition (i.e. outside school; family, community and religion) in contemporary Mozambique. Post-colonial Mozambique is characterized by a modernity within the notion of ‘multiple modernities’ (Eisenstadt 2003) bringing a critical approach to the concept of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; see chapter 2). The three generations of Mozambican students consider that they are living in modern times, being post-colonial Mozambique a globalized space, in which tradition and modernity are complementary processes to construct a personal and social identity. The social construction of gender is also addressed in their narratives bringing into the debate the construction of masculinity and patriarchy within modernity (Harber 2014; see chapter 2). In school women encounter what is described as an ‘academic masculinity’ (see Harber 2016) that rules the institution, being developing practices of resistance outside school (see examples below; Scott 1985, 1990, 2011).

In this section I address several informal practices and beliefs shared by all three generations to understand the informal education knowledge system and its impact upon identity. Firstly I present a general overview about the three generations and the notion and importance of family and gender roles. Secondly I bring ethnographic examples described in the narratives of the three generations, drawing also from my ethnographic fieldwork notebooks of 2011, addressing the following: (i) social practice of giving a traditional name to every new member in the family linked with lobolo (i.e. symbolic social practice that recognizes marriage in the Mozambican society); (ii) informal education and the role of women; and (iii) description of the purification rite of kutchinga (i.e. social rite characterized by forced sexual relations between the widow and another men).

**General overview of notion of family and gender roles**

Regarding a general overview about the three generations of Mozambicans and the notion of family and gender roles, it is possible to present the following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Gender roles</th>
<th>Impact in formal education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; generation</td>
<td>Born between 1957 and 1966; having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
<td>Extended family, including neighbours and community members. Also family beyond the Mozambican’ borders</td>
<td>Men: Learn how to play football; learn an informal trade to provide the future family during colonial times; learn to live abroad apart from family; learn the importance of manual work; starting to develop the notion of having only one wife, but in reality nothing changed; no references to the traditional name. Women: Learn how to have a proper behaviour (social manners) during colonial times; the political regime allows professional and equal opportunities; learn the importance of manual work; could be more than “just married”, but still the importance of being a mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; generation</td>
<td>Born between 1974 and 1980; having Democracy as an ideology</td>
<td>Extended family, including neighbours and community members. Also family beyond the Mozambican’ borders</td>
<td>Men: First independent generation from the colonial rule experience and society; the sons of socialist state fighting for their autonomy; Between tradition and socialism. Women: Could be single mothers; can behave with some freedom, but always important to be fertile/being able to have children; between tradition and socialism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; generation</td>
<td>Born between 1982 and 1987; having Global Capitalism as an ideology</td>
<td>Extended family, including neighbours and community members. Also family beyond the Mozambican’ borders</td>
<td>Men: Notion that is the man who should be the “head of the family”; wanting their sons and daughters to go to higher education to have a future. Women: Being a family woman or mother; obeying the eldest women; recovering some old social practices regarding women role in society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When comparing the notion of family for the three generations of Mozambicans, they all presented a shared meaning of that social institution: family is described as being an extended family, which includes neighbours and community members, and as well family beyond the physical borders of the country (see chapter 3).
However in the classroom the notion of family is drawn from Western European contexts with the family interpreted as a nuclear family.

In terms of gender roles, the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation is characterized by a socialist notion of gender in which men and women share equal rights and opportunities, learning also the importance of shared manual work. Apparently women do not need to be married, but they should be mothers. For the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation, both men and women are between tradition and socialism, meaning women know that they have rights and freedom, but they still think they should be primarily mothers. However in the classroom, the modern curriculum reflects the dominant history quiet different from their experiences and the role of women (e.g. perception of the war). Finally, for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation traditional roles regarding ‘man as the head of the family’ characterizes their narratives, as well obeying the eldest women. Particularly for women in this generation there are descriptions of recovering traditional social practices that reinforce the traditional role of women in the Mozambican society. When in the classroom, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation considers that they don’t learn enough about their social reality or society.

In order to understand the impact of an extended family notion and gender roles in formal education, I describe now everyday life practices and social interactions outside the classroom. Those practices and interaction allow for an understanding of the dimension present in the ‘hidden curriculum’ of formal schools used every day in the words, gestures and styles of teaching and learning by the students and teachers in post-colonial Mozambique.

\textbf{Traditional name and lobolo}

One of the important experienced-events described by the three generations of Mozambicans is the distinction among gender roles found inside the extended family. One example underlined in the narratives is about the traditional practice of giving a family or traditional name to every new member in the family. It is a common practice that everyone has a “secret” name that is only known by the family and the community, but this seems to be a practice especially relevant for boys in the south of Mozambique.
I have a traditional name from my grandfather, from my father side of the family. I don’t know the origin of the name ... we have to accept it ... My sisters do not have a traditional name, even if it is a tradition for them to have it. But what happens most of the time is that girls only have that name when they have problems, problems in social relationships with other people. For instance, if the girl is going to be lobolada [establishing the “bride-price” or lobolo], we have to alert the people in our home, the spirits, that someone is going to leave the house. And when something is wrong, people from the house look for a traditional name to give to that girl, it doesn’t matter if it is too late, because the name will follow the girl and will protect her outside the house, to calm down the problem she presents. But if she doesn’t have any problems she will never have a house name (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 3rd generation).

The lobolo is a traditional practice that reflects the different gender roles within the reproduction and conception of family in Mozambique. It is still carried out by most of the families in the country even when it assumes a different shape in modern times. Lobolo represents a symbolic and informal social practice that recognizes a marriage in the Mozambican society, giving consensual access to women by paying to the woman family their lost (Diaz-Szmidt 2013). In spite of this traditional notion regarding the bride-price, in Mozambique the modernized lobolo has created a new social configuration inside family and group relationships: from paying in the past with cattle to paying with money, both man and woman participate in an active way in this social practice that recognizes the union of two persons in the eyes of society (Granjo 2005). Lobolo is part of the informal education process that impacts on each generation. What are the implications of these social practices for schooling? In school lobolo does not exist in the curriculum, no mention is made of “women having a price”. The curriculum does not take in account the traditional cultural context and can be an explanation for the disenchantment feeling particularly present in the 3rd generation regarding the processes of construction of knowledge in school. It says something about the tensions between tradition and modernity in the construction of curriculum and identity.

Also, because lobolo is being negotiated among men and women in contemporary Mozambique to construct their identity, I now describe the role of women in the informal education system of knowledge. The role of women is clearly underlined in the narratives of the three generations about informal education. In this sense, how are women conceived, described and constructed over the three generations in Mozambique?
Informal education and the role of women

Regarding gender roles in informal education, the role of women is in contrast with the curriculum in school. As described by a female from the 2nd generation,

I am Macua [ethnic group from the North] … The way we differentiated from the Machanganas [ethnic group from the South] … has much more to do with intimacy; being a Muslim, a woman and Macua … I have two faces … This one is the submissive woman … but it is much stronger … You need to be recognized by your group … Parents already passed an education to their children … women have a different education from boys … women know how to serve the oldest people … when someone visits my house I serve my father … I end up like my mother … And that bothers me … but if there is a group of female cousins, I don’t mind … You know? Deep down I am an African woman … I know what is my role as an African woman … Even though I am fighting for equal rights (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation).

All women in the three generations describe their ambiguity in modern times: being a woman and fighting for equal rights is most of the times contrary to their traditional role in society.

As a Macua woman, we have a lot of power, because it is a matrilineal society … My mother is submissive, but at the same time she has a lot of power! … Up in the North you find a woman with two husbands … and both living in the same house and there is no problem, the woman is the leader… The idea of Samora [the first President of Mozambique] that there are no ethnic divisions, I don’t think that is real … The women from the South, they are already going after of what is the culture of the North … Why? A lot of women in the North are taught how to serve … with 14 years old, since you become a woman, she is prepared to serve the home … to seduce the man … The women from the South think that the women from the North steal the South’s husbands in bed and in table … because she knows how to do it … And now what those women from the South are doing? A lot of them go there to learn, even the initiation rites … they are welcome … For what? To continue to keep their homes and learn how to seduce … A lot of those women go there and they are already married … Deep down, every woman wants to be submissive, wants to be that woman … I don’t! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation).

Indeed, to have an understating about the construction of knowledge and the impact upon identity the informal education system of knowledge should be underlined. A simple word such as, for example, “woman” has different cultural meanings regarding
the region where the students are from. This awareness becomes important for the 2nd generation, contesting the standardization process of the socialist period upon women. During socialism, in the 1st generation, women should be like men, with no gender distinctions. But for the 2nd generation, during the democratic period, women claim back their informal roles in society, which are different regarding the regional origin of the population. Formal education does not seem to take into account the cultural setting of the country.

The women in sub-Saharan Africa belong to different cultural environments, some of which are profoundly dominated by patriarchal values, while in other contexts, such as in the North of Mozambique, there are still matrilineal traditions and participation of women in the public sphere. Simultaneously, the North of Mozambique has a strong Islamic presence, deeply rooted in the local power structures … (Meneses 2008: 77).

In the 3rd generation, women clearly assert their role as mothers, feeling many times the social pressure of being fertile. However, the region of origin is essential to understand how women are constructed over the three generations of Mozambicans (see chapter 3). To have an understanding about women and region of origin, the example of kutchinga was elaborated with strong emotional feelings in the narratives of the three generations.

**Kutchinga, women and region of origin**

Another example from the narratives of the three generations about the gender roles and informal education is found in the description of the purification rite of kutchinga (i.e. social rite of purification characterized by forced sexual relations, with no protection, between the widow and a male member of the family of their former husband or a person designated to perform that role). Kutchinga has an impact upon education and the construction of knowledge in post-colonial Mozambique. Kutchinga is very illustrative of one of the main characteristics of the Mozambican society: the role of women in society and the culture interpretations of that. But, again, the theoretical data many times does not reflect the reality and it’s an on-going social change process. That, I argue, it’s only possible to be understood using a qualitative approach that can show us how society will change or if is about to change. To describe the impact of kutchinga I draw upon my ethnographic fieldwork notebooks of 2011 and the narratives of the
three generations, particularly the female segment of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation collected in May 2013.

Going back to my ethnographic fieldwork notebooks of 2011, I wrote then about a debate in the classroom around \textit{kutchinga} and the role of women in contemporary Mozambique. The students, mainly part of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation, initiated a debate around the role of woman in Mozambique. The male voices defended “what is a woman without a man?!”. This sentence spoken by one of them, representing the male group, led to a huge debate in the classroom about \textit{kutchinga}. As mentioned before, \textit{kutchinga} is a purification rite that women have to go through after their husband death\textsuperscript{9}. This ritual is a current practice especially in rural areas of Mozambique, linked to the belief that with a widow’s purification bad luck and misfortune can be prevented (see Douglas 1970, 1966 about purity and danger). This rite is performed to please the ancestors and the spirits because death, and at the same time a woman without her husband, are considered to be a disorder in the organization of society, becoming simultaneously a symbol of power and danger (e.g. Passador 2010; Chiziane 2002). As mentioned before, each individual body is a reflection of the organization of society. In addition, the \textit{kutchinga} can also mean that the widow should marry one of the members of the husband’s family, even if he is already married.

It was not common, as the students of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation explained back then (2011), for a woman to refuse the \textit{kutchinga} - even though the \textit{kutchinga} is not accepted by many women in Mozambique. During the debate about the \textit{kutchinga}, a female student from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation spoke leaving everyone astonished, because it’s not common to speak freely as she did:

\begin{quote}
You’re wrong. My mother didn’t do it. [Silence] It’s not easy to live without the support of the family, but I am very proud of my mother. She is a strong woman and I am in the university only because of her (Mozambican female college student, Maputo, 2011)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{9} This traditional rite has been abolished, at least in theory, in June of 2012 by the Mozambican Association of Traditional Healers (AMETRAMO), because it contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. “Looking at the distribution of the prevalence of HIV/AIDS by sex in Mozambique in 2009, it is observed that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS was higher in women (18.4\%) than in men (12.8\%)” (MDP 2010: 71).
The colleagues looked at her, especially young girls and women, and one of the girls added:

My mother did the same. After that our family abandoned us. But my mother was able to continue with her life and went to work. Now I can go to visit my family again. We don’t speak about what happened (Mozambican female college student, 2011)

After a moment of silence the girls and women in the classroom started to speak about the *kutchinga* and how they felt about it. The majority of them didn’t agree, but they all considered being very hard to refuse, because they would lose their family support. However, as the young girls said, it became evident that the women’s acceptance of this social rite was not consensual or common, a description that I heard many times in informal conversations about tradition in Mozambique. Furthermore, the social practice of *kutchinga* is also associated with a specific region of Mozambique: “in the north there is no kutchinga! … It’s a typical thing from the south!” (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation). The differences between the north and the south of Mozambique are linked with the fact that society is matrilineal in north in opposition to being patrilineal in the south (see chapter 3).

**General conclusions about family and gender roles**

The informal education knowledge system described by the three generations of Mozambicans particularly underlines women gender roles. Women are in the centre of the three generations narratives about informal education: they speak about their grandmother, mother, auntie, sister of their father… They speak about women and the importance of their role in society and family. Also, combined with the cultural and historical background of post-colonial Mozambique (see chapter 3), women also had a key role in the reconstruction of the country after the war. Informal networks of business were developed particularly by women when the war ended.

In addition, the three generations also mentioned the importance of respecting the eldest members of the family and the spirits. In their narratives they describe the maintenance of traditional practices of asking permission from the eldest members of the family and the approval of the spirits in each new business or stage of life (e.g. when buying a new
car). Even the 1st generation that seems more distant from this conception of life still do as they are told by their families to prevent bad luck or misfortune.

Comparing with the 3rd generation, the 1st generation now openly debates the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, claiming the need to find a way to live in “both worlds”. That is why the oldest generation is trying to recover old languages or national languages besides the official one, Portuguese. But, they are facing a new form of social discourse, a “hidden discourse” about tradition and African way of being by the youngest generation (i.e. 3rd generation). In fact, regarding traditional African education or informal education, the 3rd generation does not assume openly their beliefs, but they follow the traditional beliefs. At the same time, I encounter a kind of “shame” when saying that traditional African education is valued by the three generations, because it was taught during colonial times that this was “primitive”. Besides, after independence, during the socialist regime of Samora, it continued to be considered “obscurantist” and also part of a system of “not developed” practices. Again we listen to the division that formal education is contributing to (i.e. out of school life versus school) and the need to have a formal curriculum that, in spite of being globalized, should be also local, reflecting the local knowledge in the formal system of education. There is also the need to address critically the so-called dichotomy between tradition and modernity as the outcome of an hegemonic vision of the world. Indeed, Western European scholarship often links tradition with the African world opposed to modernity that represents the so-called ‘developed’ Western European world (see chapter 3).

In conclusion, the informal system of knowledge is much more present in the narratives of the three generations when compared to formal education. Regarding the notion of family, the idea of an extended family is central in the identity construction process of the three generations, as opposed to notions of the nuclear family that dominate the formal curriculum. Gender roles are also addressed taking in account informal settings of education, where women should have children and be mothers. References to the traditional practice of lobolo, kutchinga and asking permission from the eldest members of the family and the approval of the spirits in each new stage of life are also a practice outside classroom. In those informal practices it is possible to understand the centrality of women in contemporary Mozambique and the movements of social changing that are
occurring slowly (e.g. refusal of doing the *kutchinga*), not only in Mozambique but in other parts of the world. For example, Fallon (2008) argues that in pre-colonial Ghana women held positions of power within several ethnic groups; with colonialism women were «systematically excluded» (Fallon 2008: 33); but with the process of democratization women recognize «a crucial opening for change» (ibid: 34) regarding their role in contemporary society. In South Africa, women are challenging the «stereotypical beliefs about women’s traditional roles» (Tshoaedi 2008: 6), engaging in protests against laws that impact upon their fate (see chapter 3).

In Mozambique, such as in other parts of the world, family and gender roles are part of a bigger social construction going on: the social group or ethnic group and language used.

**5.1.2.2. The three generations, ethnic belonging and language**

The second category of analysis in terms of informal knowledge and identity construction process is about the three generations in relationship to ethnic belonging and language. This is important because ethnicity is a social construction, the outcome of social and political history, changing categories and classifications to reflect the lived history. The implications of living history (e.g. being an *assimilado*, see chapter 3) also impacts in the classroom and outside classroom in society in the social construction of knowledge and identity. Knowledge is constructed in school in Portuguese. The adoption of Portuguese as the official language by Frelimo contributed for the marginalization of other national languages (e.g. Chichava 2008). Not only are the patterns of the distribution of national languages in Mozambique linked to ethnicity but also the regions of origin tell us how society is organized (e.g. Chichava 2008; Nordstrom 1997).

**Ethnic belonging**

In terms of ethnic belonging for the 1st and 2nd generation there are references to the ethnic groups that contribute to the construction of identity, in opposition to the 3rd generation that considered the idea of being Mozambican central for their identity.
Bearing that in mind, I present the following about ethnicity and ethnic belonging over the three generations of Mozambicans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Ethnic belonging</th>
<th>Region of origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st generation</strong></td>
<td><em>Assimilada</em>, Zulu, Changana and Bitonga (South); Sena and Nyungue (Centre). 50% are from the South</td>
<td>50% from Maputo (South); the rest from Inhambane (South); Zambezia and Tete (Centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1957 and 1966; having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd generation</strong></td>
<td>2 Tsua (Centre); 1 Macua (North); 1 Ndua (Centre); 1 Bitonga (South); 1 Chuabo and Sena (Centre)</td>
<td>50% from Maputo (South); 2 from Inhambane (South) and 1 from Sofala (Centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1974 and 1980; having Democracy as an ideology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd generation</strong></td>
<td>The majority defines themselves as being Mozambicans (national identity); 1 Changana (South)</td>
<td>The majority are from Maputo (South); 1 from Zambezia (Centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1982 and 1987; Having Global Capitalism as an ideology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: The three generations related with ethnic belonging

Indeed, defining their ethnic belonging is important for the 1st and 2nd generation before explaining that they are also Mozambicans. An example is below from a male from the 2nd generation which illustrates that ethnic belonging is an important part in the identity construction process in contemporary Mozambique:

I am Ndua [Shona ethnic group]… We had a neighbouring family… They were Senas [ethnic group]… I learn how to speak both languages, Sena and Ndua… I didn’t realize that I was learning languages! I only realize in the university that I speak two languages! … Where we grew up we had Senas and Ndua… We always had a good relationship with our neighbours, but at home they always teach us the differences between the Sena and the Ndua… There was always that thing, that idea that implied that the Sena were not very clean… It was the construction of the Other… However, the Sena when compared with the Chuabos [ethnic group], they were better… Chuabos eat snake… We, Ndua, ate rat, not the small one, but the big one! … To us, we were the best! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).
Both 1st and 2nd generations still recall their ethnic belonging to describe their identity contrary to the 3rd generation. In the first two generations the links between ethnicity and the politics of the war is underlined in their narratives. For the 1st and 2nd generation to be a Ndau or a Changana is a sign of political belonging: the Ndau ethnic group from the central provinces of Mozambique, formed the elite of Renamo (the movement opposed to Frelimo, after independence, which represented Rhodesia and Apartheid in South Africa; currently the main political opposition party); and the ethnic groups of the south province of Gaza, such as the Changana, formed the elite of Frelimo (the leading movement against colonialism and representing socialism; the dominant political party since independence). Finally, for the 3rd generation, being a Mozambican citizen is to describe their ethnic belonging. However in the narratives of the 3rd generation, when speaking about language, ethnic belonging appears in a ‘hidden’ level. In that sense, to understand the impact of ethnicity one must look to the language used in their narratives.

**Language and ethnicity**

Language and ethnicity has a central role in modern schooling in Mozambique over the three generations of students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Mother-tongue (MT)</th>
<th>Portuguese (PT) as official language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>50% Portuguese (all women); The other 50% (men) have as MT Changana, Ronga, Bitonga e Nyungue</td>
<td>The women all speak PT as their first language; men speak Portuguese in their everyday life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>50% Portuguese (all women); The other 50% (men) have as MT Tsua, Bitonga and Ndau</td>
<td>All speak PT in their everyday life, tends to lose their ability to speak the national languages of their origin group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>All have Portuguese as their MT</td>
<td>The creation of a “new” PT, with expressions from the national languages and also English expressions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: The three generations related with language

When describing the main language used, in the narratives of the three generations, Portuguese appears as the dominant language in the 1st generation, particularly for women. This was described as a protective measure during colonial times, to provide
women with strategies to survive in a ‘white’ society. To speak the dominant language is to, somehow, be integrated in the dominant society, even if at the social margins (see Fanon 1952).

For the 2nd generation, Portuguese appears to be the dominant language for both women and men. However, both generations feel the need to go back and learn their family/group language, because language is used to transmit traditional culture and knowledge.

For the 3rd generation, Portuguese is the mother-tongue of the majority of women and men in this generation. However, there are descriptions of needing to incorporate local languages into the daily use again in order to keep the contact with informal education and society, as described below:

I grew up speaking Portuguese ... My parents, especially my mother, she was an educator! She always said: “That thing of speaking Changana [national language from the south] here, it doesn’t work now. Go and speak Portuguese, you all must learn Portuguese”. But my father thought differently. He told me: “You don’t speak Changana? Imagine that one day you are going to work in the countryside, you are going to find that ladies who don’t speak Portuguese. How are you going to solve the situation?” My father used to send us to play with our neighbours. Épa! To play with them you need to know how to speak Changana. If you don’t speak Changana they say “that guy over there is white!” … And now we are looking to the social status … My father used to send me to my grandmother so I could learn things, not only Changana as a language, but also things that have to do with traditions, family … He said: “There are no other people, so you must learn, so you can transmit the legacy to other people” … What I learn is that to be modern is not enough (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 3rd generation).

Formal education has a strong impact on the ethnic definition and language of the three generations, because in school people learn in Portuguese and about the history of struggling against colonialism and the independence of Mozambique. The category that is taught in school is about national identity, Mozambique as a new nation. In that sense, and because the majority of the three generations are from the south of the country, where there are more school facilities, the three generations tend to lose their ethnic belonging and local languages daily use. To go to school is to learn to have a standardized way of being, externally expressed through the use of the discourse of
schooling. It is becoming increasingly difficult to identify which ethnic groups each interviewee belongs to, knowing that ethnic borders are a European construction that goes beyond Mozambique’ borders (see chapter 3). Also the national languages are no longer a strong identity marker in most cases. And when they are, for example in the 2nd generation, it starts to be a fragile identity marker because their parents came from different parts of the country with different national languages, teaching their sons a common language, the Portuguese.

The only thing I think I have learned that is particularly African is the language. My mother-tongue is not Portuguese ... That’s how I define my ethnic group: by sharing a Bantu language that is spoken mainly in the area where I grew up … My son, I think he will have problems, because my wife is from a different region of the country, with a different language … my son speaks Portuguese (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

During the socialist period, with the official politics of speaking Portuguese to create a sense of “national unity” without ethnic divisions/belonging, a social construction of ethnicity appears in a hidden level of the discourses particularly for the 2nd and 3rd generations. Indeed, in the 2nd and 3rd generation ethnic divisions described appeared more associated with the regions of the country.

What I have learned, the environment in which I live, my family environment, our culture … You have the culture of the South, the culture of the North, the culture of the Centre [of Mozambique]. Each one has its one culture, its way of being in the society in which they are… I identify myself as being from the South … Then you have another question: Am I Mozambican? Yes. And then: where were you born? Are you from the South, North or Centre? (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 3rd generation).

The informal education knowledge system tells us that formal education is very often a counter-discourse to what happens in society. The impact upon identity is much more underlined in the informal education system. Ethnicity and language are social categories that have been differently constructed throughout time and space. If for the 1st generation ethnicity doesn’t have much importance in the definition of a personal and social identity, for the 2nd generation discourses about ethnic belonging start to appear, originating a ‘hidden discourse’ of ethnic belonging for the 3rd generation. For the youngest generation, to speak about ethnicity and ethnic belonging is something of
the private and familiar sphere, something that defines their African belonging. The standardization of knowledge in school, using one language to transmit the curriculum, seems to have a negative impact upon personal identity, being the African belonging surpassed by the global belonging. And to speak about the social construction of African belonging and ethnicity is also to speak about religion, a crucial part of the everyday life in Mozambique.

5.1.2.3. The three generations and religion

The third and final category used for analyzing the findings about informal education and identity is about the links between the three generations and religion. To define religion in the African context is to debate the notion of religion itself. The traditional African religion is not something to be considered apart from the everyday life, being mingled with the values and practices of social actors in their daily life (Mahumane 2008; Cavallo 2013). As it is argued by Turner (1975), the symbols used to represent and act in matters of religion are something that allows the interaction between men and women, being the rituals the expression of resolution of social problems that could be the outcome of some social disorder or individual disintegration. Religion produces behaviours, practices and institutions, being historically determined (Mahumane 2008; Berger 1967).

In the specific case of Mozambique, Honwana (2004) adds a new dimension to social living and transmission of traditional religion linked with the experienced-events of the Civil War that affected mainly the 1st and the 2nd generations in this study. The 3rd generation considered that this event is mainly historical, but only for the interviewees who are from the city capital and have not been exposed to the war itself – since the Civil War affected mainly the rest of the country, especially the north and central regions of Mozambique. Religion, as it is argued by Honwana (2004), is a set of rituals and symbols that helps maintain or recover a social identity after a traumatic event such as the war. However, it is by itself one of the possible social solutions that each generation encounter.

In this category (i.e. religion and three generations) it is possible to present the following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Impact in formal education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>5 are Catholics; only 1 is a practicing Catholic, the others were educated as Catholics (values, moral, etc). 1 doesn’t have a religion, but follows the traditional systems of beliefs</td>
<td>In African contexts religion is part of the everyday life, with particular practices, values and beliefs that contradict many times the curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Born between 1957 and 1966; Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>1 Islamic and traditional beliefs; 1 with no religion; 1 Zione (related to the Pentecostalism); the rest are Catholic or with relations related to traditional beliefs</td>
<td>In African contexts religion is part of the everyday life, with particular practices, values and beliefs that contradict many times the curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Born between 1974 and 1980; Democracy as an ideology)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>The majority are Catholic (women with strong references to moral values); 1 from the UCKG (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God – pentecostal church); 1 Islamic not orthodox</td>
<td>In African contexts religion is part of the everyday life, with particular practices, values and beliefs that contradict many times the curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Born between 1982 and 1987; Global Capitalism or Neo-liberalism as an ideology)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: The three generations, religion and impact in formal education

For each generation the perception of religion is different: for the 1st generation, of the socialist period, religion became something discredited and associated with the “bandidos armados” (“armed bandits”) - the way Frelimo called Renamo’s members during the Civil War. The socialist ideology considered religion as something from the past, which contributed to inequality in society. The 1st generation however still follows the traditional practices. The 2nd generation describes religion as something that allows creativity to appear opposed to the schooling environment.

All my childhood and adolescent were done in the Church [Catholic]. I met many people in the Church, but I am not a person with faith. The utility of Church, for me, because I don’t believe much, is because I considered being a good place to give education to people … The feeling of solidarity is something that the Church transmits very well … And there was a very rich and cultural life in the Church, like theatre, that we didn’t had in school … public school didn’t had space for creativity, but in the Church we had (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

For the three generations the most reserved group of interviewees that I found was among the female group of the 3rd generation. They didn’t speak much about traditional beliefs or practices, sometimes they denied it, but in the end they would narrate some
personal and family experiences about it. For this generation the moral conception of a ‘socially acceptable behaviour’ seems to be at the centre of their narratives. For the 3rd generation they co-exist within two worlds: the globalized and traditional. School seems to have impacted upon their social identity, their ‘face’ (see Goffman 2005) when organizing their narratives: for them religion is part of the globalized educated individual, keeping their cultural particularities for themselves.

However, when undertaking participant observation, qualitative data provide us with a deeper understanding of the religion systems of knowledge in informal education in post-colonial Mozambique. When I was collecting ethnographic material whilst living in Mozambique in 2011/2012, the daily life and daily informal conversations with students in and out of school, gave me the possibility of having a deeper understanding of the impact of religion upon the construction of identity and knowledge systems.

Particularly for the 3rd generation, religion as an institution is something that people use to construct their identity and knowledge systems. At the time, I heard several stories told by young women in Maputo about the way they construct their identity and society. For example, it is used to prevent bad luck within the family after the spirits and neighbours’ envy fall on them. In general, it has to do with monetary or material accomplishment by a male member of the family, which is punished by the neighbours’ envy and in turn he has to ‘give’ a daughter to the spirits even without his daughter knowledge. The spirits don’t allow these women to marry; instead they become their spiritual husbands also. If the woman tries to find a man, the spirits interfere in the relationship disabling the woman of having children’s and transforming the couple’s life into a “living hell” (as described back then). Facing that, the young girl has to accept the situation and prepare herself to become a healer (see Honwana work). But sometimes there are women that go to Evangelic Churches to control the influence of the spirits, changing their destiny. Others drop out of school. The daughters’ behaviour impacted upon the social interaction in society, especially through physical symptoms similar to epilepsy - they can’t control their behaviour in front of other people and they starts to shake their body without any control and skimming of the mouth, finally fainting. This conduct scares most of the people around them, knowing that they are the property of the spirits. In formal education, in the curriculum, there are no spirits and the history of
spirits, only mentions to traditional practices and lack of rationality. In all three generations religion is part of their everyday life, having specific practices, values and beliefs that contradict many times the curriculum developed in school.

In a general conclusion about informal education and identity is possible to present the following: the three generations are defined by their notion of family and gender roles, belonging to a certain ethnic group, using a common language and sharing religious values and beliefs. Thus informs us about what is in practice within informal education.

The impact of informal education on schooling can be summarized as following: curriculums need to be integrated in a specific context without losing their global purposes and goals. However there is the need to “resolve” the integration of moral values from the traditional practices/other religions to be tuned with the idea of achieving, through formal education, the notion of “categorical imperative” by Kant (2002 [1785]). In that sense, to act ethically there is the need to apply universal principles. Those principles should contribute for the integration and resolution of the clash between the local history (e.g. lobolo, assimilados, and kutchinga) and the global curriculum.

5.1.3. General overview of education and identity
The first cluster (i.e. education and identity) that organizes the life story and history of the three generations was presented taking in account the impact of education in the construction of identity in two complementary processes: formal and informal education, and their impact upon identity. Formal and informal education contributes differently to the construction of knowledge and identity over the three generations of Mozambicans:

➢ When looking to formal education and identity, I firstly presented the impact of curriculum within each ideological and political momentum that characterize each generation (i.e. 1st generation and socialism; 2nd generation and democracy; and 3rd generation and neo-liberalism). In that sense, the curriculum is understood as a social construction phenomenon that needs to be contextualized in a specific political and social timeline, providing a role model in terms of public self. I compare the public
construction of the self in school with the personal and familial construction of the personal self. To have an understanding of the impact of formal education in the identity of the three generations, I address secondly the education system over the three ideological and political momentous, describing the life story (i.e. linked with their life-journeys) and life history (i.e. linked with social, economic and political events) of each generation. When describing their life story and history about the education system and the construction of knowledge, each generation brings their informal systems of knowledge that are present in everyday life inside and outside school.

When looking to informal education (e.g. family, community, religion) I present the narratives of the three generations organized by (i) their notion of family and gender roles; (ii) their ethnic belonging and language; and finally (iii) religion. Informal education has different impacts upon the identity and knowledge construction process for each generation of Mozambicans in this study.

After describing how the “subjects” construct their identity and knowledge (education and identity cluster), I bring now how they remember the experiences that constitute the process of constructing their identity and knowledge, presenting the second cluster that organizes the findings: memory and narrative in post-colonial Mozambique, addressing memory and the construction of resistances, and memory and the construction of an *autonomous being*. As it is argued by Bruner (1996), narratives are unique, multiple and constantly re-constructed at a personal and social level (see chapter 2).

### 5.2. Memory and the impact in the construction of narratives

In the cluster of memory and narrative in post-colonial Mozambique, I present and discuss how the three generations of Mozambicans remembers the multidimensional experiences that constitute their identity and knowledge construction processes. The memories will be linked with the notion of ‘everyday forms of resistance’ (Scott 1985, 1990, 2011) to address the “hidden” dimensions in the education system (i.e. what each generation remember about doing publicly, in school, is sometimes different from what they remember doing outside school and use to define “who” they are). In this sub-chapter I address (1) memory and the construction of resistances, and (2) memory and the construction of an *autonomous being*. It is through memory that we can understand
how a “traumatic” and/or relevant experience impacted upon the identities of the three generations of Mozambicans.

5.2.1. Memory and the construction of resistances
Social memory invokes the past to legitimate the present (Connerton 1999), but also the everyday life practices and forms of resistances to what is defined as being the ‘official discourse’ (Scott 1985, 1990, 2011). To understand the interconnected processes of memory, construction of resistances and implications for schooling in the three generations of Mozambicans, I present the findings subdivided into two levels of comparative narratives: (i) Lived and imagined-experiences of education linked with public transcripts (i.e. how things were or happened in each generation); (ii) Lived and imagined-experiences linked to hidden transcripts (i.e. counter-discourses and practices).

5.2.1.1. Memory and public transcripts
Regarding the first level of interconnected processes of memory and construction of resistances (i.e. public transcripts; Scott 1985), they can be summarized as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Public transcripts ↔ lived and imagined-experiences of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>Studying during colonial times, primary education for the majority; social space divided into white/black people; boys and girls studied separate; after independence, students that become teachers in secondary education having pedagogical, political and military trainee in the 8th March Centre (Maputo); also students send to Cuba, East Germany, former Soviet Union, Hungary (socialist countries) and Portugal, Brazil; boys and girls studied together; physical punishments by the teachers in classroom and teachers having a high social status; wanting to go further in their education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>Families from the rural environment, not part of the elite, have their first child going to HE; their grandfather or father was a teacher; Frelimo School for the children of Frelimo members (elite); going to Maputo to have access to education due to the war and lack of school infra-structures in the rest of the country; having members of the family in Maputo helping them to come to the city capital to go to the university; differences between who is from the city and the countryside; end of Civil War (1992) did not change much in terms of education facilities, still highly concentrated in the cities; however, government allowed private universities to exist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generations | Public transcripts ↔ lived and imagined-experiences of education
---|---
3\(^{rd}\) generation
Born between 1982 and 1987; having Global Capitalism or Neo-liberalism as an ideology
Public and private universities available; but private universities are very expensive and with a lower social status when compared to public universities; also considered to be ‘easier’, because = ‘student pay, student get a degree’; who have economic possibilities can continue the studies into HE; having studies is not equal to having opportunities to create the future

Table 19: The three generations of Mozambicans and the public transcripts

When comparing the public transcripts of the three generations, the 1\(^{st}\) and the 2\(^{nd}\) generations still remember the independence of Mozambique as a major phenomenon which created opportunities for everybody to study. Also independence changed the social landscape in Maputo, especially related with social and racial divisions - black people could go into former white people social and professional spaces. However, the 1\(^{st}\) generation did study in primary schools during colonial times and that experience is still reflected in their life stories/histories.

When I was born, my family lived in the suburbs [of Maputo]. … My family was poor, but my father, for example, he was the son of a primary school teacher. So, my grandfather was a teacher and because of that my parents had a certain vision, they gave value to education. That’s why, no matter our economical difficulties, my parents always wanted me to study … In those times, when I start school with 6 or 7 years old, there were the official and the indigenous schools …The difference that existed between those two types of schools was that in the indigenous schools the person had to make two times the same class … it was something that I didn’t understand very well … But I studied in the official school … I studied in a primary school that I loved very much … we play a lot football! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1\(^{st}\) generation).

The experience of living during colonial times and the importance of independence is a central theme in the social memory of the 1\(^{st}\) generation. Even in the narratives of this generation regarding schooling experiences during colonial times, the possibility they had to go and become part of the ‘construction of the new nation’ after 1975 gave them a critical perspective when remembering the past. Also gave them the possibility of critically deconstruct their ‘not so good experiences’ in school, during colonial times, preparing them for the future.
There was a Mission near our house … a Catholic one … where all the people from the area went … there were several generations that attended that school … I went to that school with my sister’s son, elder then me … Remembering now, the experience was not very good, because there was a lot of physical punishment … And there were no separate classrooms, because the school was a church … and the teacher was there at the altar … there were groups divided inside the chapel … one group stayed in front of the altar … there were others who stayed outside, under the cashew tree … I don’t remember well where I was, I was around … and there was only one teacher! … for everybody … The teacher spent most of the time with the advanced students and then those that were more advanced were the ones that taught the others … I ended giving up that school, because besides the physical punishment … we had to help and bring construction blocks to his house [teacher’ house] (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

Independence is an important moment in the lives of the 1st generation, changing from a colonial school system to the new education system developed by the socialist government. With socialism, the 1st generation was able to feel the empowerment through education and the alphabetization campaigns going on all over the country.

To me the transition period [colonial period/independence] was a historical process in which I assimilated new values and everything else. But also I felt that I needed to be part of, and I participate actively in many … campaigns of alphabetization … I was consciously part of that movement... When the independence happened I was 13 years old, but from my 14 years old I already participate in the alphabetization campaigns, in the cultural activities, in the theatre … When we were preparing the commemoration of the 1st year of independence … in 1976 … I was already in secondary school [in Maputo]… At that time there was a huge cultural movements and youth mobilization from all secondary schools … I was part of that cultural movement … I was part of that movement of students that prepared the commemoration of Independence … We made theatre, poetry, dance, singing … We had meetings where we spend many hours debating political issues … For me the most interesting were not political issues, but the stories that people told, the stories about the ‘liberated areas’10, the stories of the war … about the concept of creating the new man … Those are the memories I have… That movement existed for the people who wanted to feel that was part of the process … There was the question of solidarity, values that we learn when we are children: mutual aid, cooperation, solidarity, being a volunteer (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

10 The liberated areas were areas controlled by Frelimo, ‘a state inside the state’, during the struggle against Portuguese colonial troops (1964-1974), in the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete (north and south regions of Mozambique).
The 1st generation is well prepared to resolve prejudiced attitudes and behaviour when they encounter the ‘other’, namely non-African people and their systems of beliefs about black/African people. The memories of their first encounter with discrimination and prejudice situations gave them the ability to deal with that in a positive way that contributed for their well-being. What is underlined in many experiences of studying abroad is the way Western European countries believed that the 1st generation didn’t have much knowledge; and in Europe they had no idea that those students were teachers in Mozambique with pedagogical and professional experience – they didn’t fit the image of a teacher in the West. Regarding this image, also for the 1st generation, during colonial times, to become a teacher was only possibly in ‘dream land’. With independence in 1975 this dream became reality. However the image and behaviour of teachers did not change since colonial times until today. The same memories are invoked by all three generations regarding experienced-events since primary school until and in university.

We speak about teachers’ image: a teacher is always someone distant, which is different from being authoritarian. I think this still happens until today, I don’t know the cultural reasons behind this, but a teacher is always someone distant and unapproachable. It is difficult to address a teacher, and that is terrible! … This has something to do with an authoritarian culture (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

Even with the introduction of manual work among teachers, by the socialist government of Samora, during which they worked side by side with all staff of the school, an image of ‘being distant’ still remains. Knowledge transmission in school is still associated with a central figure – like the teacher in the church’ altar described above.

For the three generations, the education narratives point to the need of rebuild the socialist notion of ‘national unity’ but in different ways. There is no need for erasing the ethnic differences, such as during Samora’ regime, but the need to find common paths among all ethnic groups to create the so-called ‘Mozambicanity’. This process was interrupted by the Civil War and nowadays, in the 3rd generation, there is a strong reference to the ‘gold age of Samora’ described as a time with no corruption and when everybody could have access to everything if they made an effort. Those are the public
transcripts, quite different from the hidden transcripts present in the narratives of the three generations.

### 5.2.1.2. Memory and hidden transcripts

Regarding the second level of interconnected processes of memory and construction of resistances linked with the hidden transcripts (see Scott 1985), they can be summarized as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Hidden transcripts (\Leftrightarrow) lived and imagined-experiences of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st generation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1957 and 1966; having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology</td>
<td>Colonial times and the need to speak only Portuguese; Different educations for women and men; Independence and various interpretations of it; Students sent to study abroad contesting the official discourse of the socialist regime; Students-teachers contesting the politics of education of the 8th March Centre in Mozambique; Memories and experiences of the Civil War; Critical discourses about education nowadays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd generation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1974 and 1980; having Democracy as an ideology</td>
<td>Students studying abroad and facing the ‘other’ – notions of what is an African and dealing with that; Critiques by the elite children’s about Frelimo School system; however they had, still have, more access to education; awareness of the social landscape and poverty; Memories and stories about the independence, Civil War and the 1992 Peace Agreements; Recovering the authoritarian regime of teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd generation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1982 and 1987; having Global Capitalism or Neo-liberalism as an ideology</td>
<td>Students criticizing the high levels of corruption in education; the lack of a practical vision in education that creates a distance between education and labour market; The need to have external tutors; wanting to go back to the authoritarian regime of teaching, inclusive having a military training; highly moral in their evaluations regarding external appearance of boys and girls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: The three generations of Mozambicans and the hidden transcripts

Comparing the three generations regarding the foundation moment of Mozambique as a post-colonial and a new nation – with independence in 1975 – the 1st generation lived and experienced several episodes. However, the real meaning of what was happening only come out when they reflected upon it and constructed their narratives after the experienced-event. The 1st generation enjoyed the independence moment, but also considers nowadays to have been a highly political indoctrination moment and difficult to understand when they were young. The 1st generation thinks that the results in the
education landscape nowadays are similar to colonial times – people unable to read properly and the state wanting to have a low educated population in Mozambique.

Education nowadays is a copy of the education during colonial times: it is not supposed that you know more than the 4th grade [of primary school] (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

Conversely, when compared with the 3rd generation, the youngest generation believes that the authoritarian way of teaching and learning is the only form that can bring ‘good results’ for education. Nevertheless, these hidden transcripts in which the 3rd generation defend physical punishment are contested by the sub-cultures that exist nowadays in Mozambique among the youth, giving us two levels of understanding social reality: inside school institutions, where behaviour should be controlled strictly; outside school institutions, where people can behave in a way that contest the official discourse.

One thing that is shared by all generations is a developed sensibility towards what can and cannot be said in public in matters such as current politics in Mozambique. There is a space for that expressed in the sub-cultures or “youthscapes”, where civic participation, popular culture and political contestation are linked, especially through the hip hop music expressions (Honwana 2013, 2014). This sub-culture is present, for instance, in the way students’ dress or sits in the classroom as well – the way students sit is very relaxed, challenging a system that they know will be outdated when they end school. And the way the 3rd generation re-create the Portuguese language is a reflex of the “youthscapes”, producing a ‘new kind’ of Portuguese mixed with words from national languages and English as well. In this sense, often the language used by teachers in school is completely ‘out of modernity’, they don’t know the new Portuguese invented and re-created by the students.

Furthermore, during the socialist period family was replaced by the state, but the social memory of the group was able to construct resistances reversing this trend. In the narratives of the 1st and 2nd generations family memory is central to the construction of knowledge and identity. Also for the 3rd generation the most important things they learn occurs inside their families, in informal settings of education, that are linked with a notion of a extended family, and not in school where they underline the practices of
corruption as something that is very usual. It is within the social and family group that the 3rd generation learns the values and norms that teach them how to properly behave within society, which includes constituting a family, having a job, being honest and putting children to school. Education is still something that is present in their narratives as central to the development of knowledge in society and for each individual in particular. They express their desire for having a better education system in Mozambique, opposed to what exist currently. This hope is something that this generation inherited from the 1st generation lives-experiences, knowing that if teachers’ qualifications and abilities are improved they would have more knowledge and better possibilities for their future. Also the highly political conscience is something that they inherited as well from the 1st generation and their current reflections and critiques.

I was in the stadium [in 1977, Maxaquene stadium, in Maputo, when Samora called all the students to help to construct the new nation]. I was there and we were delighted, it was a new life and almost everybody accepted very well the new reality. The worst was the reaction of our parents. When we left the stadium we went to inform our parents. That was a rupture! The ideals of our parents were being destroyed … My father wanted me to abandon the project: “this was not what I wanted for you, you should be a doctor … it was not for this that I gave you an education”. It was a very strong resistance … And then I went to the 8th March Centre, to learn and live there; it was the first time that I left home. It was a huge shock for my family … especially for my father that had that education for girl and for boy separated … a girl did not leave home unless she was going to marry … But I was in that phase that I could decide by myself … so I went (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

One thing that contributed to the legitimating of the socialist ideology was the introduction of a discipline of political education in the formal school curriculum. Through that, Frelimo, the ruling party, reinforced the importance of their role in the liberation of the country against colonialism and the socialist option for the development of the new nation. As the 1st generation tells in the hidden transcripts, these events also brought them a social awareness of the several differences in the country, understanding poverty and rural/urban environments.

The only thing I learned as an individual was about the difference between people who are from the countryside and people from the city. The behaviour is different. Those times gave me the opportunity to understand that we live in two worlds and that the education style was completely different from the city when
compared with the countryside. In the countryside there was an excessive respect and submission, because in there they are too submissive. It was confusing for me. For them, the teacher was like a god, if the teacher said anything he/she was always right! Because of that, there was the issue of male teachers getting involved with female students, because the female students couldn’t say no to the male teacher … in rural environments was not allowed to contradict teachers … Later on, when I returned to the countryside [recently], I know I am still in a different space … I notes the differences when I hear stories … many stories linked to the traditional healers and medicine man, superstition … I noticed that in there the sorcerer, the healer, superstition is very present! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

In addition, the 1st generation that was sent to study abroad returned and faced a country with a Civil War and mandatory professional roles that the state determined for them. In this context, the hidden transcripts appear as a way to contest the decisions of the political regime, later on transformed into personal strategies to do what they want and not what the state determined. The hidden transcripts, in the 3rd generation, are more present in popular styles of music, where the lyrics criticize the current practices of corruption among public institutions and personalities, as referred above.

For the 1st and 2nd generations to go abroad and study was a way of learning new things such as the notion of privacy, time and space management. At the same time, and in particular for the 1st generation, it was also something that created the feeling of frustration, because returning to Mozambique led to problems implementing what they have learned elsewhere to change the system. At the same time, social and economic differences among people in the cities and countryside are deeper than before, creating a hidden transcript of social change. From the 2nd generation, voices start to call for social change. In the 3rd generation they are not only calling for social change, but at the same time they don’t believe in their future according to the old social norms (e.g. having a job, economic stability and land).

It seems that formal education is contributing to the maintaining of the idea that a high level of education is equal to having better jobs, forgetting the purpose of school. I argue that knowledge in school is useful when teaching students that knowing and not having gives them awareness and agency to develop their future (see Fromm 1976). However, in the current neo-liberal individualistic vision of the world, ‘having’ is
becoming highly value when compared to ‘knowing’. External appearance is what makes the peers accept someone.

I address now the other category of analysis regarding memory and the construction of an autonomous being over the three generations of Mozambicans: When comparing school journeys from the socialist period, to the democratic one and finally into the neo-liberal moment they live in, which being/agency is been taught and learned?

5.2.2. Memory and the construction of an autonomous being

To understand the impact of education in the identity process of each generation of Mozambicans, I address now the links between memory and the construction of an autonomous being. Why is autonomy important? Because in the narratives of the three generations of Mozambicans, each individual tried to explain why they choose what they choose and how, to understand who they are. During the process of ‘telling the story’ each individual organized their life story/history around experienced-events related with formal and informal education throughout the history of a country that lived with war (i.e. against Portuguese colonial power; after independence in 1975, with the Civil War until 1992).

I argue that autonomy is related to the ability and freedom that each individual has to decide for him or for herself in order to become empowered in a certain social and political context. To have autonomy is to have the possibility of choice. According to Freire (1996), in a learning environment pedagogy should give conditions for each student to be autonomous, giving each individual (i) the ability to create his/her own representations of the world, (ii) the ability to develop their own strategies to become a solve-problem individual, and (iii) the ability to understand him/herself as a social actor that contributes for the social and historical context in which he/she lives. Autonomy is the outcome of each individual decision, which results from each experienced-event in formal and informal educational environments, which are informed by practices and systems of beliefs that are learned inside and outside school. In Freire’s (1996) perspective, individuals should be active actors in the knowledge construction process, producing and constructing knowledge alongside with their teachers. Each student should be responsible for his/her decisions, and each teacher should empower their
students. I argue that Freire’s notion of autonomy is extended to social reality and the way individuals address their life-journey in order to create their autonomy through the memories they evoke.

However, I also take into account the imbalanced relationships that are established in school between teachers and students impacting in the strategies to create autonomy by the students. As is argued by Robinson and Taylor (2013: 39), the “unequal student–teacher power relations mean that teachers get to decide what counts as knowledge”. Therefore, the “knowledge processes involve much more than the transmission, acquisition or even negotiation of facts or ‘content’; they involve processes whereby students are disciplined to the norms expected by the staff and the school” (Robinson and Taylor 2013: 40). This perspective is tuned with the theories of inequality in school addressed in the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study (see chapter 2). Autonomy is the outcome of a certain schooling style that is co-operative with the informal environment that each generation lives in.

How do you intervene in social reality? You observe, you have your own opinions … When I grew up the social differences among different social classes weren’t as deep as they are today. Today if I see a social or political injustice … today what I want to do is to intervene … this feeling of ‘it is not fair’ … and ‘what you going to do about it?’ I would like to transmit to others that you cannot be indifferent! … In education, because this is not only a matter of the educational system, but of principles as well, if a child asks, no matter his/her age, she/he has the right to know … so she/he could decide for him/herself (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2nd generation).

However, the way women and men recall their memories have different impacts on the way they perceive and become active actors in the process of constructing knowledge linked with the construction of autonomy. In this sense, it is argued that memories have a gender focus that tends to re-create different forms of constructing a personal identity that impacts in the way each person undertake the task of becoming an autonomous being (see Thorne 2000; Niedziwienksa 2003; Gilligan 1992; Bruner 2004).

To address the memories of the three generations and how it impacts upon the creation and maintenance of autonomy I present the findings sub-divided into 3 categories: (i) memories of schooling and autonomy; (ii) memories of informal education and
autonomy; and (iii) memories of war and autonomy. How the three generations recalls experienced-events of formal and informal settings of education contextualized in each ideological moment in Mozambique, as well as in the Civil War that overlaps the three ideological moments, can provide us with an understanding of what was/is considered to be autonomy and how they constructed it.

5.2.2.1. Memories of schooling and autonomy

Regarding the first category of analysis (i.e. memories of schooling and autonomy), in the memories invoked by each generation related with the knowledge construction process, one of the most invoked memories is related to the schooling environment, especially in dealing with curriculum and teachers’ pedagogy. Indeed, the analysis of the data collected regarding personal memories of schooling contexts in Mozambique, from primary to higher education, indicates that women and men from the three generations elaborate a more descriptive and emotional narrative with a particular focus on primary school and its relation with authoritarian pedagogical practices by their teachers.

I remember the physical punishments! … One of my teachers … it happened in primary school; the teacher arrived in the class and asked one of the students to read. If you didn’t know how to read properly … the teacher had a ring that was used for piercing our skin causing blood … The teacher said “this is the best way to educate you, I do not have to get my hands dirty” … But when something bad happen, the teacher called the “life-saver”. The “life-saver” was a wooden ruler … We had this teacher as an example; we all wanted to be like him! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1st generation).

In the memories of the three generations during the socialist period, I also find an association between going to school and singing revolutionary songs about the new role of the independent Mozambique. These songs, through political education, taught students to love Frelimo, Samora Machel, Peace and Friendship for all people in the world (see Gonçalves 2009). For example, a very known and remembered song, “Continuadores da Revolução Moçambicana” (“The followers of the Mozambican Revolution”), Frelimo’ leaders were presented as the family role models: the father was
represented by Samora Machel; the mother by his first wife, Josina Machel\textsuperscript{11}, Kenneth Kaunda\textsuperscript{12} was the uncle, and Julius Nyerere\textsuperscript{13} the grandfather. However, for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation, the memories are focused on the links between the authoritarian role of the teacher, singing and food. The awareness of the political message implicit in the revolutionary songs in school is presented as something that lead to having something to eat in a period when there was a lack of food in the country.

[In primary school] I learn how to have a beautiful handwriting [the teacher would beat him up with a wooden ruler until he got it]; I learn how to sing … “Nós somos os continuadores” [“We are the followers of Mozambican Revolution”] … the national hymn … In school, the doctrine was ‘Machelista’ [from Samora Machel], it was the war, we were soldiers … the time of the ‘pãozinho’ [short term for ‘bread’] … A way to encourage kids to go to school … “If I miss school today I won’t have the ‘pãozinho’” … They gave it during the afternoon lunch when we were leaving school (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation).

Simultaneously, the fact that school provided meals for students during the socialist period is something very present in the memories of the three generations. It is something that reinforces a sense of nostalgia regarding the socialist period and is seen as something useful, good and right, giving possibilities to all to keep going to school. However, the way women and men elaborate upon their personal memories of primary school is different. The 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generations, particularly through women personal memories, I find a narrative-space and time where remembering personal experienced-events are used to justify authoritarian pedagogical practices as being the most effective in the creation of an educated human being capable later on of having autonomy.

Our teachers had the role of educators … they were like our parents; they had the role of being our mother and father. No one could contradict the teachers’ education. Our parents would not go to school to know why a certain teacher had beaten us because … all education was left in the hands of teachers, so the teacher had the autonomy and freedom to do what he/she wants … And this was good and worked

\textsuperscript{11} Josina Machel died on April 1973; she’s one of the young women that did military training during the liberation struggle at Nachingweya in the liberated area of Cabo Delgado, northern Mozambique; she was the first wife of Samora Machel, the 1\textsuperscript{st} President of Mozambique.  
\textsuperscript{12} Kenneth Kaunda was the 1\textsuperscript{st} President of Zambia and a leading figure in the struggle against colonialism; helped to found the African National Congress, ANC.  
\textsuperscript{13} Julius Nyerere was the 1\textsuperscript{st} President of Tanzania and a major figure in the African landscape; pan-Africanist, provided a home for several African liberation movements such as Frelimo during the Portuguese colonial period.
for us (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation).

Nevertheless, when the women from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation had the experience of going to another country and encountering different pedagogical practices, especially in higher education, they become critical towards the continuation of authoritarian pedagogical practices at home. They think is counter-productive and cuts their freedom of learning and as a human being. Particularly when they have experienced racial discrimination, they tend to evoke personal memories where they learned that authoritarianism in school is equal to ignorance and African students were (still are) seen as being less capable than other students. In those contexts what is remembered as a strategy used to solve this difficult situation is mostly linked to family memories and informal education, in which they learned with family members of how to deal with complex situations. School does not seem to have given them possibilities of choice or how to deal with painful situations, like the one described below:

I was the only African in my class [abroad]. The African was still seen as an animal … If you are not strong, you cannot deal with that … There is discrimination, no one wants to be near you, no one wants to share things with you … But my identity … my way of being … much of what I am today … has to do with the way I deal with that situation … It was a very traumatic situation … you want to say “I am here”, “I am also a person” … My family is very religious … so having God in my heart … maybe it was that that made me bear all that in the end (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation).

When compared to similar situations of racial discrimination in foreign countries, the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation, both men and women of those generations, recall the context of socialism and the fact that they were part of a generation that was actively involved in the construction of a new nation, Mozambique. The creation of this new nation was an empowering process itself, due to the fact that colonial discrimination towards African people ended after independence. The process of independence also provided knowledge about other cultures and countries where they knew that African people were poorly perceived due to the historical and international political contexts. As a female Mozambican interviewee from the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation told me, when she went to continue her studies abroad after being a teacher of the 8\textsuperscript{th} March generation in Mozambique, she encountered and dealt with several discrimination experiences solving them because she
had the experience of being a teacher and also of being part of the changing social landscape when Mozambique became independent. The influence of the family values regarding the ability to construct her own path and be stronger had also a very deep influence in the way this interviewee perceived, represented and solved the situation.

Racism was a shock for me in the beginning. But after that I started to solve it, to joke with it … I remember a very funny story that happen … I was with my baby in my arms and then an old lady - she should be from the countryside, I don’t know - but she appears in front of us and said: “ah, today will be my lucky day, a black little baby!” And I started laughing in front of her because I taught “how can she say something like that in this century?!” As if she was speaking of little dolls or animals… So ignorant! Maybe now they are more sophisticated … We need to learn what is essential and what is not. So, I think that everybody should go out of their space … to see how other people are … to reflect (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 1st generation).

In the 1st generation I found a similar pattern in the discourses of both women and men when they addressed personal memories that are important for them in solving problems or maintaining autonomy when facing difficult situations. The way this generation deals with problems such as discrimination/racism when they were studying in foreigner countries is addressed equally, being pragmatic about the lack of knowledge in those countries regarding African people. But, at the same time, it is possible to identify what authors claim (see Thorne 2000; Niedzwieiska 2003; Gilligan 1992; Coenen-Huther 1994) as being a ‘typical’ female personal memory description, which includes other people in their story-telling comparing with man that have a lack of details of other people’s involvement in their story. But does the gender process of personal memory descriptions impact upon the construction of autonomy differently?

Analysing the memories evoked by the three generations allows me to draw the conclusion that what is indeed different is that in the female sphere of personal memories the story is contextualized with much more details when compared with men. In general, women tell a lot of stories with several levels of detail (i.e. explaining the context, the people involved, the reactions of others, their own interpretations and what they learned with it). Women tend to shared more the experienced-events with others when they are remembering their life-journeys. They maintain the cohesion of the group by doing this and also reproducing that in their own family, sharing with their children.
the purposes of education through examples from their life. Nevertheless, what seems to be equally important for both women and men is the belonging to a specific generation, and also in keeping the family memory alive because it still impact upon their personal and social identity.

There is an exception is the life histories/stories collected that is related with the 1st generation and their experiences of (i) being student-teachers of the 8th March generation and (ii) also when they were send to study in countries with socialist governments, such as Cuba, German Democratic Republic, former Soviet Union, etc. Those moments are used in their personal memories to explain how they describe themselves, who they are now – critical thinkers. Still, the primary school is very vivid in their personal memories of schooling, but the experience of going abroad or teaching with a particular ideological focus (i.e. socialism) helped them develop a critical vision about the so-called ‘equality’ and ‘freedom for all’ educational system in post-colonial Mozambique and abroad. Authoritarian practices in pedagogy are not considered to be meaningful for the constitutions of an autonomous being in the 1st generation, opposed to the 2nd and manly the 3rd generations.

In conclusion, in the memories of the three generations of Mozambicans about schooling and autonomy, what they choose to tell in their life histories/stories, is strongly linked to family moments. In particular, they remember personal examples of someone who taught them how to deal with challenges and solve-problems in their life-journeys, how to create autonomy. School does not seem meaningful, except in the case of the 1st generation. School was meaningful for this generation, because they were empowered as teachers or students-abroad. In order to understand why autonomy is constructed as such, I need to call for the second category of analysis: memories of informal education and autonomy.

5.2.2.2. Memories of informal education and autonomy

Regarding the second category of analysis (i.e. memories of informal education and autonomy), in general, the examples related with autonomy are found inside informal settings, because school and teachers appears to have a lack of contribution in the creation of autonomy, particularly for the 2nd and 3rd generations.
My mother – I was one of the persons that taught my mother how to write – my mother was a housewife, she didn’t know how to read or write. But one thing funny: my mother was never involved in political issues, despite having a husband that was very involved in it. My mother was very religious; she did not drink any alcohol. On Sundays she took all of us to the church. My father did not go, but did not argue about it … I have a mother that is very present, always there to support us … The decisions were made by the men: my father, my brother … In my educational process, I have that influence … from the political euphoric times after the independence, but also from the church (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

In the memories invoked by each generation related with the knowledge construction process linked with informal education and autonomy, the 2nd and the 3rd generations seem less prepared to solve-problems and incorporate personal experiences in a positive and empowered way. The exceptions are in the sons’ and daughters’ of the elite, because their parents shared with them knowledge of what was going on in other contexts and because they were an active part in the construction of a post-colonial nation. Also, the dominant story in their personal memories, especially for the 3rd generation is linked to the notion of the *waithood generation* (Honwana 2013, 2014). This notion links the youngest generation with high levels of unemployment and social unpredictability towards the future, where formal education does not present solutions that allow this generation to become autonomous. In the 3rd generation of Mozambicans there is a dual situation: if they are already employed, allowing them to constitute family, they plan the future of their children including formal education (i.e. their children should go to higher education to have a ‘good education’). If they are still studying, they don’t believe in their future, and consequently their personal memories are not shared or are not recalled in order to support a self-concept development towards autonomy.

I think I am a little bit traditional, I have a little bit the same thoughts of my mother and my aunt, I have a little bit of hers… [Long silence] … It is complicated to speak about this… [Long silence] … Those values of our parents that I think are good… [Long silence] …. It is a little bit complicated to define in words… [Long silence] … [After 45 minutes of interviewee] I never spoke about this; it is the first time… From now on I will learn how to think more, yes… I will try to speak more with other people (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican female from the 3rd generation).
The memories evoked by the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation of Mozambicans can be found in the ‘moments of silence’, knowing that memories are transitory (see Lindley 2012) and organized around the notion of uncertainty. In this context formal education is not answering what is expected by the youngest generation (i.e. formal education resulting in employment) and informal education is pointing to a more conservative system of values and beliefs (i.e. women should be mothers, men should provide for the future of the family). And the youngest generation, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation of Mozambicans, is using silence in their personal memories to express and resolve the ambiguous feeling and stage of uncertainty. However formal education has a high value in Mozambique because few have access to it (e.g. financial conditions, geographical location of living, social background, etc) and a long history of ‘informal classrooms’ built during the war so people had access to what is considered to be important by the three generations: health and education. The war was going on and teachers and students were learning in improvised spaces. What was the impact of war on the process of constructing autonony over the three generations of Mozambicans?

5.2.2.3. Memories of war and autonomy

Regarding the third category of analysis (i.e. memories of war and autonomy), focused on the memories of the Civil War (1976-1992) in Mozambique, I found a common feeling and understanding of the war by the three generations.

For the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation it depends if they were teaching outside Maputo, in other provinces of Mozambique, where the war was going one, or if they were studying abroad. In the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation, war experienced-events are shared with the same emotional links they have regarding colonial times and the struggle against Portuguese colonial authorities – they are part of their life-journeys and incorporated as one more experienced-event that defines Mozambique as a post-colonial nation and the individuals as Mozambicans. Also the war contributed for the creation of several strategies that deals with constant changing of reality impacting in their agency and autonomy.

For the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation the memories of the war are also present in the narratives. Several episodes are recalled but apparently integrated with success into the self-concept of each
person. Living with war is like living with peace – people find strategies to integrate and deal with this particular moment of history in Mozambique in the same way they do it in a non-conflict context. However, living with the war provided, as well, several strategies to deal with constant social change and an ability to have resilience and autonomy.

The Peace Agreement [1992] was a good thing for me. It had a direct impact in my own life because I lived in a neighbourhood ... in my neighbourhood we had attacks made by the Renamo [the other movement, opposed to Frelimo, during the Civil War], so the Peace Agreement gave me freedom and release me of a lot of pressure that I lived in ... To me, the most tragic ... it was not really the Renamo’ attacks that happened usually at night ... we never left home, we couldn’t run away, we didn’t had any place to go! We stayed there with all our neighbours ... We were all there waiting for luck! That Renamo will come and don’t kill us! … You don’t forget that! … But what made me really suffer was the next day, after the attacks. We wake up, went to primary school and all that gossip! “They say Renamo … is still here … and tonight we are going to have dinner with them … Someone left a letter under a tree and this was written … Today it will happen!” … You don’t sleep! And this happened frequently. You are in a good mood and a gossip like this just falls on you! … They can come, they don’t need to warn! … That kind of stuff made me suffer: we were in the school and they tell you that! … In 1990 Renamo tried to do more attacks, but they were smashed! (Extract from the life history of a Mozambican male from the 2nd generation).

For the 3rd generation the narratives change and the Civil War becomes something they refer to as: “Are you speaking about the War of the 16 years?” or “For me it is a historical event”. Even when the 3rd generation recall memories that were shared by family members with them or that they experienced personally, the notion and the importance of the present moment overlaps this reference. The youngest generation is living in a stage of ‘extended present’ (Nowotny 1994; Honwana 2013, 2014), a ‘here-and-now’ time and space that organizes their personal memories. Once again the idea of a silenced personal memory linked with uncertainty seems to be the generational discourse to maintain a structured self for the 3rd generation.

In conclusion, the Civil War experiences or memories are essentially part of the social memory of the 1st and 2nd generation; for the 3rd generation it is something they heard family talking about but is not central for them, especially if they are from Maputo or being living in Maputo since childhood. In general, family memories are invoked by the mother to tell them how she got away from the war and went to Maputo to protect them,
young babies or children, but no one in the 3rd generation remembers living like that. However for the 1st and 2nd generation it is part of their social memory. In conclusion, in the memories of the three generations there is a combination of informal and formal settings of education, including the memories of war, which contributes for the creation and maintenance of autonomy. Through the narratives of the three generations, autonomy linked with memory is also something that reflects the social construction of identity and knowledge.

5.3. Identity, memory and narrative in the three generations of Mozambicans

To understand the knowledge construction process and the impact upon identity over the three generations of Mozambicans I presented two levels of analysis: the first focused upon education and identity to comprehend the impact of formal and informal education in the identity process; the second on memory and narrative in post-colonial Mozambique to comprehend the multidimensional experiences that constitute the identity and knowledge construction processes over the three generations. In order to have an understanding of identity, memory and narrative over the three generations, firstly I summarize the findings:

- 1st generation: they were born between 1957/1966, having between 58 and 49 years old nowadays; they are linked with the socialist ideology and the independence in 1975, but they also have the experience of studying during colonial times; they all have HE degrees from BA to PhD; the majority of the 1st generations is currently teaching; 50% of them are from the south of Mozambique (Maputo); all women in this generation speaks Portuguese as their first language, but men still use national language in their everyday life; when they describe who they are they call for their ethnic belonging;
- 2nd generation: they were born between 1974/1980, having between 41 and 35 years old nowadays; they are linked with democracy, with the introduction of mandatory schooling until the 7th grade of secondary education; they all have HE degrees from BA to MA; the majority teaches in HE; 50% of them are from Maputo; all the women and men in this generation speak Portuguese, they tend to lose their ability to speak the national languages; when they describe who they are they call for their ethnic belonging;
• 3rd generation: they were born between 1982/1987, having between 33 and 28 years old; they are linked with Neo-liberalism, with high levels of unemployment, inclusion of educational materials in national languages, development of VTE; they all have HE degrees (BA); the majority works in the private sector; 90% are from the south of Mozambique (Maputo); in terms of language, they all speak Portuguese, but they are in process of creating of a “new” Portuguese language, with expressions from national languages and also English expressions; when they describe who they are they call for their national identity, that is defined as being Mozambicans.

Bearing that in mind, when looking to the impact of education upon their lives it is possible to conclude the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>1st generation</th>
<th>2nd generation</th>
<th>3rd generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological momentum</td>
<td>Marxism-Leninism or Socialism</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>Global capitalism or Neo-liberalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education impact upon their lives</td>
<td>Creation of the socialist new man, manual and voluntary work by the teachers; political and military education; school for the people to take the power; students-teachers; students send to Cuba, East Germany, former USSR, Hungary, Portugal, Brazil to study; Physical punishments by the teachers in classroom and teachers having a high social status; Wanting to go further in their education</td>
<td>Huge migrant movements from rural environments to the capital city of Maputo because of the war; Families from the rural environment, not part of the elite, have their first child going to the university; In general, their grandfather or father was a teacher; Creation of private universities, having more possibilities to study</td>
<td>Having higher education degrees is not equal to having opportunities to create the future; students criticizing the high levels of corruption in education and the lack of a practical vision in education creating distance between education and the labour market; wanting to go back to the authoritarian regime of teaching, inclusive having military training; highly moral in their evaluations regarding external appearance of boys and girls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 21: Identity, memory and narrative over the three generations

In spite of the criticism about the socialist pedagogy developed during the 1st generation of Mozambicans, this period seems to have produced “critical thinkers” who are more
than the combination of age and experience. The socialist education gave the 1st generation the possibility to (i) learn by doing, as young teachers and studying in other socialist countries, and (ii) that the colonial image of what was an African is something that is the product of an hegemonic vision of history, written by Western European scholars. However, the socialist period was also the period of formation of the elite of the country through education as well, contributing for the inequality in the education system in Mozambique.

The change of landscape in the education system from socialism to democracy and then neo-liberalism does not seem to present an education able to incorporate the needs of formal knowledge in the identity process especially for the 3rd generation.

Formal education has an important role in the Mozambican society, but only because it is the symbol of “greater possibilities”, meaning “good job, good salary” especially for the 3rd generation. This could explain the fact that the more important figure in all three generations can be found inside the family group (i.e. informal education).

The impact of informal education in schooling allows me to conclude that the curriculums in school need to be integrated in a specific cultural and historical context without losing their global purposes and goals. This brings the challenge of integrate the construction of values and practices with the idea of achieving, through formal education, the notion of “categorical imperative” by Kant (i.e. Each individual must act according to a universal law; 2002 [1785]).

When recalling the memories of my participants, the three generations of Mozambicans share the same idea that social and economic differences among people in the cities and countryside are deeper than before, creating a hidden transcript of social change. They are also aware that education reflects a process of social inequality, where not everybody has access to school.

The Civil War experiences or memories are essentially part of the social memory of the 1st and 2nd generation; for the 3rd generation it is something they hear family talking about but is not central to their lived experiences, especially if they are from Maputo.
Indeed, living with war is not important for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation in their identity definition – they define themselves as being part of a globalized and technological youth sharing the same problems of unemployment and uncertainty, living in an ‘extended present’.

What seems to appear as a probable trend for the future of education in Mozambique, and probably extended to other contexts of neo-liberal politics, is that the youngest generation (i.e. the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation) does not understand the need for the kind of knowledge that school is transmitting nowadays. In this sense, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation is questioning school and its purposes, drawing a line that separates them from formal education. In order to become autonomous students and citizens they need to actively participate in the construction of knowledge in two contexts: (i) in school, where everyone is called to address the same problems and encounter solutions (e.g. how to solve a mathematical equation and why is that important for life? Developing cognitive abilities in several domains); (ii) in informal settings, where the trend to ‘be like your parents’ in post-colonial Mozambique seems to be the dominant solution to face modernity. Indeed, in order to maintain a coherent self the youngest generation uses mainly family references and memories, leaving school out of their self-construction process, because family is experienced as giving them the ‘solution’ for uncertainty (e.g. marriage, having children, informal jobs). In addition, the new trends of formal education linked with VTE are not considered to be an empowering stage in the lives of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation.
Chapter 6: Conclusions

This certainly speaks to what (some) anthropologists do, because the “field”, as in “fieldwork”, is actually a meeting place of worlds, an interzone consisting of fieldworker and field creating therein a collage or intertext. The anthropologist is not presenting a picture of another reality so much as inhabiting a switchback by which one reality is pictured in terms of the other, which, in turn, provides a picture of that which pictures it! (Taussig 2011: 52).

In this chapter I firstly present a general overview regarding the research aims, bringing the key findings of the study in relationship with the theoretical and conceptual framework, contextualized with the cultural and historical background that informs the study. The purpose of doing this is to understand how knowledge is constructed in the education system in post-colonial societies over three generations in Mozambique, and how it impacts upon the personal and social identity of each generation. Secondly I present a critical reflexion about the methodological approach used and the limitations of the study. Finally, I present the implications of the research findings for education policies, drawing on future possible areas of research in education.

6.1. General overview of the research aims, theory, background and findings

The aim of this study is to understand how the three generations of Mozambican students define their multiple and dynamic identities and if education experiences change their personal and social identity. The students in this research had a schooling journey from primary education until university and live in a post-colonial context, namely a Sub-Saharan African country. Mozambique was a former Portuguese colony that achieved independence in 1975. As a post-colonial setting, the country has Portuguese as the official language over 24 national languages (e.g. Firmino 2005).

To understand the knowledge and identity construction processes I characterized each generation tuned with each political and ideological momentum in post-colonial Mozambique: 1st generation and socialism (symbolically represented by 1st President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, 1975-1986); 2nd generation and democracy (symbolically represented by the 2nd President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, 1986-2005); and 3rd generation and neo-liberalism (symbolically represented by the 3rd President of Mozambique, Armando Guebuza, 2005-2014). In addition, in their
schooling journeys, the 1st generation experienced also colonial schools and, after independence, schools in Cuba, East Germany, ex-URSS, Brazil, Portugal, etc; as well being student-teachers to invert the high rates of illiteracy in the country after independence (i.e. the so-called 8th March Generation). What brings together the three generations is the common experience of having lived directly or indirectly with the Civil War (1976-1992), that impacted upon the country with high intensity in 1986 and mainly in the north and central regions of Mozambique. Also the war was the reflex of the international political environment of the time, with the Cold War and the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism reflected in the Mozambican landscape (e.g. Geffray 1990; Nordstrom 1997).

Bearing that in mind, to understand the relationship between identity and education I used the personal biographical narratives and the socio-political meta-narratives of each period in Mozambique. It is through narrative that biography and history came together in order to provide an understanding of identity and knowledge over the three generations of Mozambicans in this study (e.g. Bruner 1996; Stephens 2014).

In this research school is understood as a social and political institution that reflects social inequality (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bernstein 1967, 1973). Also, added with the cultural and historical background, school is also the reflex of political and economic constrains constructed by colonial policies, the international community and the national elite in Mozambique, as well as the product of the war. Nonetheless, school as a social institution allows the development of forms of resistance in everyday life practices by students and teachers, revealing the ‘hidden curriculum’ and the processes of constructing identity and knowledge (e.g. Wilcox 1982).

However, the cultural and historical context in each generation determines the way narratives are constructed and how social practices of resistance are developed. For example, during the socialist period within the 1st generation of Mozambicans, the ‘public transcript’ (e.g. Scott 1985) is about developing the nation against the under-developed education landscape left by colonial policies and practices, when students became teachers in a young age, empowering them as citizens and human beings; conversely, in the ‘hidden transcripts’ (e.g. Scott 1985), the 1st generation refers the
experience of mandatory knowledge and not being able to choose their future. With the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation, the ‘public transcript’ is about criticizing the state in determining their future, tuning them with democracy, but recognizing at the same time that socialism was an empower moment and democracy brought more possibilities to study (e.g. private schooling institutions); however, in the ‘hidden transcripts’, social inequality is very underlined, and the differences between the north and south regions of Mozambique are becoming more and more visible in their narratives. For the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation, the public transcripts are about who has economic possibilities to continue their studies into university, but knowing at the same time HE will not provide professional opportunities to create their future; in the ‘hidden transcripts’ they speak about corruption, the refusal to accept the new trends of VTE proposed by the international community and supported by the national policies of education in Mozambique, and as well wanting to go back to the authoritarian regime of teaching developed during socialism, inclusive having military training.

The meaning of formal and informal education over the three generations of Mozambican students is understood through the process of constructing a personal and social identity along with knowledge. For the three generations informal education settings (e.g. family, community and religion) are the privileged space and time in which they construct their identity and knowledge, resulting in autonomy or agency. To understand who they are in school there is the need to go back to their extended families and society, social and religious practices and traditional systems of beliefs. When telling their life story (life-journeys) and their life history (linked with social, economic and political events) the three generations describe mostly experienced-events linked with the informal education context. However, they all share the same memories regarding the impact of school through the example of teachers’ behaviour: school is the space of authoritarian practices, where knowledge is constructed by the teachers and not with the students; exception made during the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation of students-teachers (i.e. 8\textsuperscript{th} March Generation). The 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation doesn’t agree with the idea of having to be standardized just because school demands it in the curriculum and through the role model provided (e.g. public self versus personal self). Conversely, the youngest generation, or the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation, defends this style of learning and teaching because they don’t believe in their future according to the old social norms (i.e. having a job,
economic stability and land). School is not giving them the empowerment needed to construct their future in society. Nowadays to go to university is socially recognized as important, but does not represent the possibility of social mobility, because Mozambique is characterized by being tuned with the global and neo-liberal social landscape characterized by high levels of social inequality. Furthermore, for the youngest generation in Mozambique, education is considered to be redundant when facing the labour market. Even though having more formal qualifications represents the possibility of critique and more participation in the decisions of the country (i.e. citizenship and agency), access to education is only for few. In addition, the labour market is being ‘ruled’ by ‘whom you know’ and not necessarily by the formal qualifications people have.

School represents also the space where the former colonial language, Portuguese, is taught and should be learned. In school everyone must speak Portuguese and the trends over the three generations point to the fact that from the 1\textsuperscript{st} to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation the knowledge of local or national languages is decreasing. In this sense, the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} generations are claiming for the reinforcement of the national languages with the production of books and manuals suitable to be used in school, particularly in primary education. Indeed, with the neo-liberal state in Mozambique, in 2004 was introduced a new curriculum for primary education with a bilingual approach. However, none of the men and women from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation has any national language as their mother-tongue. Apparently, ethnicity and language patterns in post-colonial Mozambique, among the schooling generations (i.e. 1\textsuperscript{st} to 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation), seems to be characterize by a future trend of standardization, with the adoption of an European language. Still, Portuguese represents the language of the power, of the elite that was constructed during the struggle against colonialism and after, with the socialist state.

However, in the narratives about informal education, particularly in the women of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation, there are descriptions of maintaining traditional social practices that reinforces the traditional role of women in the Mozambican society. This appears as a hidden discourse regarding the general trend of becoming “Europhones” (paraphrasing Appiah 1992). Indeed, school is the reflex of an hegemonic construction of knowledge, in which knowledge formation and “crystallization” of children’s is guided by a
dominant Western European culture (Fanon 1952). In addition, the current trend of ‘productive knowledge’ or ‘profitable knowledge’ is been underline by the new policies developed with the support of the international community regarding VTE in Mozambique, following the international trends in education. Furthermore, Mozambique does not have the economic autonomy to decide its future, and it is facing issues of corruption among the national elite of the country. The education area remains highly dependent on foreign funding (i.e. donors), leaving few possibilities of implementing or propose different education policies. In this sense, the neo-liberal state in Mozambique is tuned with the global curriculum that is focused on answering the labour market needs. The construction of knowledge in school does not seem to be about constructing agency and autonomy, but about constructing ‘profitable’ human beings. There is no space for differences, everyone must be standardize, speak the same language and have the same culture. Inspired by Fromm (1976), I consider that knowledge in neo-liberal schools is more about ‘having’ then ‘being’. Apparently, external appearance is what makes an individual to be accepted by his/her peers and society.

Furthermore, and while unfolding the main research question in several areas, the role of memory for the construction of knowledge and identity in a post-colonial context appears in relation to the narratives of the three generations. Indeed, it is through personal and social memory, when the generations evoke experienced-events in their life stories/histories, that the narratives are constructed taking in account the nine universals of narratives realities addressed by Bruner (1996): narrative have coherence through a relevant time and space described by the storyteller; narratives have a style/genre (e.g. comic or tragic); narrative are intentional, they have a reason; narratives have multiple levels of interpretation; narratives reconstruct reality; narratives have a multiplicity of meanings; narratives always have something that remains; there are no single narrative but narratives; and finally, narratives gives meaning and integration to the self. The role of memory for the construction of knowledge and identity over three generations of Mozambicans is very clear in the public and hidden transcripts of their story/history. Narrative or life history as a research method proves to be valuable in the context of post-colonial societies. The oral reconstruction of the schooling experiences over the three generations of Mozambicans reveals their multiple
identities: as students, as women or men, from the north or the south, from Frelimo or Renamo, as autonomous beings, as socialists or capitalists... This brings me to the second part of this chapter: a critical reflection about the methodological approach used and the limitations of the study.

6.2. Methodology and limitations

A qualitative methodology was used, based on the epistemological position of constructivism, in which narrative is both for thinking and expression a culture’s world view (Bruner 1996). In that sense, reality is described as a social construction, in which social actors are constantly reconstructing their narratives in their everyday life interactions (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Goffman 1956; Bruner 1996; Hacking 1999; Geertz 1973). Furthermore, an ethnographic and narrative approaches were used to study an under-researched area, that of three generations of students in a post-colonial context of education. The purpose when using this methodology was not to reconstruct the ‘truth story/history’, because the main research method used, life history, is not about a single version of social reality. Indeed, life history is used to understand what is behind the systems of beliefs and practices in people’ everyday lives and the several narratives when telling the story/history (e.g. Goodson and Sikes 2001). I consider that the life history method is the most appropriate to achieve a description that contextualize the story of each individual in a cultural and historical perspective (i.e. life history). In doing so, I achieved the possibility of understanding the personal and social identity over the three generations of Mozambican students linked with the transmission and appropriation of formal and informal systems of knowledge.

The life history research method allowed me to access two dimensions of the narratives of the generations: the life story related to the life-journey of the three generations of Mozambicans and the life history related with social, cultural, economic and political stories of experienced-events that occurred in the country since independence, in 1975, until the current neo-liberal environment.

Simultaneously, when using the ethnographic methodology, my purpose was to hear, to bring forward all the voices involved in the research process: the generations, the political regime, the official documentation, my interpretation(s), our interpretations,
my construction(s), our construction(s) of social reality. The ethnographic methodology is defined as being both a participant observation and a participant description made by the researcher and the participants (Geertz 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Taussig 2011). The notion of participant description is based upon the idea of ‘thick description’, being ‘thick description’ a description of a specific form of communication that occurs between the researcher and the participants to understand who they think they are, what they do and why they say they do it (Geertz 1973, 1988).

Furthermore, both methodologies (i.e. narrative and ethnography) share the idea of meaning, dialogue and situated description in a relationship developed between the participants and the researcher. Indeed, within a narrative and ethnographic approach I was able to access several layers of the meaning-making process of telling a story/history by each generation in this study. When they told their story/history, I heard the multiplicities of their narratives (Bruner 1996). However, in this process of producing knowledge, I was aware of my own subjectivity as a researcher (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). In this sense, I looked at social reality and schools in post-colonial Mozambique firstly by reflecting on my personal knowledge and beliefs about the theme of my research. I used my fieldwork notebooks to write before, during and after the fieldwork, bringing reflexivity as a central tool when doing research. In doing so, I register my own positionality and systems of beliefs regarding each generation and political and ideological momentous in post-colonial Mozambique. Also I brought into consideration the fact that I was a former student in high school in the middle 80s in Maputo and a teacher in higher education in 2011/2012.

As a researcher I am aware of my insider/outsider positionality in the field. There are advantages and disadvantages when being an insider and an outsider simultaneously: (i) as an insider I share many perspectives regarding the education system in post-colonial Mozambique, being aware of the need to let the generations tell their story/history about what they want and not about want I think; conversely, the insider knowledge of the social institutions and having pre-established contacts helped me throughout the fieldwork, as well sharing the same language, Portuguese; (ii) as an outsider, the constant awareness that I am a mark of outsideness (Marcus 1997), meaning local
knowledge is not only local but is understood in relationship with a third, the globalized world we live in nowadays. In that sense, post-colonial Mozambique can only be understood in relation to the national and international contexts of education.

In addition, the use of ethnography and narrative methodologies brought limitations to this study, namely in the selection of the interviewees in each generation and when generating general trends in terms of education policies and future scenarios. When using the ‘snowball sampling’ to select the interviewees in each generation, I was aware that in general the interviewees tend to indicate similar persons (Foddy 1996; Quivy and Campenhoudt 1992). To avoid as much as possible that, I used my field and life-experience in Mozambique to reach broader possibilities in terms of reflecting the innumerous social realities in education settings.

Regarding general trends and future landscapes in the education sector in Mozambique and internationally, the 18 life histories collected are about schooling generations that went from primary education to university, particularly in the south of the country. This student population represents less that 1% of the Mozambican population, knowing that the majority of the Mozambican population lives in a rural environment. Indeed, in a population of around 23.9 million only 0.42% goes to higher education, around 100.00 students in Mozambique (BTI 2014).

Bearing that in mind, I present the implications of the research findings for education policies, drawing on future possible areas of research in the education area.

6.3. Implications and future research

In terms of implications, developing a narrative and ethnographic description about three generations in post-colonial Mozambique through three political and ideological periods in the country brought a global awareness regarding the future of education in the country. With the 1st generation school is of social utility, meaning school should answer the needs of development in the country; if someone wants to be a doctor or a philosopher, it should be a profession that is needed in the country, determined by the state. Conversely, and because of the particular setting of Mozambique after independence (i.e. lack of teachers, schools destroyed by the war), the empowering
movement of becoming a teacher in a younger age (e.g. 8th March Generation; possibilities to go further in education, studying in other countries) gave the 1st generation the tools to construct their agency and autonomy. Also it is in this generation that the deconstruction of an hegemonic vision and description of the world was done, bringing the awareness that Africa and Africans are the outcome of a social construction made by other continents, and in particular colonial European powers that dominate the world, decreasing the importance of pre-colonial history in the country. At the same time, Africans and Mozambicans also contribute for the social construction of ‘Africanity’ when negotiating, internalizing and transmitting what is the meaning of this social and historical category.

With the 2nd generation, Mozambique became dependent on factors such as the war and the international community decisions. In addition, the levels of corruption with the privatisation process that occurred in Mozambique also determined the way school was and still is. In the period of the 2nd generation schools are still for an elite and urban population, mainly living in the cities in the south region of the country. The dominant pattern of education during Portuguese colonial times is still a main characteristic of the education landscape in post-colonial Mozambique. With the introduction of democracy in the country, during the 2nd generation period, private schooling institutions appeared, but they are still not enough to answer the needs of the population.

With the 3rd generation, school becomes the synonymous of employment, losing the purpose of constructing knowledge, turning out to be a factory that produces profitable human beings. At the same time, the neo-liberal state in Mozambique is following the policies of education developed by the international community, which defends the implementation of VTE in the education landscape. VTE seems to represent for the 3rd generation what colonial education policies represented for Africans/Mozambicans in the past: education aimed to develop particularly manual labourers among Africans (e.g. Sheldon 1998; Cruz e Silva 1998). However, there is the need to link school achievements to more than future professions allowing individuals to gain autonomy and agency.
In a general overview over the three schooling generations and the political and ideological periods in post-colonial Mozambique, there are commons factors such as:

- Regional disparities in terms of rural and urban school facilities, providing a better education in urban centres;
- Gender inequalities;
- Weak school infra structures;
- Lack of qualified teachers;
- Teacher/students ratios are very high;
- Social and economic inequalities among the population linked with the levels of development and poverty in the country, with high levels of unemployment.

Bearing that in mind, it is possible to draw on possible future research areas in education in Mozambique as a globalized and modern country:

- Develop research projects using narrative and ethnography methodologies in the north and central regions of the country to understand the schooling landscape of the majority of the population;
- Building up gender-approach studies looking at the paradoxical reality of women schooling patterns in Mozambique: a high drop out rate in primary and secondary education, but with more women than men studying in higher education institutions;
- Continue to undertake research projects regarding informal education settings (i.e. knowledge systems of beliefs and practices) in the north, centre and south regions of Mozambique to contribute for the lack of systematic studies regarding traditional education in the country;
- Develop research projects that could bring comparative approaches about students and teachers global perspectives in relation to education and the future of school (e.g. what is school and the role of school described by students and their teachers in the several domains of knowledge in school facilities all around the world?)
- Finally, understand through students and teachers in post-colonial and non-post-colonial contexts if the global trends of plagiarism have an impact on the ethical behaviour after school and in their personal identity.
In conclusion, education is a social institution that contributes for the creation of autonomy and agency among the global citizens, promoting an active and participative citizenship (e.g. Freire 1996). Simultaneously is also the space of social inequalities because of the familial and community legacy that each citizen brings with him/her when coming to school (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Teachers are a key social actor in the process of developing a school that promotes democracy, equality and freedom in society. However teachers need to know their students, their legacy and develop autonomous pedagogies that answer to the particular contexts they are in.
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