Schooling at the edge of the world: An ethnographic study of educational ambivalence within coastal habitus in northern Mozambique

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Abstract

Coastal fishing communities in northern Mozambique have distinctive history, politics and livelihoods that make them physically and socially peripheral. This is evident in relation to lack of the access and ownership of natural resources, social opportunities such as education, access to information and decision making means and the influence of cultural-hereditary characteristics of coastal society.

The thesis examines learning in Lunga, the key institutions, their roles and importance. Drawing on Mamdani's concept of bifurcated state, it outlines the historical background of the formal education system that is a necessary frame for understanding many specific problems of education in contemporary Mozambique. In this setting, the thesis reflects on formal, traditional and Islamic education and their different forms of valorisation in the past and present.

The study examines the coastal habitus – the problems of life on the periphery, and the social, political and physical distance. From there, it probes deeper into the relations between competing institutions promoting certain distinctive aspects of coastal life, describing production of the local and the global (national). The main focus of the thesis is the characteristic, ambivalent and strained relations between the schooling and coastal habitus, being the manifestation of the tension between local and global spaces.

This thesis discusses these questions and related educational practices as culturally mediated responses to the collective uncertainty and marginalization. It describes the community's struggle over the relative value of schooling versus village-based knowledge and skill acquisition necessary for the community members to live within their structural constraints. Furthermore, it points towards questions of political power, suggesting that coastal society's ambivalence about the utility of schooling may be seen as one of the dilemmas of citizenship in contemporary Mozambique. It demonstrates that ambivalent meanings attached to schooling are shaped by their cultural history and their attempts to maintain their livelihoods in the context of political marginality.

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List of Abbreviations

COREMO (*Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique*) – Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique

EP1 (*Ensino Primario 1 grau*) - lower primary schools

EP2 (*Ensino Primario 2 grau*) - upper primary schools

EPC *(Ensino Primario Completo)* – lower and upper primary schools

ES *(Ensino Secundário)* – secondary schools

Frelimo (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique)* - The Liberation Front of Mozambique

IDPPE *(Instituto de Desenvolvimento da Pesca da Pequena Escala)* - Development Institute of Small-Scale Fishing

IIP (*Instituto Nacional de Investigação Pesqueira)* – National Institute of Fishing Research

INE *(Instituto Nacional de Estatistica)* - National Statistics Institute

INDE (*Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação*) – National Institute for Education Development

MEC (*Ministério de Educação e Cultura) -* Ministry of Education and Culture

MINED *(Ministério de Educação*) Ministry of Education

PIDE (*Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado)* - International Police of State Defence

PRE(S) (*Programa de Reabilitação Economica e Social*) - Economic and Social Reform Programmes

Renamo (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana)* - The Mozambican National Resistance

UDEBA *(Unidade de Desenvolvimento da Educação Basica)* – Unit of Development of Basic Education

ZIP (*Zona da Influencia Pedagogica*) - Zone of Pedagogical Influence

Glossary

Apia-mwene (Emakhuwa, pl., sing. *pia-mwene*) – female chiefs

Assimilado (Port.) – someone who adopted European/Portuguese culture and identity

Cabo (Port.) traditional chief of the group of population (*cabado*), acting as an auxiliary and ranking below a *regulo*.

Cipaio (Port., from Eng.: sepoy) a term applied to the Africans recruited as auxiliary rural police or soldiers.

Curandeiro (Port.) traditional healer

Hajji (Ar.) a pilgrim to Mecca

Humu (Emakhuwa) arbitrator of disputes and ritual counsellor of a Makua matrilineage.

Indigenas (Port.) native; não indigenas – not native

Indigenato (Port.) a colonial legal system establishing Africans as subjects to the customary laws; abolished in 1961.

Lobolo (local vernacular, from Zulu/Shangaan) the bride payment or matrimonial compensation

Maca (Emakhuwa) – a Muslim

Madrasa (Ar.) - *Qura'nic* school

Mahimo or *maloko* (Emakhuwa, pl., sing. *nihimo* or *nloko*)- people descending from a common female ancestor

Mestiço (Port.) mixed raced

Muluku (Emakhuwa) god

Mwalimu (local vernacular, from Ar.) a *Qur'anic* school teacher, also, Muslim

healer

Mwene (Emakhuwa) chief, lord

PIDE (Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado, Port.) International Police of

State Defence

Provincias Ultramarinas (Port.) Overseas Provinces

Regulado, regedoria (Port.) area of regulo's jurisdiction

Regulo, regedor (Port.) upper level native authority figure, a king/chief

Shehe, xehe (Ar. shaykh) sheik, Islamic religious leader; also a coastal chief

Tariqa (Ar., sing., pl., *turuq*) a Sufi Order

Wineliwa (Emakhuwa) initiation rites. A general term indicating masculine

(*masoma*) and feminine (*emwali*) initiation

Xeicado (Port.) sheikdom

Xibalo (local vernacular) paid or unpaid work, based on coercive recruitment by

private companies or a state

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Chapter One

Introduction: Education as a lense to understand how coastal people engage and disengage with state institutions

The abandoned building of the colonial school-chapel (Escola Capela) in Lunga, (18/02/2011).

Chapter One

Introduction: Education as a lense to understand how coastal people engage and disengage with state institutions

In May 2011 I was getting ready to leave the house I rented for several weeks in the fishing village of Muanangome, in the north of Mozambique, when I noticed Albino[1], the director of the local primary school passing by. I called out to him; we exchanged greetings and sat down in the shaded area beneath the thatched roof. We had met for the first time few months before at his school, where I conducted several interviews with the two teachers employed there and assisted their lessons. The small village school, constructed from the local materials, consisted of two classrooms where the students sat on the floor. A tiny office was squeezed in between the classrooms. The small flowerpots lined the yard, and the dirt floor of the office was adorned with flat seashells embedded in red soil. I was impressed by the order and organization of the school and additionally by the pleasant and expressive personality of the director, which made our conversations very enjoyable.

On that stifling afternoon however, he did not appear to be in high spirits. We chatted a little sitting in the shade and then I asked him about how things were going at the school. Albino shook his head. Leaning towards me, he said without his usual smile:

> It's not good. The pupils don't show up on Fridays. On other days there are seven, eight pupils in the class. We introduce the material, and the next day there are five or six another

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[1] Most of my respondents' names are kept confidential and pseudonyms or numbers are used to maintain their anonymity. In Lunga as well as the whole of Mossuril District people are well known to each other and assigning pseudonyms is an effort to protect their identity. The list of interviews conducted during the fieldwork indicating the categories of the respondents is in Appendix 1.

ones. We must introduce things again and again. The parents are not interested in sending their children to school. If we ask them, they respond: "is it the school that gives us food? Go to the beach and arrange some fish!" I blame the parents for this attitude. And the local structures that do not motivate the parents to send their children to school. Starting from the age of 9, 10 children are already fishing. The main problem is the contact and relationship between the school and the community. The community here does not accept the scientific issues. What they want is their own activities, which is mainly fishing. We asked for their help to motivate children to go to school. To make them influence children to go to school. They always say "yes". The problem is, that they want children to learn how to fish, and that's all. (Respondent 37, school director, 23/05/2011)

With this short narrative I want to signal several threads and concepts that I will explore in this thesis. Firstly, Albino's words mirrored the opinions of many other teachers that were expressed to me during my fieldwork in Lunga. I quickly found that all of the teachers working there come originally from the interior of Nampula Province, Cabo Delgado and in two cases, from circa 2,000 km distant capital city, Maputo. The teachers and the directors have been deployed by the Ministry of Education to work in remote areas of Lunga for a number of years. During the conversations with them I learned how teachers perceive the Lungans attitudes towards education. From this particular tale I understood several facts about Albino himself. He was in his 50s, a trained teacher in the early years of independence when a tremendous effort in spreading knowledge across the country blended with enormous political pressures. Adopting Portuguese as a national language was a reason for introducing it as a teaching medium in primary education as soon as possible (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983). It was carefully cultivated as a language of power and authority, with the aim of unifying the nation as well as the ranks of the ruling party. "*The local structures*" that are "*not motivating*" the community who "*does not accept scientific issues*" were clear examples of the old legitimacy and power of the language used by the ruling party,

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Frelimo, "underscoring the moral excellence of [their] cadres and their right and authority to rule" (Stroud, 2002: 263). Albino and his school constituted Frelimo's space – a field of state institutions where a political value of education is unmistakably recognized. The hybridity in forms of education vis-à-vis ideology and agenda (Brook Napier 2010) will be one of the important themes in this thesis.

"I have worked for 18 years in Nacuxa and Krusse and never saw a situation like here", lamented Albino, concluding bitterly: "They all are just fishers, Muslims and traders". It was not easy for me either to build a relationship with the members of the coastal communities. I understood Albino's feelings of frustration and annoyance. My attempts at conversations with the fishers at the Muanangome landing sites were initially thwarted by their loud and gruff attitudes. It was after several months of visits in Muanangome and the local madrassa when I managed to establish a rapport of trust and talk to some of the members of the local community. They constituted an opposing field with tensions against the state institutions. Reaching deeper in the cultural past of northern Mozambique I found that "fishers, Muslims and traders" inhabiting the Lunga coasts are a society that across the centuries navigated among and dealt with several projects of the enforced authority: slavery, forced labour *(xibalo)*, ban of Islam, communal villagization projects and the civil war. The past was ever present in Lunga in the form of oral narratives of chiefships and clans, usually neglected and unrecognized in the official version of Mozambican history (West, 2003:356). The contradictions and duality of the postcolonial state is a legacy of its own "bifurcation" (Mamdani 1996), remaining intact and manifesting itself through reciprocal incomprehension and misrepresentation between the social groupings.

From the conversation with Albino I understood his attitudes towards the local community. His narrative was a plea for understanding why the Lungans prefer to

fish and trade rather than learn to read and write. Albino clearly regarded fishing as an activity that did not demand high skills or intelligence. The level of withdrawal of the students and the indifference of the parents was stunning to the teachers. To comprehend why schooling is treated in such an ambivalent way in the coastal Lunga, I examined the historical circumstances in which the first educational institutions were introduced in the community. It posed a question if acceptance of opportunities through formal schooling inflicts a rejection of a powerful and familiar habitus (Bourdieu 1977) of the coastal communities.

I will explain these threads and concepts in the subsequent sections and explore them further in the following chapters.

1.1 The research rationale and objectives

Schooling in Africa and its problems and shortcomings have been explored in depth by the scholars (Walker et al. 1996; Wils 2004; Perry, 2008) emphasizing and discussing lack of schools, books, unqualified teachers and the linguistic problems of the teaching medium. Recognizing that these issues present constraints to education in Mozambique, I strive however to defeat discussing of structural or technical absence, focusing instead on cultural, social and political aspects. Mozambique is a complex country, with many ethnic groups and subgroups including Makuas dominant in the north, Sena and Ndau in the central part of the country and Shangaan group prominent in the south. There are also Portuguese, mestiço, Indian, Arab and Chinese minorities (Lopes, 1998). Portuguese was adopted in 1975 as an official language, but over 40 different

languages are spoken throughout the country[2] (Gordon, 2005). Mozambique had also a long and complex history, profoundly affected by colonialism, post-colonialism and globalisation.

In this setting, the main research question is about understanding broader conditions of marginality and tensions between the global and the local, studied through the lens of the ambivalence towards education among coastal societies. This thesis strongly emphasises the long history of a tense relationship between the coastal societies and the colonial and post colonial state. This tense relationship is a background for understanding the ambivalence towards formal schooling. The concept of 'coastal habitus' is developed and used to capture people's views of formal schooling, embodying their past experiences with relations with the state, cultural identities and religious beliefs, and livelihood conditions associatied with fishing. The aim of this research is therefore to contribute to the research on education in Mozambique as a phenomenon interlinked with society, culture, power, political issues and ideology and to provide data to on the issues of schooling, marginalization and identities in fishing communities.

Origins of the idea

My interest in this thesis topic stems from several years of extensive work within education and development programmes in Mozambique. I arrived in the country for the first time in 1999 as a voluntary teacher of English, and since 2001 I was working as a project leader in two of the private teacher training institutions[3].

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[2] See Appendix 2 for details.

[3] Escola de Professores in Nhamatanda, Sofala Province and in Nacala Porto, Nampula Province, established in 1995 and 1997 respectively, are ran by the national NGO Ajuda em Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo.

Through this work I obtained knowledge and experience of the political field of education in Mozambique and of the challenges in the area of primary education in the rural areas. Throughout this time I enjoyed professional relationships with many people involved at various levels of authorities and institutions as well as with students and teachers from the central and northern parts of the country.

Through my contact with the local schools and education departments, teacher trainees' supervision and recruitment of the prospective students in the districts I became deeply aware of the problems of shortage and absence. Overcrowded classrooms, lack of teachers and school materials, teachers' salaries long past due, bureaucracy in dealing with the departments of education were a reality. At the same time I observed and learned different ways of coping with these problems. For example, teachers employed 'child-centred teaching' and group work and produced their own didactic materials; the local community welcomed deployed teachers and helped them survive several months of waiting until their new contracts with the Ministry of Education were processed.

In late 2002 I was offered a position of a project leader at a teacher training college located outside of the city of Nacala, in the northern coastal region of Nampula Province. I stayed in the north for the remaining 3 years of my contract. It gave me an opportunity to note disparities between sub-urban and rural settings as well as within provinces. Classrooms were overcrowded in the central Manica and Sofala; there were standing empty in the northern coastal areas. The educational centre in Nacala Porto was situated in a convenient, accessible environment close to the city, among the informal fishing settlements along the coast of the Fernão Veloso bay. Surprisingly, I soon realized that none of the inhabitants of these settlements that I greeted everyday while walking to work had

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The NGO has been working in the field of development in Mozambique since 1982 and have established and runs 11 teacher training institutions throughout the country (as of 2012).

any connection with the schools operating in their immediate neighbourhood. A major part of teacher trainees as well as the vocational school students originated from the interior of Nampula Province and from the city of Nacala; the primary school pupils from the local fishing settlements attended irregularly and frequently dropped out.

I found this paradoxical yet intriguing. At the same time, the local elections of 2003[4] and the presidential elections in 2005 gave a way to enormous political pressures in the coastal districts. The northern Mozambican Muslims had apparently very ambiguous attitudes towards the ruling party that stemmed from the times before the independence. I asked myself if the education could be consciously rejected by the local communities for the simple reason of being sponsored and supported by the state? After seizing power in 1975, Frelimo embarked upon a huge education project as the building of the new socialist nation with 'modern' socialist minds - *o homem novo* (the new man) - free from 'obscurantist', 'traditional' and 'tribal thinking' (Machel, 1979). But Mozambique in 2003 was a very different country than in the times of independence. The first critical voices against Frelimo were raised, analyzing the causes of the civil war (Geffray, 1991), critiquing exclusion of the local values and modes of life from the social activities (Mazula, 1995) and Frelimo's heavy-handed political behaviour (Ncomo, 2004). Several important changes in education were taking place: the primary school fees were abolished, and in 2004, 'Mozambican Languages' were experimentally introduced as means of teaching in first levels of primary school along with 'Local curriculum' containing activities prioritized by the community as a

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[4] The 2003 local elections (of Mayor and Municipal Council) in Nacala were won by M. dos Santos of Renamo by 57% majority (source: African Elections Database, 19 November 2003). Renamo won 5 elections for Municipal President and held for the first time formal executive power in Nacala, Ilha de Mocambique, Angoche (significantly, all in the coastal Nampula Province) and also Beira and Marromeu in Sofala. Source: The Carter Centre (2004).

way of facilitating children to learn their role and place within the community (MINED, 2003; Castiano, 2005).

The socio-political changes, however, had influenced mostly the urban elites. I was interested in the way the new educational policies affected different cultural rural settings in the country: was the school still more of a representation of a dominant state rather than a provider of knowledge, empowerment and participation in a democratic society? Working on this thesis gave me a chance to a better understanding of how people in a remote setting learn, employ their experiences to shape their lives and how the schooling influences them.

1.2 Ambivalence of schooling

Schools are difficult places for ethnographic studies from methodological and ethical point of view (Levinson, Foley and Holland, 1996). School relations are complex and problematic to enter for a researcher. Moreover the results of the research may turn out to be critical towards the people who made the study possible.

Learning is frequently associated with what one does at school; however, in the Mozambican context there are multiple barriers between the school and the learners. For fishers, schooling does not reflect on their status in the world of work. Schooling also does not bridge the gap between 'modern' and 'traditional' systems of knowledge (Klees et.al. 1997:12) or break through the language barrier. Teaching students to read and write is "a matter of language socialization, enculturation, identity production and power relations" (Bloome et al. 2005:xvii).

Several studies document contradictions between formal education and the ambivalence of its utility in the local contexts. In *Learning to Leave*, Michael Corbett (2007) examines the ironies and contradictions of formal education and rurality, demonstrating how education is implicated in the depopulation and decline of rural areas, a consequence of increasing urbanity, in turn fuelled by global forces naturalized through narratives of progress within modernity. In his research of a Canadian fishing community he points out that

> education failure fit into a longstanding male tradition in many families, and being "born and bred" a fisherman included establishing an identity resistant to schooling. The myths of male identity construction continue to resonate even in the absence of a stable fishery (Corbett, 2007:244).

In Corbett's study, the school set in the space between the local and national provides opposing resources to the students. He shows that youth who acquire educational mobility capital become disconnected them from their homes and families. On the other hand, those who resist the schooling perceive formal education as an alien, impractical and abstract space. Corbett finds schooling profoundly inadequate for the complexity of the place; it does not address the needs of the place and does not teach the students "the responsibilities and challenges of staying and leaving and (…) understand the conditions of citizenship and attachment" (Kelly, 2009:2).

In the case of indigenous peoples, "identification with the land is a fundamental aspect of their identity, distinguishing them from those who colonise the land" (Aikman 1999:13). Schooling may be preventing them from living according to their own practices. Similarly to the Mozambican Makuas, school for the Peruvian Arakmbut people is primarily a place to learn the state's official language (1999:73).

Gustavo Esteva asserts that many marginalized social groups struggle outside the formal education systems to promote their own, independent "alternative education" (Esteva 2010:43). The origins of this movement begin with the recognition and a critique of existing system as a form of authoritarian social control. Instead, they develop indigenous forms of knowledge and practices that are not integrated into the institution of schooling but developed in spite of and in resistance to formal education. For example, in Mexico, ''many Indians saw in education . . . the only way to escape from the discrimination, exclusion, and oppression associated with the condition of being an Indian'' (Prakash and Esteva, 1998:42). Esteva asserts that there are possibly numerous participants in the autonomous and free learning movements, however, remaining mostly invisible, and often "not aware of the meaning of (…) radicalism of breaking with all forms of education to learn and study in freedom" (Esteva, 2010: 44). It is interesting to note that there is no movement of any form to promote alternative forms of education on Mozambican coast. I will discuss this issue further in Chapter Six.

In the rural setting of Papua New Guinea many people became discouraged about achieving their goal of "modern life" by the means of formal schooling, facing the bleak situation at the job market. The failure of international aid supporting socioeconomic development was compounded by a fiasco in creating jobs in local business (Demerath 1999). Local conceptions of schooling dramatically changed in Papua when mass education failed to create "productive citizens", while the village subsistence economy remained viable, resulting in return to traditionality and the village-based identities.

In this thesis I will demonstrate more agency oriented understanding of Lungans' ambivalence of schooling and their engagement with state and school. In the following chapters I describe dramatic and violent social and political changes that

occurred in Mozambique while the coastal societies maintained their persitance and continuity. I include examples from various sources, historical circumstances, from different levels and sites and from a range of respondents. The central dynamic of this thesis is viewed through a broad historical and cultural lens, without losing focus of the locality of the study.

My main argument reaches beyond coastal societies' ambivalence towards formal schooling. I am looking at multi-dimensionality of their active engagement and passive resistance with the schooling and the state institutions. There are many different voices and perspectives making up a very dynamic picture of how marginalisation is shaped and experienced by different social groups in Lunga. Coastal people preserve strong indentity and continuity facing pressures in a changing political and social environment.

1.3 Education in Mozambique – a brief overview

The Article 92 of the Constitution of Mozambique of 1990 considers education as both the right and the duty of each citizen (Government of Mozambique, 1990) and as a fundamental factor in poverty reduction (Government of Mozambique, 2001). The central objective of the Strategic Plans for Education is universal access to primary schools for all in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals (MEC, 2006).

The educational system in Mozambique is relatively new and it has evolved and adapted many foreign ideas during the colonial (Salazar, 1924-1966), postcolonial Marxist (Machel, 1975-1986) and transitional to democratic (Chissano, 1986-2005 and Guebuza, 2005 to date) administrations. While the colonial government

created economic and educational systems particularly for colonizing Mozambique and "educating" people for lifelong servility, the Machel and Chissano administrations adapted foreign systems of government and education without altering theoretical basis of the systems transferred (Cossa, 2003: 23). The following section will briefly outline the historical background of the education system that is a necessary frame for understanding many specific problems of education in contemporary Mozambique.

Legacy of the colonial schooling

Being one of the last Portuguese colonies in Africa, Mozambique experienced during the later half of 20th century some very dramatic changes in many aspects – including the education system. Independent since 1975, the country led by the autocratic leader Samora Machel[5] embarked on ambitious socialist program designed to bring about rapid development; however his cooperation with Soviet bloc in perspective of Cold War and neighbouring South African government anxious to eliminate any threat to its apartheid regime effected in a raging civil war that ended only in 1992 (Mario et al, 2003). Nowadays, considered as one of the most promising attempts in structural adjustment, Mozambique still faces many challenges. The education system had undergone many profound changes, which are important to analyse briefly to have a clear view of the present situation.

Regulations in 1929 divided primary education into elementary – designed for *não indígenos* (Portuguese term for 'not native'), and rudimentary for *indígenos* – from which it was theoretically possible to progress to elementary schooling. No official education department was created till 1932 (Newitt, 1995:440). Foreign missionaries filled the void in the educational provision.

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[5] Samora Machel (1933 – 1986) – a Mozambican military commander, revolutionary socialist leader and eventually President of Mozambique (1975 – 86). Source: The Carter Center, 2005.

Education played an important role in creation of Mozambican society. It determined class and "civilized" status:

> for an African to acquire *não-indígeno* status it was necessary to demonstrate Portuguese culture and a level of education. The administration made the process difficult and only encouraged a limited number of Africans, who for some reason were needed by the regime to acquire this status (Newitt, 1995: 442-43).

Although educational opportunities expanded somewhat in the 1950s, they were still absurdly limited to the African population – access was possible through patronage of influential Portuguese settlers.

> The philosophy of Portuguese policy was that the African is a primitive child, and the purpose of the policy is to lead him to Portuguese adulthood. It is difficult to believe that anyone could take such obscurantist nonsense seriously (Duffy 1961:295).

The "absurd limitations" and "nonsense" of Portuguese education policies had a rationale. The main purpose of these policies was a domination and reproduction of the African labour. Invention and implementation of a new education system adapting the Africans to the various forms of production for the global market became necessary. The non-official 'colour bar' incidentally allowed the creation of a narrow class of African *assimilados*, which was clearly considered an error by the *Estado Novo*[6] regime. Statistically, the results of the *assimilação* policy were scarce; however many of the leaders of the liberation movements of the 1960s originated from the assimilated families (Cabaço, 2010: 126).

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[6] Portuguese term meaning 'New State' – the name of authoritarian regime installed in Portugal in 1933 by Antonio Salazar. Source : Coelho (1995)

Expansion of schools after independence and the Civil War aftermath

 The focus on education changed completely in the post-independence years. What values could the government prioritize in a situation where 85 per cent of Mozambicans were illiterate and 90 per cent of Portuguese providing all the technical expertise there was have left? The mass demand for the improvement of education in quality and quantity was blended with enormous political pressures. The careful planning, radical action, and quite unique interpretation of socialist principles resulted in "revolutionary nationalism" - "it is no kind of import; if it were it would fail through incapacity of implementation" (Barnes, 1982: 406). The social revolution programs of Machel in the late 1970s doubled primary schools enrolments and numbers rose in secondary education[7]; in 1981 half a million people were enrolled in adult literacy schemes (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983; Waterhouse, 2006). Portuguese was adopted as a national language; literacy was to be a means as well as an end to modern social relations in a modernized economy. However, the ensuing civil war was to lead to the darkest moments in the country's recent history, devastating it throughout the 1980s and leading to collapse most of newly created structures. During the civil war, more than 3000 schools were destroyed, reducing the school network by half. Attending school became dangerous for students; teachers were targeted and tortured and murdered (Global Campaign for Education, 2002). In 1987, the Mozambican government adopted a World Bank and IMF promoted structural adjustment programme in return for credit:

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[7] The annual secondary-school intake increased from 20,000 to 135,000 students. Source: Waterhouse, (1996).

The key objectives of PRE [Economic Reform Programmes][8] were to balance Mozambique's budget and make it credit-worthy in the eyes of Western financiers. This meant cutting back the State's role in planning and production, leaving the former to 'market forces' and the latter to private enterprise (Waterhouse, 1996: 42).

In 1989 Frelimo terminated its monopoly on providing housing and education, followed by health facilities in 1992 (Bowen, 1992). The recent international discourse on the importance of basic education and initiatives of *Education for All* caused Frelimo to 'rediscover' education as a means for 'social development' (Little, 1992).

1.4 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of this research is composed of three sets of concepts. The first is based on understanding of the social construct of marginalization of the fishing communities in a post-colonial state, arising from particular relations of power, which create a system of privileges. The second is a concept of space and place, developed and elaborated by Doreen Massey. This concept allows us to see Lunga as a space emerging from historically and culturally grounded interactions. The third concept is habitus - Bourdieu's theory of culturally conditioned agency, produced by the conditionings associated with the particular group of coastal societies.

The integration of these three sets of concepts provides an appropriate theoretical perspective, opening a scene for a discussion of a critical analysis of the seconadary sources and a recognition of mulitple positions and voices of the

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[8] PRE(S) *Programa de Reabilitacao Economica (e Social)* (Port.) Economic Reform Programmes (later added 'and Social'), Waterhouse 1996.

coastal communities. Marginality here is not just an exterior of the state and opposed to it, but a significant "Other" that is a key to understanding how the state is formed and perceived. The concept of habitus – and the specificity of it on the coast – will provide a deeper theoretical discussion about the mulitifaceted meanings of marginality and different ways of dealing with uncertainty and exclusion.

Marginalisation of fishers

The concept of marginalisation understands it as a power relationship between a dominant group in the society and placing the minority of the non-members of that group on the margin (Cullen and Pretes, 2000; Lefebvre, 1974). Marginalisation arises out of particular relations of power which create a system of privileges. In effect, certain individuals become exploited by this system. Ujomu (2003) suggests that 'relationship of difference' in which people are subjected to cultural, political and/or economic domination is central to the issue of marginalization. Marginal peoples can always be identified by members of the dominant society and face discrimination.

When the term is conceptualised that way, the important issue is to analyse the marginal places and practices for a robust understanding of the state: "[M]argins are a necessary entailment of the state, much as the exception is a necessary component of the rule" (Das and Poole 2004:4). They address the construction and reproduction of power structures underlying marginalisation as its central determinant: "the forms of illegibility, partial belonging, and disorder that seem to inhabit the margins of the state constitute its necessary condition as a theoretical and political object" (Das and Poole 2004:6).

In the case of Mozambican coastal societies, marginalization may seem like a conscious decision to withdraw from the socio-political arena as a way of dealing with a predatory state. James Scott examines this kind of phenomena in *The art of not being governed* (2009). He focuses on the Zomia people and the fact that the region is the largest remaining area that has not been integrated into a nation state. Instead, for over two millennia, the people living in the highlands of Zomia have lived outside the reach of the lowland governments of China, India and several other countries.

I will consider this issue specifically in the Chapter Four, "At the edge of the world". In my thesis, I want to place a marginal group in the centre of the study. I want to ask whether the coastal communities chose consciously to live outside of the state?

Space and place

The themes of this thesis are anchored on the coast, a place that had always had a particular meaning and social and political repercussions for its inhabitants. It had been conquered by the Portuguese who discovered it en route to India and conceived its "peoples and cultures simply as phenomena 'on' this surface" (Massey, 2005:4). Space and place will be the recurring themes in this thesis:

> In a context of the world which is, indeed, increasingly interconnected, the notion of place (usually evoked as 'local place') has come to have totemic resonance. (…) For some it is the sphere of the everyday, of real and valued practices, the geographical source of meaning, vital to hold on to as 'the global' spins its ever more powerful and alienating webs. For others, a 'retreat to place' represents a protective pulling-up of drawbridges and a building of walls against the new invasions (Massey, 2005: 5).

Massey developed the concept of space in three dimentions: that it is constructed through interactions, that it is 'the sphere of possibility of the existence of multiplicity'; and that it is 'always in the process of being made' (Massey, 2005: 9).The political implications drawn from this are that identities and relations are created in the space of differences and heterogeneity, and that there is 'genuine openness about the future' (p. 11).

The coast was an arena for dramatic social and political changes starting from consolidation of colonial power from the end of 19th century which marked a beginning of a gradual exclusion of the Islamized coastal elites. This was accompanied by the decline of their political and economic spaces. The splendour of historical cities of Ilha de Moçambique and Ibo deteriorated while the urban life moved south to the new capital Lourenço Marques. Rafael da Conceição suggests that national independence and the coming to power of revolutionary discourse of Frelimo was "a final blow struck in pride and history of coastal elites, now regarded as counterrevolutionary" (da Conceição, 2006:34). The coast becomes a place of refuge for the excluded, ostracized and "expelled from their historic role" (ibid). The coast became a space for peoples who distrusted the state, a space of "a scattered, mobile pattern of residence and a fluid (…) social structure capable of easy fissioning and recombination" (Scott 1985: 178).

Habitus

The problems of life on the periphery, communication issues involved with it, and the social, political and physical distance matter a great deal for the people inhabiting the coast. For a fuller understanding of this societies I tried to question the mechanisms through which the relationship is established between the

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structures and practices and their representations. In the following chapters I analyse the historical background, specific livelihoods of the fishers and different educational options available for the coastal societies. Bourdieu's concept of culturally conditioned agency was helpful in a study of coastal peoples' social reality – appearing as natural and taken for granted – while by being prior to self conscious, it limits their actions (Eriksen, 1995: 91).

I take a close look at coastal societies' habitus, produced by the conditionings associated with that particular group. The concept of habitus, developed by Bourdieu, describes permanent, learnt, embodied dispositions for action:

> the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisation, produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus (Bourdieu 1977:78).

He defines habitus as "a product of history [that] produces individual and collective practices – more history. (…) It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms" (Bourdieu, 1980: 54). Habitus refers to a layer of social reality beyond the intentional – according to Eriksen, the informants would not be able to "describe their habitus in the course of interview even if they wanted to" (1995: 91). Following Bourdieu, I attempted to analyse the cultural forms and their constant improvisation within ever-changing social and material conditions. These improvisations occur when people's past, brought to present by habitus, meet with specific circumstances for which they

have no response. Holland et al. (1998: 18) conclude this is how change comes about from generation to generation.

Bourdieu's work on social reproduction through education still attracts criticism for his seemingly automatic notions of power, domination and determined view of human agency (Giroux 1983; Hey 2003). Bourdieu's work is sometimes viewed as locked in a reproductive cycle without room for social modification or a change. Reay (2004) critiqued "the contemporary fashion of overlaying research analyses with Bourdieu's concepts, including habitus, rather than making the concepts work in the context of the data and the research settings" (p.432). The ambiguity of the concept of habitus corresponds to the chaos of reality: never static, always changing depending on circumstances and internalized past experiences. Considering both reproductive and transformative characteristics of habitus, I have tried to capture both continuity and change of the coastal society in Lunga.

According to Bourdieu it is through the workings of habitus that practice (agency) is linked with capital and field (structure). In relation to the charge of determinism, Bourdieu (1990b: 116) argues that habitus becomes active in relation to a field, and the same habitus can lead to very different practices and stances depending on the state of the field (Reay, 2004).

Bourdieu defines habitus as a property of social agents (whether individuals, groups or institutions) that comprises a "structured and structuring structure" (1980: 170). It is "structured" by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is "structuring" in that one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices. It is a "structure" in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned. This "structure" comprises a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (1980:53).

Research questions

In this thesis, I aim for a more agency-oriented understanding of Lungan's engagement with the state and the school, linking the concepts of marginality, resistance and citizenship. This research seeks to explore the following overarching question: How do coastal people engage and disengage with education and state institutions? It is intended that this will be achieved by addressing the following key questions:

- How do diverse educational practices available to local communities constitute culturally mediated responses to the collective uncertainty and marginalization of the coastal livelihoods?
- What perceptions do coastal communities have of state institutions and how are the meanings they construct about it shaped by their cultural and political history?
- How do they view the utility of schooling while attempting to maintain their livelihoods?

The main issue these questions seek to address is about understanding broader conditions of marginality and tensions between the global and the local, exemplified by views and experiences of schooling. Receiving 'schooling' does not necessarily mean education. In a situation where the state provided curriculum consists of the same, often imported standards, didactics and content there is little regard to whether 'schooling' is acceptable or not. The differences between rural versus urban contexts are not acknowledged causing the centre to benefit at the expense of periphery. Such education may produce powerlessness and frustration,

disregarding learners and their own former knowledge, experiences, language, culture and therefore their self-esteem. 'Schooling' can be a powerful instrument in oppression and exclusion. In effect, people search for other forms of education, more valuable for their needs. The fisherfolk may have assessed the state-based programmes and made a conscious decision to avoid it. As education is "deeply embedded in a political and historical context of the country"(Torney-Putra et al. 1999: 31), the older generation holds onto many memories and beliefs retained from the past – even if it is a discredited past. It impacts especially on teachers as well as family members, causing schools to adapt slowly to transitions. As the changes toward more democratic government have not brought the expected improvements in the standard of living, people become disillusioned with politics.

My assumption suggests that there is a grounded antagonistic relationship between certain groups in Mozambican society (including fishing communities) and the state – the key provider of education.

In this thesis I will be exploring the dynamics of the tension between the fields of state institutions and the coastal society by tracing a historical trajectory that begins with the onset of the colonial rule in the late nineteenth century. I will reflect on a number of issues in an attempt to make connections between traditional authorities and history, national politics and schooling, livelihoods and marginalization.

The central theme in the thesis is the ambivalence of the value of schooling in a milieu of isolated fishing community under pressure of various social, economic, political and cultural factors. I attempt to examine the habitus of the coastal community, their problems of everyday life on the extreme social and physical periphery and explore the tensions between competing institutions promoting the unique aspects of coastal life and the role and space of schooling.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

In this chapter I have explained the origin of the idea for this thesis beginning with my interest in the differences of perceptions and attitudes towards education by different social groups in Mozambique, to examining the coastal habitus and relations and tensions between competing institutions promoting different aspects of coastal life. I have also given a short introduction in to the education system of Mozambique and discussed briefly literature relating to the ambivalent attitudes towards education in different contexts.

This chapter also presented a theoretically informed frame of analysis in order to add greater depth in interpretation of how schooling operates in the coastal milieu in Lunga. This chapter contains only the introduction of the aspects of the theoretical framework, which are developed further in the subsequent chapters along with the empirical data. Instead of a separate chapter containing the general literature review I discuss the relevant work in each chapter.

In Chapter Two I introduce the research sites and describe the process of locating the field of my inquiry. It also contains a description of the methods and methodological approach taken in this thesis.

Chapter Three is organized around the different forms of education available in Lunga. It presents Lunga as a setting of various learning domains distributed across the community and embedded in social practices and examines main means of learning, their roles and importance. In the first part, the learning domain is rites of passage, learning how to become an adult and an honourable member of the community. The second part of the chapter explores the spread of Islamic

education and its role in constructing people's religious identity. The following sections will briefly outline the historical background of the formal education system that is a necessary frame for understanding many specific problems of education in contemporary Mozambique, and give the insight on the linguistic diversity in the country. It considers the formal education and its different forms of valorisation in the past and present.

The main objective of Chapter Four, "The historical background", is to situate the research within the context of local experiences of historical, social, economic and political change. It is these experiences that have not only shaped the present reality of my respondents but also inform their subjective interpretations of the past that was ever present in the interviews. Here I define the colonial and post colonial structures of governance using the concept of bifurcated state (Mamdani, 1996), its dualities and consequences in the present times. The historical past of Mozambique reappearing continuously in the narratives of my respondents generated a lens through which they understand and negotiate their lives.

In Chapter Five I present a fuller account of the specific modes of life on the coast, proceeding through several layers of description. I begin with the portrayal of Lunga and its surroundings, following with a historical sketch of artisanal fishing communities. Another layer consists of social stratification, livelihoods and gender. To conclude, I describe community leadership and the political affiliations. The chapter aims to provide a thicker description of some of the issues concerning people's responses to uncertainty and exclusion.

In Chapter Six I focus on the position of teachers in Lunga. Their perspectives on work in local schools and everyday life add to the discussion of marginality of the coastal region. The chapter examins teachers as the representatives of "the Other" in Lunga and a tense situation between the school and local community.

In Chapter Seven, "Schooling and coastal habitus", I return to the issues discussed in previous chapters. I begin by picking up the discussion in Chapter Four about the distinctive modes of life "at the edge of the world". I focus in particular on the problems of life on the periphery, communication issues involved with it, and the social, political and physical distance. I introduce the concept of space and place in their social, historical and geographical aspects. This coastal habitus I contrast with the state sponsored schooling and analyse the tensions between local and national space. In three case studies, I examine how different individuals operate and interact within local spaces and how it relates to their identities.

Chapter Eight sums up the thesis by drawing together the main arguments and reiterating the key themes. I highlight the ways that the findings of this thesis contribute to the understanding of the pervading ambivalence towards schooling within coastal habitus. Finally I briefly touch upon areas for policy implications and possible further research.

Chapter Two: Methodology

This research is qualitative and interpretive, since it aims to understand how schooling operates in a social milieu of peripheral society and their specific coastal habitus. The aims and questions that structured this thesis are based in my experience and personal observations from working in the city of Nacala Porto for an educational project within a Danish NGO between 2001 and 2006. The research questions, presented in Chapter One, were developed and theoretically grounded before conducting the fieldwork. I conducted the field research between October 2010 and August 2011. I strived to maintain a dialogic relationship between my experiences in the field, the conceptual framework, research design and analysis of the data informing each other in a process of continuous reflection.

One of the primary modes of investigation was to understand how people represent themselves and are represented in institutions (schools, markets, religious), livelihoods and social practices. The approach to the research is therefore holistic and grounded in information about the nature of schooling in Mozambique and the processes of marginalisation of fishing communities. This understanding requires an empathetic grasp of the point of view of the people studied (Sarsby, 1984; Barnard and Spencer, 1996). Any methods connected with 'objectivism' and 'positivism' which would turn the people being studied into research objects certainly would have clashed with the goal of this research; it was immersive and participatory, focused on experiencing social life and reaching deeply within cultural history.

An interpretive approach was adopted, enabling the researcher to reach a population that was difficult to study; according to da Conceição (2006: 193), the

coastal societies generally claim an autonomous identity significantly different from the inland population. He notes the phenomenon of chronological socio-political distancing of the coastal peoples from the years 1960-70s, when converting to Catholicism was a means of social promotion. The passive resistance towards any forms of forced administration of the coastal societies continued well after the independence in the context of the new policies of communal villagization and religious ban (da Conceição, 2006:226). Considering this, building a relation of trust between the respondents and the researcher was fundamental to engage them in talk about sensitive subjects and to continuously revise their views of reality.

Although the empirical chapters are largely based on interview materials and the time spent on participant observation, they are often analysed through a historical lens. The aim of anthropological traditions was previously to explore the workings of the particular society at the present rather than explain how it emerged. However, historical perspectives have become increasingly important in social anthropology (Thomas, 1996); in this research it is important to know the historical past of a society and its contribution to the present. As I discuss this later in the chapter, the ethnographic present and the historical dimension here should not be mutually exclusive, but make a crucial contribution for understanding the researched topic through a constant universal dialogue between past and present.

2.1 Locating the field: the research sites

I wanted to do research that would be useful in terms of understanding the specific complexity of lives in the coastal communities. The rationale of the research was based on three dimensions. The first is political and economic marginalization through historical and political experience in the bifurcated state (Mamdani, 1996); the second, impact and implications of the civil war; and the third, the distinctive physical marginality of geographic locations.

From my observations during my previous work in the coastal setting of Nacala and from the existing literature I found that the coastal people of northern Mozambique tend to stand out from the rest of civil society. This is most evident in relation to lack of the access and ownership of natural resources, social opportunities such as education, access to information and decision making means and the influence of cultural-hereditary characteristics of coastal society (Lopes, 1999; da Conceição, 2006). Social and physical marginality, child labour and migratory lifestyles are a main part of discourse on marginalization of fishing communities. They demonstrate reluctance and self-censorship in freedom of expression, which according to researchers are deeply rooted in the particular political history of Mozambique – Frelimo's[9] postcolonial state-centralist project, sixteen years of civil war, and the continuation of the ruling party's control over the state apparatus (Menezes and Santos, 2009; Kyed and Buur, 2006).

The selection of the appropriate research location was therefore an important matter to consider. Whittingham et al (2003) highlights the importance of

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[9] Frelimo - *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (The Liberation Front of Mozambique) – a political party ruling in Mozambique since 1975, its power base stemming from the southern minority Shangaan ethnic group. Source: Kalley et al. (1999).

understanding the isolation of fishing communities from policy implementation, the absence of local organizations, the poor infrastructure and education, and the extreme vulnerabilities of people. He argues that "there is the real risk that the communities may be incapable of responding to the opportunities and incentives emerging through other intervention or development processes specifically targeting a single sector or concern such as the coral reefs" (pp.107).

I searched for a remote, unexplored coastal area that was a refuge of the "coastal people hostile to the newly independent state just as they had always opposed any form of enforced administration" (da Conceição 2006:226). Such location would offer me an opportunity to analyse these issues from a perspective of African viewpoints and local and regional issues, as opposed but not fully separated from the Western perspectives.

The process of selection of the research location

Based on these observations I chose the geographical location for empirical research to be the coastal areas of the Mossuril District for the following reasons:

- Anthropologically the coastal area people of northern Mozambique can be defined as one community, unified by Islamic influence. According to Anderson (1960)

> the community (...) may be thought of as a global social unity in which exist various types of social organization: it is a place not only of economic activity and of human association, but it is a place where memories are centred, both individual and 'folk' memories. Moreover, the community has the quality of duration, representing accumulation of group experiences which comes out from the past and extends through time (p.26).

The Makua people themselves refer to coastal Makua as *maka*-people, i.e., the Muslims, the term itself probably being derived from Mecca (Kröger, 2005);

- The principal economic activity of the inhabitants of the coastal areas of the Mossuril District is a sustenance artisanal fishery – and it is a part of the local economy, including the continental part of the district. Fishing is a main occupation of men; women work seasonally in agriculture as well as collecting molluscs in the estuaries (Motta et al, 1999);

- Fishing activities are generally considered as a status activity for those households involved in all communities. According to Whittingham et al (2003), fishing activities were strongly associated with sense of identity amongst fishers. Even in the areas where fishing may not be a primary 'earning' activity in a household, the fisher will participate more frequently in fishing than any of the other household activities.

I spent approximately nine and a half months in Mozambique, arriving on 16 October 2010 and staying until the end of July 2011[10]. Having arrived in Maputo, I spent the first month establishing contacts with the Ministry of Education, presenting my research project and obtaining the necessary credentials. It later greatly facilitated my cooperation with the representatives of the Education departments on provincial and district levels, as well as process of having my visa extended. During the time in Maputo, I contacted and discussed my project plans with the researchers and lecturers at the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM). While in Maputo, I visited *Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento de Educação* (National Education Development Institute,

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[10] I left Lunga on 3 occasions for two, three and two weeks respectively: in January 2011 I attended Literacy Conference in Cape Town and had my visa extended; in April I contracted malaria and spent 3 weeks recovering in Nacala, and in July I travelled to Nelspruit, South Africa to obtain another visa extension.

INDE) inquiring about new education policies and the *Curriculo Local*, introduced in primary school since 2004. I also visited *Instituto Nacional de Pesca* (National Fishing Institute) to get the background information and materials on artisanal fishers.

I selected my research location from several potential places on the coastal region of the Mossuril District, north of Ilha de Moçambique. At the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* I learned about the attempts that were made to do a research in Lunga, about 40 km south from Ilha. The UEM researchers abandoned the idea due to inaccessibility of the Lunga region. They recommended Lunga as a potentially interesting and unexplored area, which I added to the list of the possible research locations. I was also provided the access to the *Centro*'s library and contacts in the Nampula Province.

Having received credentials from the Ministry of Education in late November, I travelled north to Nampula Province. Here I visited five potential research locations on the coast of the Mossuril District. Between 1 and 8 December 2010 I visited Ilha de Moçambique and Vila de Mossuril. Located directly on the coast, both places are examples of a vast historical past and a meeting point of African, Arab and European cultures, religions and traditions. The island's name, Moçambique, which gave a name to the whole country, is derived from the Arabic sheikh Mussa bin Bique (the island's Emakhuwa name being oMuhipiti); Mossuril is supposed to come from the name of a Portuguese settler Moço Ciril[11]. Both settings are predominantly urban with the most developed infrastructure (Vila de Mossuril being the district's capital and Ilha enjoying a status of a municipality) and as such would not serve as the illustration of the typical condition of Mozambican coastal

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[11] Personal communication with A. Siquilata, 7/10/2010.

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societies. The other locations in the northern part of Mossuril District, Chocas Mar and Cabaceira Grande were excluded as a possibility because of booming tourist resort developments and commercial investments (which is a cause of envy and bitterness of the residents of neighbouring Vila do Mossuril, at present without such a perspective).

I identified two principal research sites, demarcated by the physical spaces. The main sites were two settlements: Motomonho and Muanangome, which were both coastal locations inhabited by the fishing communities and where the local schools are situated. Both settlements are located in the area known as and commonly referred to as Lunga – a remote territory extending south from the Monapo River towards Mogincual District. The name Lunga is derived from the Administrative Post, established as a military outpost (*capitania-mor*) by the colonial authorities in late 19th century.

The other sites included Vila de Mossuril, Ilha de Moçambique and Maputo, where I interviewed key informants representing the NGOs staff, government officials and local researchers. I drew the selection of the principal research sites on the advice from the researchers of *Centro de Estudos Africanos* [Centre of African Studies], a department of University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, and on my previous experience of working and travelling in the Nampula Province.

Mossuril and Lunga

Situated south of the Monapo River, Lunga is the most secluded and remote administrative post of the district. Lunga was described by the researchers as the

poorest of the Administrative Posts in the district in economic terms. After three brief initial visits (9 and 13 December 2010 and 3-4 January 2011) I concluded that Lunga would be the best location for the research due to its unusual physical isolation from the rest of the district and the intriguing social setting. There was a distinctive separation between the administrative post from the inhabited settlements, described in depth in the section 2.2, that arose my interest and questions about the local people's relation to the local representatives of the state, resistance from domination and political affiliation.

Figure 2.1: Mossuril's geographical location

Mossuril District is confined from the north by Nacala District, from the west and south by the districts of Monapo and Mogincual, and from the east by the Municipality of Ilha de Moçambique and the Indian Ocean. The District is mostly a coastal flat terrain, crossed by rivers flowing from the interior plains and highlands of Nampula Province. The District is served by the public road and maritime transport. The railway link between Monapo and Ilha has been closed since the civil war. The condition and rehabilitation of the roads have critical impact in the agricultural commerce as well as internal communication within the district.

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Mossuril is a predominantly dry region, with rivers of low level of waters. There are 84 sources of potable water (MAE, 2005).

The District is divided into three administrative posts: Matibane in the north, Mossuril in the central part neighbouring with the Municipality of Ilha de Moçambique, and Lunga in the south. Vila de Mossuril, Chocas Mar, Paquela, Namitarar and Cabaceira Grande (all within the administrative post of Mossuril) are the only electrified villages.

Table 2.2: Population of Mossuril District per Administrative Post, age and gender.

	Total	Age groups				
		0 - 4	5 - 14	15 - 44	45 - 64	65 +
Mossuril District	**107.183**	**18.281**	**27.711**	**41.000**	**14.597**	**5.594**
Men	52.930	9.072	14.617	19.126	6.970	3.144
Women	54.254	9.209	13.093	21.873	7.627	2.450
P. A. Mossuril	51.117	8.748	13.242	19.742	6.728	2.658
Men	25.263	4.412	6.961	9.310	3.151	1.429
Women	25.854	4.336	6.281	10.432	3.576	1.228
P. A. Lunga	27.221	4.769	6.410	10.788	3.872	1.381
Men	13.546	2.316	3.404	5.063	1.954	809
Women	13.675	2.453	3.006	5.725	1.918	573
P. A. Matibane	28.846	4.765	8.059	10.469	3.997	1.555
Men	14.120	2.345	4.252	4.753	1.864	906
Women	14.725	2.420	3.807	5.716	2.133	649

Source: MAE, 2005.

Lunga – or Ttokhoma, in Emakhuwa language - is connected by the only road ER499 running from the main EN105 (linking Ilha de Moçambique with EN8 to Nampula and Nacala). The Lunga road ER499 is an unpaved track of about 36 km. There is no bridge on the Monapo River crossing, which renders the connection between Lunga and the rest of the district impossible during the rainy season. There are 3 pick-up trucks transporting passengers between Lunga and Naguema (the junction at the road to Ilha de Moçambique).

Figure 2.3: A map of Mossuril District

Lunga is the southernmost and most sparsely populated administrative post of the Mossuril District. It encompasses forty-three small settlements (*bairros*[12]) with a total number of 27.221 habitants (Ministerio da Administracao Estatal, 2005). It is interesting to note that Lunga itself is nothing more than the few post-colonial buildings of administrative offices and *posto de saude* (health centre)*.* The handful of people actually living in Lunga are the staff of the Administrative Post and the health centre. There is also a temporary accommodation for three primary teachers working at the Lunga-Sede school in the bairro Magomano, some 5 km away. The inhabited Lunga coastal bairros are Motomonho, Muanangome, Holoca, Magomano and Lagoa, situated within a radius of circa 10 km from the Indian Ocean and within a considerable distance from the Administrative Post. The Mozambican president, Armando Guebuza, visiting Lunga in June 2010, recommended a transfer of the isolated administrative installations to the more

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[12] The term "bairro" is used in keeping with the local nomenclature to refer to smallest unit of residential areas within the Administrative Post (or a municipality). Bairros are often social communities with considerable face-to-face interaction among members.

central *bairro* of Lagoa[13] - possibly in an effort to close a very evident physical distance between the local representatives of the state and the community.

The dominant language is Emakhuwa, spoken throughout the Nampula Province. In Mossuril District 85 percent of the population do not speak Portuguese, however there are no programs of bilingual education implemented in the district. Majority of Portuguese speakers are men, being more involved in the social life, schooling and work. According to Ministerio de Administração Estatal, 88 per cent of the population was illiterate in 2005; only 20 per cent of habitants of Mossuril District are or have been frequenting school.

Fishing is considered an important activity in Lunga as well as along the coastal region of Mossuril as a source of dietary supplement and an alternative to agriculture. There are 400 registered fishermen in the district. From existing 105 shops/commercial establishments in the whole district, 84 are not operating (MAE, 2005). There are 19 producers of salt. There is no banking institution or any formal system of credit accessible for people of Mossuril District. The dominant activity in the district is sustenance agriculture, involving nearly all families. The main crops in the coastal area are cassava, *nhemba* beans and groundnuts. Coconuts and cashew are also important in the coastal agriculture, notably as the source of income.

Traditional authorities have various functions in the civil society. The primary function of the *Secretarios* is to mobilize the community in various social and economical tasks. The traditional leaders are principally responsible for all traditional aspects – ceremonies, rites and solving the social conflicts. The

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[13] Personal communication with the diretor of ZIP Lunga, 13/12/2010, Lunga.

traditional authorities (*regulos*, *chefes da terra* and *secretaries do bairro*) have been officially recognized by the state through the Decreto n.o 15/2000 de 20 de Junho (Republica de Moçambique, 2000)[14]. The importance of the relation between District Administration and traditional authorities lies in their cooperation in solving various local problems (land ownership, solving social conflicts respecting the traditional norms and habits, organizing actions to maintain the water sources, roads and consecrated places, as well as securing tax payments and sending children to school).

Official literacy rates in the coastal regions are startling. In Mossuril, 88 per cent of population is estimated as illiterate (MAE, 2005); in the city of Ilha de Moçambique, about 60 per cent[15]. The following criterion has been used to classify adult people as literate or non-literate in the census and in the surveys: "A person is considered literate if he/she can, with understanding, read and write a short simple message about their day-to-day life", whereby it is enough if the household head, or his substitute, declares that he can read and write and identifies other members who also can (Lind et al., 2009:11).

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[14] Artigo 1-1. Para os efeitos do presente decreto sao autoridades comunitarias os chefes tradicionais, os secretarios de bairro ou aldeia e outros lideres legitimados como tais pelas respectivas comunidades locais (…) e sao reconhecidas pelo competente representante do Estado [Article 1-1. For the purposes of this decree, the communitarian authorities such as traditional chiefs, the neighborhood or village secretaries and other leaders legitimized as such by their local communities (...) are recognized as the appropriate representative of the State].

[15] Personal communication with Director of the Education Department of the City of Ilha de Moçambique.

Motomonho and Muanangome

Figure 2.4: Plan of Lunga coastal bairros

⟷	ca. 1 km
Quivulane	townships
🏫 Ampita Primary	schools
☾	mosques
—	roads (unpaved)
🐟	main landing sites of fishing areas
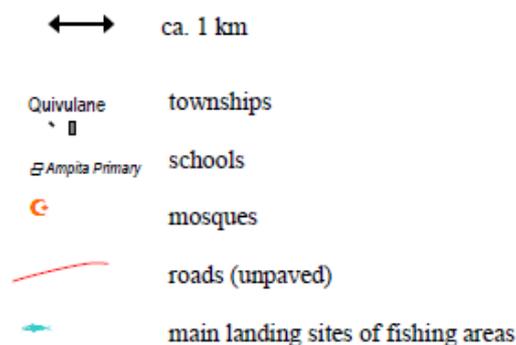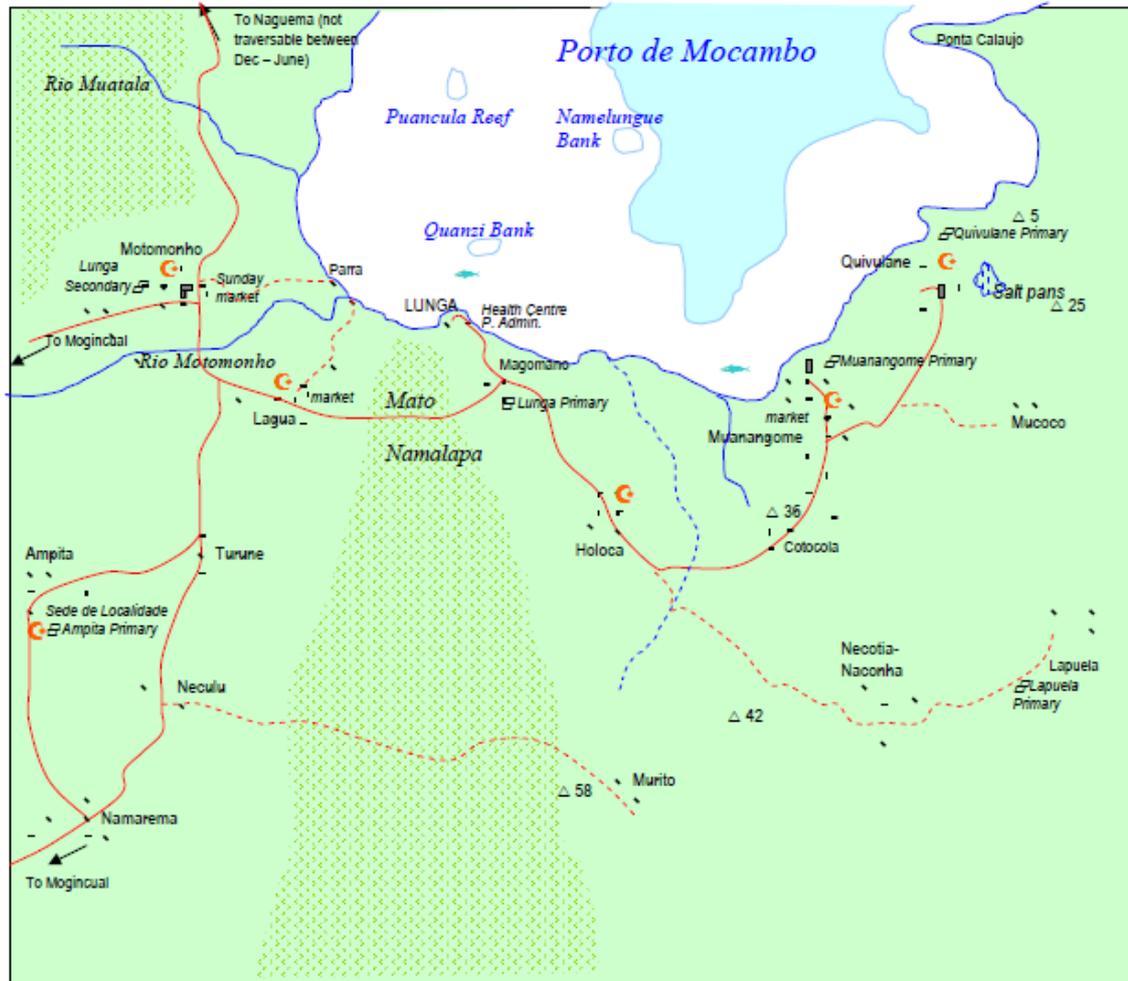
Having spent several weeks in Lunga visiting the local bairros I selected

Motomonho and Muanangome as the principal sites due to their different

characteristics: Motomonho is a head office of the local education system, while

Muanangome is a main landing site for Lungan fishers as well as it hosts the only

functioning madrassa school in the area. Both are remote and not urbanized

settlements; neither has an access to electricity, sewage system or a paved road.

Motomonho is an old bairro, thriving commercially in the early 20th century, when it was a breadbasket supplying surplus fish and agricultural produce for the city of Ilha de Mocambique. Pinto Correia, a colonial inspector reported from his Motomonho visit in 1938:

> All in all, these indigenous villages spreading along an exceptionally indented coast bays, so abundant in sailors and sailboats, demonstrate ethnic concepts and habits of life different from the most "Bantu". They call themselves "macas", to emphasise the difference from their "macuas" neighbours inland. The mixing of bloods resulting from successive waves of immigration of Arabic, Indian, Malagasy and Somali peoples throughout centuries, surging at a time of intense commercial activity, which was the business of buying slaves and ivory, certainly contributed to their distinctive facial features (…) Rare are people who cannot read and write - though in the Swahili script. Their spiritual needs are reflected in the abundance of mosques and schools, housed in rough conditions - but scattered in every corner, amongst cashew and palm trees. Besides, who would not be impressed by their manner of clothing: men wearing large Moorish *cabaias*, while women dressed in loose robes, floating in the wind in flamboyant colours, that sometimes give us the feeling of being in a (…) lively Hindustani landscape (Pinto Correia, 1938:33).

I found that the differences noted by Pinto Correia between the coastal people and the Makuas from interior persisted, as did Islam; however, little is left from the bygone commercial centre's glory. Motomonho's market was open only on Sundays although it did have a several food stalls and a bar. There were two schools in Motomonho (primary and secondary opened in early 2011). Motomonho school was also the head office of *Zona de Influencia Pedagogica* (Pedagogic Influence Zone, ZIP) of Lunga, covering area from Rio Monapo to the south. ZIP Lunga boasts 5 primary schools (*Escolas Primarias*, EP) that provide services for the total of 1416 pupils of the coastal Lunga area.

The main school of ZIP is situated in Motomonho (with 9 teachers for 339 pupils). The EP in Motomonho is a solid cement construction with glass windows, mosquito nets, and solar panels providing electricity. The ZIP of Lunga runs 3 years literacy courses for 174 adults (including Portuguese, Mathematics and Natural Sciences) conducted by 7 teachers[16].

Motomonho, similarly to the neighbouring *bairro* Lagoa, has access to the maritime resources via estuary. The fishing activities of the Motomonho residents are mostly for self-sustenance rather than commercial, with use of different methods (mostly fishing on foot with nets and traps).

Muanangome is a one of the most distant *bairros* in Lunga. It is the main permanent landing site for fishers harboring up to 430 various boats from the coastal area of Lunga[17]. Similarly to Motomonho, it possesses about one hundred households and no public amenities except for a small primary school. Muanangome hosts the final stop of the "*chapa*", a transportation system shuttling people and goods to the Monapo River crossing, as well as a fish market and small cluster of food stalls around it.

The houses in both *bairros* are referred locally as "traditional structures" (*palhotas*) and are constructed with wooden posts and wattle and clay or adobe walls, covered with roofs made of grass or zinc sheet. Most houses have no latrines. Most families do not have radio or electricity; they collect water directly from communal boreholes or from rivers. Few households keep chickens; most depend on fish and cassava or maize as the staple diet. A dense bush surrounds the

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[16] Personal communication with the Director of ZIP Lunga, 13/10/2010.
[17] Personal communication with the IDPPE Project Officer, 25/07/2011, Lunga.

bairros; the distance between them is relatively short (about 10 km) and there are strong social linkages between the two sites, in part because of the daily demand for fish from the communities of Motomonho and Lagoa that Muanangome supplies.

2.4 The historical anthropology approach

Although my background is educationalist and teacher training, I found the historical anthropology approach as most useful for this research. The historical perspective has been increasingly present in anthropology since the 1980's (Thomas, 1996: 272). The aim of anthropological traditions was previously to explore the workings of the particular society at the present rather than explain how it emerged (Eriksen 1995). However, historical perspectives have become increasingly important in social anthropology; in this research it is important to know the historical past of a society and its contribution to the present. According to Bloch (1985) anthropology contributes to politics and history demonstrating people as active agents aware and negotiating their lives, identities and livelihoods in the political and economic circumstances that they seek to understand and change. It views people as active agents creating and re-creating the worlds in which they live, being all the time influenced by factors beyond their control and historical circumstances. People struggle with each other over material and social relationships, resist the imposition of unwanted control and strive to find alternative ways of life in order to avoid unwanted structures.

In the historical anthropology perspective people locate themselves simultaneously in the present and historically (locally and globally) and are aware

of the broader contexts and dynamics that influence their daily lives, give them meanings and value. Oral history is present in Lunga, concerning local genealogies, connecting the present with the history of the ancestors, and passed from generation to generation by the local traditional leaders (*regulos*). This topic I explore in depth in Chapter Four.

This approach was particularly useful in working with the questions of schooling and the specific coastal habitus of fishing communities in Lunga. It helped me to aim precisely on the understanding of the relationship between micro level contexts (i.e. specific events and situations) and macro level contexts. Importantly, this approach took into account the scope of specific events and emphasise people's agency and the constraints they operate within.

Epistemological stance

What people believe and know is generally a product of their community and culture, and it is directly or indirectly influenced by others. Because these social causes and determinants play a vital role in seeking all kinds of social practices that influence people's beliefs, I see social constructionism as the essential approach to my research. The positivist scientific method with a focus on quantification and on testing theories (Bryman, 2004), which would turn the people being studied into research objects would certainly clash with the goal of this research.

Social constructionist approach sees all knowledge of everyday reality as formed and maintained by social interactions. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966)

people interact understanding that their views and perceptions of reality are related, reinforcing this way their knowledge of reality. People, negotiating knowledge, significations, identities and livelihoods, make them become an objective reality. Social reality is therefore said to be socially constructed.

2.2 Research methods

Because of the nature of my inquiry it required an in-depth situated ethnographic style of research. I arrived in Lunga for the first visit on 9 December 2010, and stayed continuously (excluding 3 intervals) for 8 months. This length of time was necessary in order to conduct a close, intensive study of a small community (Ellen, 1984: 241). The time factor was crucial to develop a rapport with my informants, to become familiar to them and to be eventually accepted and invited into their lives.

The primary methods of data generation were qualitative and ethnographic, employing a strategy of participant observation. "Establishing a place in the setting on a relatively long term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting comprises one core activity in ethnographic fieldwork" (Emerson et al, 2001: 352). This method allowed in-depth exploration of social phenomena in the Lungan coastal societies. It sought to describe and interpret networks of relationships between social practices and the system of meaning in that milieu (Lindoff and Taylor, 2002). The general goal of the research was to provide understanding of people's life, their social life, culture with an empathetic grasp on studied people's viewpoints in a qualitative account of the cultural 'web of meanings' shaping the community and the lives of its members (Barnard and Spencer, 1996: 366).

Through ethnographic 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) I described the networks of relationships of social practice and meanings:

> Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973:5).

Primary scope of the research was about primary schooling, however it was necessary to view it in the context of all the relevant aspects of the culture, social relationships, various social institutions, identities and livelihoods.

Participant observations

The participant observation method was used in unpacking the question of linking education with processes of identity, ideology, citizenship and affiliation. Observing and participating usually works together; according to Lindof and Taylor (2002:135) it develops researcher's competence in becoming skilled at performing in ways that are honoured by the group members and creating detailed and theoretically relevant descriptions. It also uncovered social usage behind languages that can be learned only by living in them. I have attended 2 semesters of Arabic language lessons, which helped me to access the madrassas and facilitate the contact with the religious leaders.

In the field, I tried to grasp the basics of Emakhuwa language through short frequent lessons with one of the local secondary school students. Although I did

not manage to acquire fluency, after few month I got a working ability useful for a
day to day communication.

Figure 2.5: Notes from an Emakhuwa lesson

Ellen (1984: 218) notes that different situations during the fieldwork demand

different forms and level of involvement. I spent a portion of time in the local

school, where I assisted lessons and observed the classroom interaction, and

gave feedback to the teachers. I socialised also with the teachers who kept to

themselves and rarely spent time with the local community. Participant observation

at the teacher's council meetings and lessons in the local primary schools

(especially Civic and Moral Education classes) provided me information on the role

of the state schooling in the process of social reproduction.

The issues connected with ideology, identities, and their links with education and

State, were potentially sensitive topics. I needed to stay within the community long

enough for the people to feel comfortable to talk about these topics with me. It was

a lengthy process, as establishing relationships and trust takes time (Maguire,

1998). In order to get to know people and gain a better understanding of the

community I participated in various daily activities such as walking to the fish market in Lagoa; fetching water from the well; visiting mosques and madrassas; witnessing traditional ceremonies etc. I observed the gender division of labour (women cooked and washed clothes, socializing together in spaces outside their huts). The fishing landing sites in Lunga and Muanangome were also a place where fishers and the intermediaries spent most of their time while not on the sea; the boat repairs and maintenance were taking place; and the initial process of fish conservation was conducted. Through informal conversations I developed a broader picture of the community and people's views on schooling, livelihoods and identities.

The principal product of the observations was fieldnotes. Writing fieldnotes is recognized as one of the methods of ethnographic participant observation (Emerson et al, 2001:365). Fieldnotes provide written accounts of experiences and observed events, fixing these realities in an examinable form. The writing process therefore started before the explicit analysis and interpretations; "as close to the scene recordings of people, places, talks and events, fieldnotes are self-consciously descriptive in character" (idem). My fieldnotes varied in style, content, focus and point of view. Van Maanen (1988) identified major representational styles – *rhetorical conventions* (neutral realist tales) with almost complete absence of the author from the most of the finished text, depicting details of daily life and people's routines; *confessional tales* describing the research process itself, relying on author's point of view; and *impressionist tales* reporting 'striking stories' reporting experiences from the beginning to end without 'telling the readers what to think' and drawing them into the story (Emerson et al, 2001: 357-358).

Figure 2.6: Examples of the fieldnotes
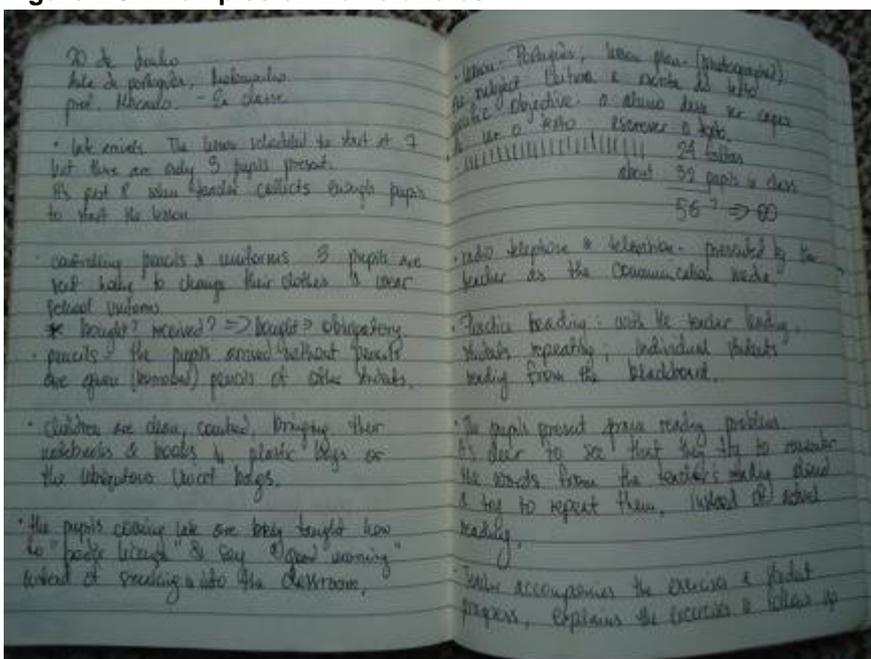
20/06/2011, from assisting the Portuguese lesson at the 2nd grade in Motomonho Primary (above); 16/02/2011, an example of "impressionist tale" (below).
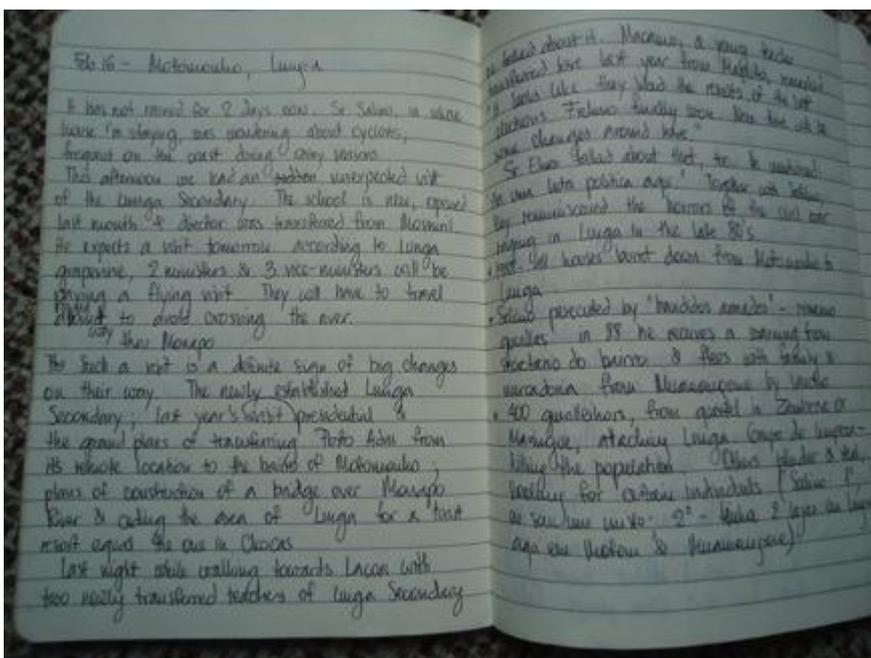
At first, my observations and information from the respondents were of a very provisional nature. It needed to be refined and corrected through various ways of triangulation process. With time, my initial knowledge and views developed in a more profound understanding of the Lunga realities. During my first visit to Lunga I asked about the reasons for a physical distance between the administration and the *bairro*. My respondent, Mr O, reluctantly explained that there was no font of

drinking water in Lunga. I found later that Mr O's statement about a lack of drinking water font in Posto Administrativo da Lunga was untrue. There was one of a very few boreholes to which people travelled often a great distance. My respondent's answer was clearly a parry. I was also able to verify information obtained from my respondents by comparing it with different sources. In Chapter Four I describe in depth the *regulo* of Motomonho's explanation of the clan ties and provenance; I found that was convergent with the Melo Branquinho's 1969 report. Both sources state clearly the history of the rulers of Motomonho (Aiupa and their rivals, Movere) and Quivolane (Panto) from the Murrapahine clan and their relation to the deceased famous shaykh Saide Abahassane. Both sources also mention Comoros and Madagascar as the origin of many coastal people in Lunga (Melo Branquinho, 1969:84).

As the researcher must do more than simply acquire the linguistic rules of their new culture – they must also learn new forms of feeling (Cresswell, 1994:133). In observations of the Muanangome fisherfolk in their day-to-day activities I entered the field more as an observer than a participant, making observations of a range of behaviours and situations and working to adopt the people's perspectives on what and how is sensed (Lindof and Taylor, 2002:154) and how people interact in natural and built environments (e.g. other places with social and cultural meanings for people - markets; community meetings; local and traditional authorities).

Narrative interviews – life histories

Life histories were one of my primary methods in this research, as it seems especially appropriate for reflecting the coastal habitus and exploring the kind of

distinctive relationships between education, social identities and political views. Narrative interviews inquired about occurrences in the past and generate descriptive data around specific, personal topics. Told usually in the context of a particular discourse (e.g. class, power, political affiliation), largely unstructured, they depend on developing a good rapport between researcher and the interviewee (Lindof and Taylor, 2002). Barbara Heyl (2001: 370) stresses the ethical aspect of interviewing – bringing no harm to the respondents who would teach me about their lives.

A life history approach to interviews creates flexibility for the respondents to generate their own narrative, at the same time giving a chance for a researcher to explore issues of particular interest. Usually I started the interview asking the respondents where they were born and how long they lived in Lunga. At that point the respondents usually talked about the past; I could guide the discussion towards the respondents' experience of schooling. In some cases, where I got to know the respondents very well, we would meet on several occasions and it would give me a chance to explore more profoundly specific parts in the respondents' biography that I found especially remarkable.

I conducted twenty-three life history interviews in private, in Portuguese, taking notes during the conversations. I decided against using the Emakhuwa interpreters during this kind of interviews; according to Ellen (1984:186) working with interpreters could be as difficult and risking "cultural misleading". Conducting interviews in Portuguese presented some problems. Some of my respondents struggled with expressing themselves and with finding the right words. Still, I considered using Portuguese to be more beneficial in case the uninterrupted, free form of narrative would sometimes turn into descriptions of a particular incident

from the past (like the civil war experiences), which was deeply personal and traumatic for the respondent.

Key informant interviews

Investigating social phenomena in different contexts helps the robustness of the study. The informant interview provided a contrast between the viewpoints of people of power and the persons of marginal status (Lindof and Taylor, 2002).

This kind of interviews were conducted with people whose knowledge was valuable for answering research questions – local authorities (Frelimo); religious leaders; IDPPE workers; state school teachers and directors; District Education Departments – as the reliable sources of the local institutional memory. They played very different (sometimes opposite) roles on the scene of the research and are usually well respected by their peers and were 'key persons' in the social networks.

I identified sixteen key informants and approached them in their offices or made appointments by telephone. All the key informants asked to see my credentials which some proceeded to stamp and sign. All agreed to be interviewed; however in some cases I noticed clearly their lack of willingness to give elaborate answers. The interviews were semi-structured and I had prepared a detailed interview guide of the possible topics to discuss. The topics covered depended on the institution the key informant was linked to. In education, the topics ranged from their general view of the role of schooling in the country, bilingual education policies, and local curriculum to the local problems of dropping out of school and premature

marriages. The representatives of the Muslim and the traditional leaders were asked about the local social and religious structures and history and the development of Muslim education. The staff of the Fishing Institutes covered a variety of topics concerning the artisanal fishers (the organization's role and objectives, the socio-economic situation of fishers, their infrastructure, landing sites and ways of commercialization of the catch).

Informal, spontaneous conversations

> This afternoon I had an unexpected visit from the Lunga Secondary. The school finally opened last month and the director was transferred from Mossuril. Today, all stressed and nervous, he asked me for a cigarette. He expects a VIP visit tomorrow. I have already heard through the infallible Lunga grapevine that several ministers will be paying a flying visit. They will have to travel via Monapo to avoid river crossing. The perspective of the VIP visit made everyone talking: last night I heard from one of the teachers: "It looks like they liked the results of the last elections. Frelimo finally won. Now there will be some changes around here". (…) The anxiety makes everyone talk, but I am worried about how much of it I can actually use in my research. I am aware that they all know why I am here and what I am doing. Besides, when I hear something really interesting, I always ask if I could write it down. Obviously this stuff must be completely anonymous. (…) I am so glad on the other hand that they finally started opening up. (*Field notes, 16/02/2011*)

Informal conversations about local life, cultural practices and politics were without doubt one of the most frequently used methods. People's stories, accounts and explanations of viewpoints were crucial to understanding native conceptualizations of communication and power relations. They also verified and validated data acquired from other sources.

Spending time in Lunga enabled me to have numerous informal conversations with the residents. I also spent most of my social time with them, walking to the fish market, buying charcoal, or watching a movie in a local generator-powered DVD cinema. With some we became friends and shared some things from our personal lives. I felt uncomfortable using some of the information from these conversations. I always asked for permissions and made sure that any sensitive information was properly anonymised.

Review of current and historical documents

The historical perspective is crucial in this research in order to follow the historical past of a society and its contribution to the present. I identified existing research papers on northern Mozambican coastal communities in Portuguese in Maputo. Through the contacts with a recently founded research centre, *Centro de Estudos Sociais Aquino Bragança* and the *Centro de Estudos Africanos*, I was kindly granted access to their historical archives and library. The official Portuguese administrative reports from the 1930s and 1960s are a part of the Mozambique Historical Archives (AHM, *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*), and were stored at the collection of the Indigenous Affairs and Administration Inspections (ISANI, *Fundo de Inspecção de Administração e Negócios Indígenas*), and the collection of the Special Section (S.E., *Secção Especial*).

The Special Section collection holds the secret reports by the Portuguese state police (PIDE), which included reports by their officers at the time of the independence war (1964- 1974), in particular by Melo Branquinho (see fig.2.7).

Fig. 2.7: A page of the secret report of Melo Branquinho from 1969, *Relatório da Prospecção ao Distrito de Moçambique (Um estudo das estruturas das hierarquias tradicionais e religiosas, e da situação político-social),* **[A study of hierarchical traditional and religious structures and the socio-political situation in the District of Mozambique], held at Mozambique Historical Archives, CEA, Maputo.**
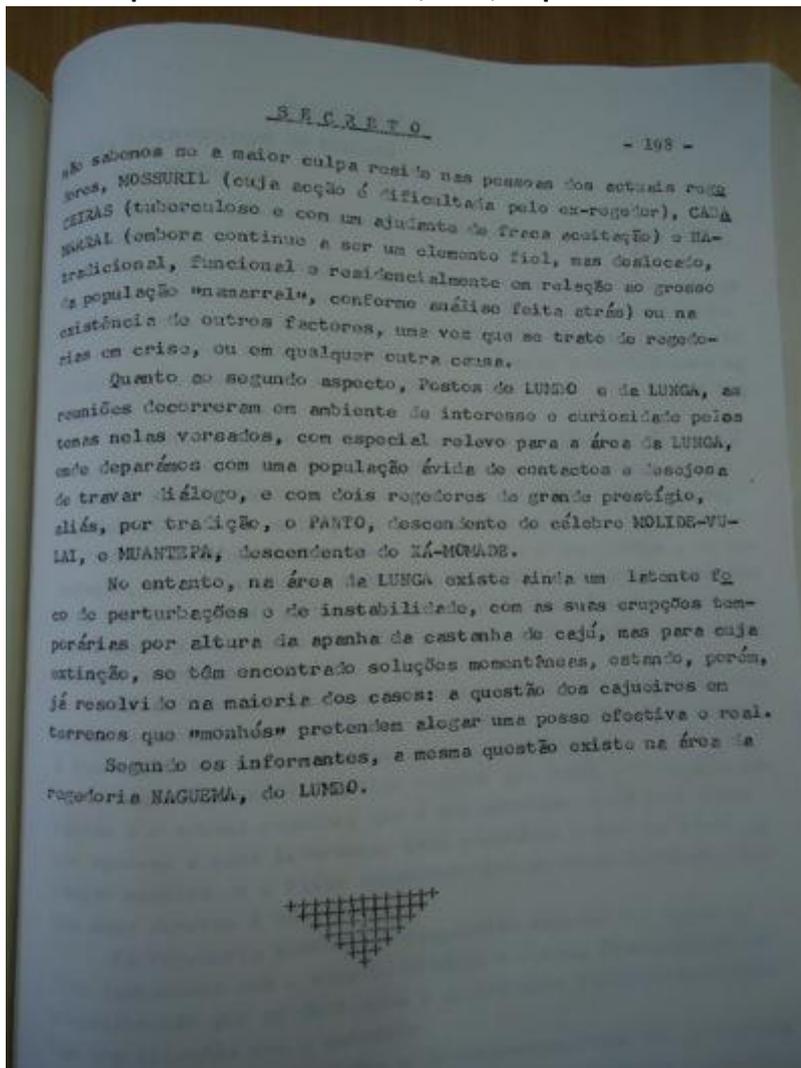
In addition I also asked the key informants at the end of the interviews whether they could provide me with any relevant documents[18], which were of extreme value as the access to such data is not always open in Mozambique.

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[18] The complete list of obtained documents from the fieldwork is in Appendix 3.

2.3 Reflections on access and the challenges of fieldwork in Lunga

It was not easy to reach Lunga by a motorbike. The unpaved winding road leads for about 40 km through a dense bush, lush in greenery, with few cashew trees and very sparsely distributed *bairros*, which mostly are located on the other side of the Monapo River. The river crossing seems to be a serious obstacle: presently we could traverse it on the motorbike, but with the approaching rainy season Lunga will be cut off for months from the rest of the District. I was told that when the river overflows, there are two boats carrying travellers to the other side.

The main *bairro* in Lunga seems to be Motomonho, about 9 km from the beach, boasting a primary school, a Sunday market and a small bar run by a woman named S. Her 21-year-old son helps his mother in running the bar during the school holidays. The family speaks very good Portuguese and the son's English is quite advanced (he is a student of the Secondary School at Ilha de Moçambique – 11th grade). The business is clearly run by the mother, in an efficient, quick manner. The main problem of Lunga seems to be lack of drinking water and electricity. The cell phone network coverage is also quite unreliable.

There is an important road junction in Motomonho, connecting it with the neighbouring district of Mogincual, which serves as a link to Nampula during the rainy season when the Monapo River cannot be traversed.

The relatively short distance between Motomonho and the beach people travel mainly by foot, on motorbikes or bicycles. Lunga Sede Primary School is situated on the fork of the road, the *Posto Administrativo* to the west and the settlement of Muanagome to the east.

The *Posto Administrativo* is surprisingly by far the most remote and desolate place in Lunga. A reasonably well-maintained unpaved road running along the coast for some 5 km is virtually empty of houses or commercial establishments. Lunga itself consists of the post-colonial buildings of *Posto Administrativo*, *posto de saude* (a health centre) and a few

boarded up buildings, seemingly abandoned. The ruins of *Escola Capela* da Lunga, established in the 1950s by the Portuguese, stand empty and windowless facing the Indian Ocean. Clearly there were very few changes since the colonial times; the wide dual carriage avenue remains unpaved and filled with fallen leaves, although painted bright white curbs remain intact; an unreal impression in a landscape stripped of nearly any human activity at sight. A small, non-descript monument in a middle of an empty, spacious *praça*, gives a feeling of having been repainted with "Samora" being the only word that I was able to decipher.

Except few fishermen on boats, visible in the distance from the coast, the only people in Lunga I met that day was the *Chefe de Secretaria* [chief clerk], Mr Haazimo, and his assistant, lounging in the shade of the veranda of the Posto's spacious building, painted white with orange window-frames. Mr Haazimo never took off his green cap with red logo of Frelimo upon it. Having exchanged greetings, we entered the building in a slow pace, Mr Haazimo sitting behind a desk and in a somewhat suspicious manner asking me to state my business, and demanding to produce my credentials. He then proceeded to copy laboriously the text of the credential by hand, and asked me to explain what exactly my work would concern. He let out an unpleasant, vaguely condescending snort when I mentioned the Islamic education in the madrassas. "Muslims, huh?" he asked with a small smile. He then announced that the *Chefe de Posto* is not present at the moment, having travelled to Mossuril on vacation. He would be back on Dec 22; however, if I could 'arrange' some money to cover for the cell phone cost, he would inform him about my visit. The radio was the only other alternative of communication with the world, however it did not function at the moment. There was also a possibility for me to rent a room in one of the few buildings. I 'arranged' 50 meticais for the call, which Mr Haazimo pocketed and walked outside to make a phone call; returning, he announced that the network is not good enough for the call to go through. But I could come back on Monday (Dec 13) and the *Chefe* would be here, as he often travels back to Lunga.

I thanked Mr Haazimo for his time, and promised to make another trip to Lunga next week. The suggestion of renting a room next to the deserted *Posto* did not seem like a good idea at all. What was the reason of the whole community backing off such a distance from the *Posto Administrativo*? It seemed as if they did not want to live near them! I have never

seen such a bizarre constellation of location anywhere else. My guide, Mr. A., vaguely

explained that the *Posto* was taken over directly from the Portuguese; people did not like

the place due to its location; there was no font of water in the neighbourhood; the land was

also not too good for agriculture. *(Fieldnotes, Lunga, 9/12/2010)*

I negotiated my access into the community from three levels – through the local

authorities (administration and education departments), through the religious

leaders *(xehes* – sheikhs, and *mwalimos* – the madrassa teachers) and through

the contacts with artisanal fishers.

It took me a considerable amount of time to establish contacts through the

education departments and local authorities. Having obtained the written

credentials at the Ministry of Education in Maputo, I presented it for verification in

the Provincial Department in Nampula and again in the District of Mossuril. The

credentials were then treated as an official document at the *Posto Administrativo*

de Lunga[19].

During my first visit in the *Posto Administrativo* I noticed a rather remarkable

setting. There was a total separation of the government officials from the local

community. The closest *bairro*, Magomano, was situated about five kilometres

away, and Motomonho even further. Lunga looked like post-colonial relic, distant

and seemingly obsolete. During my second visit in Lunga (on 13 December), I took

part in a warm impromptu meeting with the representatives of local and traditional

authorities. After the introductions I was 'officially welcomed' as a part of 'a family'.

Subsequently, I had an opportunity to observe how political rivalry and envy,

typical for a small, economically isolated community, win over manifestation of

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[19] See Appendix 4.

mutual help and conviviality. I had planned to rent a room adjacent to a commercial establishment of Mr T. in the *bairro* of Motomonho, who apparently turned out to be not a popular persona among the present authorities. At the meeting, I was immediately and empathically advised not to live close to Mr T.; from the vagueness of explanations offered I understood that quite possibly a political opposition or animosity towards Frelimo might as well be the issue. I enquired if there were any other accommodation options available for me in Motomonho; since there none were forthcoming I stayed in the household of Mr T. Although I had experienced the political polarization of the society in Mozambique from my previous work and realized the necessity of diplomacy and tact, the immediate encounter with the two sides of political stands was astounding. I realized that I would have to demonstrate a high level of sensitivity and constantly evaluate any impact of my research on the field during the whole process.

Figure 2.8: Introductory meeting with Administration and representatives of traditional authorities in Lunga, 13 December 2010.

Establishing contacts with the local *sheikhs* and *mwalimos* proved to be the easiest. Prior to fieldwork, I have participated in two semesters of the Arabic language course at the University of East Anglia. The knowledge of the alphabet and basic vocabulary facilitated greatly my contacts with the members of the local mosques and madrassas. From the interviews carried out in November 2010 at the Africa Muslims Agency in Nacala Porto, I found that AMA does not provide books, didactic help or subsidies to the madrassa teachers in southern portion of Mossuril District. The contact with a *sheikh* at Ilha de Moçambique introduced me to the local Sufi orders and their history, madrassas and local religious leaders of Lunga (analysed in depth in Chapter Three).

The fishermen turned out to be the most problematic group to approach. My efforts to contact them on the landing sites in Muanagome and Lunga were often frustrating and fruitless. The fishers often displayed an aggressive macho identity typical to certain livelihood contexts (see Chapter Five); eventually I approached most of them through the madrassa.

Lunga is a small and remote place, however it presented puzzling and challenging questions right at my first visit. The specific setting of the local authorities in the *Posto Administrativo* and the way people reacted to each other immediately intrigued me. Lunga seemed to be an excellent location for the ethnographic research.

The barriers during the fieldwork

The challenges of being accepted as a researcher by the Lungan people included difficulties in gaining trust and learning the local language. It had repercussions for the data collection. Local knowledge is rich and complex and is organized and practiced at various scales, depending on persons gender, age, and household and community role.

The barriers during the fieldwork were linked to class and gender of the respondents. Women in the Makua societies play very distinctive roles however it was very difficult for me to reach them. The language issue and mobility of women restrict them; they were often shy and would recommend me speaking to the men. In a predominantly Muslim context it would also be insensitive to the customes and mores of local society to interview women.

The other difficult aspect was engaging with the least wealthy and those of a lower social status. I made an effort to create relationship of trust with the respondents conducting the interviews in form of converstaions, so that the communication became more like a dialogue than an inquiry. People who were relatively well positioned either materially or socially were often the first initiating contact with me.

Positionality

> I am so worried about this research. Not sure if I'm going to reach what I planned. I think it should start to shape up by now, but I feel exhausted. People are everywhere. I can't get used to the living conditions, the food, nauseating drinking water bitter with salt and the bare room converted from a cassava storage with *esteira* for my bed and a perspective of living here for the next 8 months. This is just too heavy. It's the persistent presence of

people – complaining, yelling, children's squealing and bickering – never-ending unstoppable flood of noise and interruptions. It seems the concept of privacy is completely foreign to everybody. Life is seeping from everywhere. I can't hide in Lunga. It is unbearably hot and oppressive and infested by insects. Either I adjust somehow or I go crazy. I will have to find another, more accommodating research location. *(Fieldnotes, Lunga, 7/01/2011.)*

Starting the fieldwork, I was aware that it might take a long time for the people to treat my presence in more or less natural way (Eriksen, 1995: 24). At the same time I did not fully realise how demanding it would turn out to be. The first months in Motomonho were extremely difficult to me for a number of reasons, ranging from entirely different living standards and a complete lack of privacy to professional frustration of being often unable to communicate clearly with the residents. The adaptation to the local society was a tremendously difficult process. I left the field after three first days to the city of Ilha de Moçambique, feeling exhausted after continuous strain on my interpersonal skills. During this short time I felt that I was losing the balance of keeping a professional distance between my hosts and me. I seriously considered relocating to another place, but concluded that Lunga was potentially too interesting a setting to abandon. I returned to Motomonho.

To provide a qualitative, ethnographic account of the cultural 'web of meanings' shaping the fishing community and the lives of its members, required openness, developing a relationship of trust and emotional engagement between the researcher and the subjects (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Yet, as Cormode and Hughes (1999, p.299) remarked,

> researching the powerful presents very different methodological and ethical challenges from studying 'down'. The characteristics of those studied, the power relations between them and the researchers and the politics of the research process differ considerably between elite and non-elite research.

This issue was relevant for my research in the context of dealing with local authorities, school directors and community and religious leaders. I was also aware that elites are atypical persons in the community and cannot be wholly representative of the community. In Motomonho I was immediately attracted to the group of teachers of the local school – similarly to me, "outsiders" from the coastal community. To pay more attention to non-elite respondents, I chose to spend more time in Muanangome aiming for immersion within the local culture.

There are currently many debates regarding on the ways of how the researcher can access privileged viewpoints. Visser (2003) considers advantages and disadvantages of 'insiders' (researchers who study a group to whom they belong) depending on their research being based where they are able to use their inner knowledge and be perceived as neutral. On the other hand, 'outsiders' that do not belong to a group may have a greater degree of objectivity and ability to observe behaviours without distorting their meanings.

I found myself 'an outsider' which undoubtedly frustrated my access to certain types of information and informants. However, having lived within a fishing community in northern Mozambique between 2001-2006 and being a Portuguese speaker facilitated my contact with the people studied. According to Henry et.al. (2009) researcher "may position himself /herself (or be positioned by researchees) as an insider or outsider in a particular research community" (pp.468).

With time, I found it fairly easier to get in contact with people on the coast. I suppose my characteristic of being a foreigner and speaking fluent Portuguese brought a double advantage: as a foreigner, I am considered an outsider and therefore not directly taking part in often problematic relations between Mozambicans and/or Portuguese; speaking Portuguese and learning Emakhuwa helped immediately in establishing comfortable relations with people. My knowledge of Arabic, although rather limited, facilitated contacts with the Muslim society. Invariably, I was welcomed warmly and found it easy to talk to people. I found it important to emphasize the reasons why I am interested in conducting the interview. I try to point out that I am here because the interviewee represents history; in this way, to some extent I influence them to consider themselves as a source of history of the people, their religion, traditions etc. Often it brought a simple conversation to a completely different level.

After more than three months in Lunga I described an event in my field notes, which I considered a specific kind of breakthrough of achieving the balance between my own cultural background and the way the Lungans considered me:

> I read in the Viegas' brochure that in December 1959 the Catholic Church established a Mission of Santo Antonio da Lisboa in Namacula, some 5km away from Motomonho in one of the colonial efforts to spread the Catholicism and schooling in one. Seemed like an interesting place to visit. On Sun 20 March I walked there with Cohaneque (…) Namacula is a typical small Lungan *bairro*. Houses made of wooden poles and clay, straw roofs, surrounded by a never-ending expanse of bush with the lone winding red dust road. The only brick structures were the shut down and abandoned buildings of the Mission. The church was wide-open, desolate, bare, and full of dust and debris. Here some of the Motomonho and Ampita teachers walked once a month for the Catholic Sunday mass. The

priest travels here monthly from the Monapo diocese. It looks like despite the efforts

Catholicism didn't take roots in Lunga…

The brick residence buildings were locked. Suddenly a guard appeared. He introduced

himself to us in a mix of Emakhuwa and Portuguese:

"Tsinanaka N'tsuruku [my name is N'tsuruku]. Do you know what it means?"

N'tsuruku means "money" in Emakhuwa. I knew that and told him so, and introduced

myself. Mr N'tsuruku seemed surprised.

"Atthokoma? Ha brancos ai? [Is he from Lunga? Are there whites living there?]" – he asked

my companion. (…)

"Aquele e muçulmano? [Is he a Muslim?]" He asked then.

Cohaneque's hesitant reply was:

"Meio-meio [Fifty-fifty]."

(Fieldnotes, Lunga, 23/03/2011)

2.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this research was granted by the University of East Anglia's

International Research Ethics Committee in August 2010. There has been no

formal requirement or procedure in order to obtain a research permit or ethical

clearance to conduct this research in Mozambique. I found it advantageous

however to seek the credentials from the Ministry of Education of Mozambique.

The document, issued 3 November 2010 in Maputo[20], facilitated the contact and

gaining entry to the Provincial and District Departments as well as the local Lunga

schools and Administrative Posts.

I maintained a reflexive stance during the research, recognizing the influence of

my own life experiences on it; therefore, the study was an honest account of what I

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[20] The copy of the document is in Appendix 4.

understood of the participant's views as opposed to the claim of reflecting their exact representation. The research was overt; I strived to maintain openness regarding the purpose and methods to the local authorities and participants. During my second visit in Lunga I participated in an introductory meeting with the local authorities where the nature of this research and possible outcomes were presented in Portuguese and Emakhuwa.

Confidentiality and consent

Participation in this research was voluntary and based on the informed consent obtained from all the participants at the beginning of the interview. The consent forms (both in Portuguese and English translation) are in Appendix 5. The forms explained the aim of the research, the right to the confidentiality and to refuse to answer questions, and to withdraw from the study at any time.

I read the consent forms to those the participants who were illiterate and explained in simple Portuguese the questions that arose. I ensured that they had enough time to think whether or not take part in the research. The consent from the participants was obtained verbally for several reasons. I presumed a great deal of reluctance from the part of the fishers to sign their names on the official documents due to the low level of trust in local authorities (Lala and Ostheimer 2003; Kyed and Buur 2006). Asking signature could be problematic in such a setting. I considered that it could also "challenge the trust relationship that is aimed to be built between the interviewee and the researcher" (Miller and Bell, 2005: 65). In some cultures, signing a document could imply that one's word is not believed.

Finally, I expected that the participants who were illiterate would feel uncomfortable when asked to read and sign the form.

No payment was offered as an incentive for taking part in the study; however, especially in the case of repeat interviews it was appropriate to take a small culturally relevant gift to the participants. In these cases I made sure to explain that this is not payment for their participation but rather a gift, which was fitting in with the cultural traditions of the area. I thought to be especially important when I was being invited into people's homes. In some cases it was also appropriate to buy a respondent some refreshment such as a soda.

The complete anonymity of the research sites is impossible due to a very characteristic location and setting. Disguising the research sites would also clash with the deeper understanding of the historical background ant context (presented in Chapter Four). The participants' names are kept confidential except in cases of their explicit wish to be published. The participant's whose comments are directly quoted in this thesis are given a pseudonyms or a number. The respondents who were the key informants representing the state or the non-governmental organizations were referred to by their titles rather than their names.

According to Vaux et al (2006), a culture of fear and self-censorship effectively prevents critical debate between civil society and state representatives. This issue is very sensitive and requires careful and respectful attitude; also, the appropriate levels of confidentiality to prevent any repercussions from revealing sensitive information was ensured.

Chapter Three

Education and schooling. Conquests and challenges
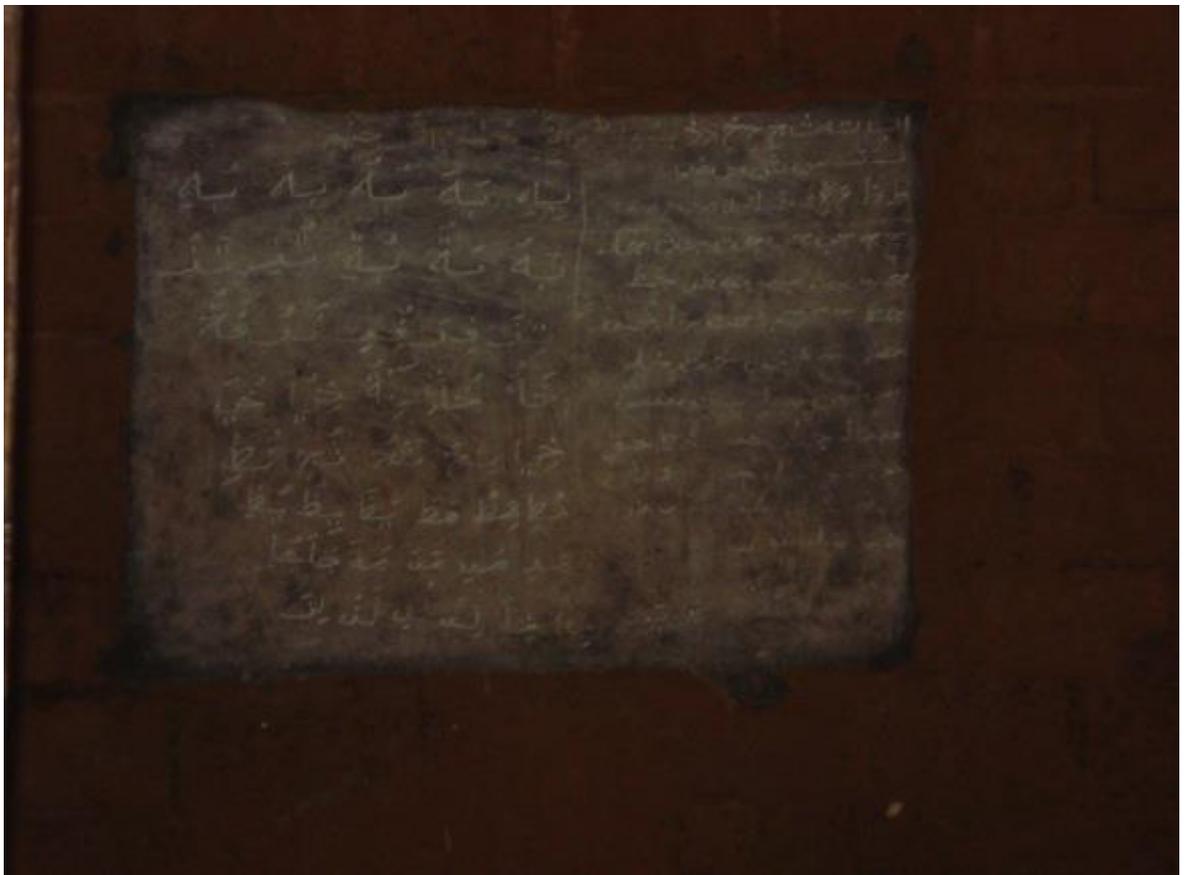
The blackboard with Arabic alphabet after the madrassa lesson in Muanangome (21/02/2011)

Chapter Three: Education and schooling. Conquests and challenges

" Few people speak Portuguese in the coastal zone. They are called to be "illiterate". How come, if they write and read Arabic? There are different kinds of literacies". (Director of the Education Department of Ilha de Moçambique, 2/12/2010)

Learning is a complex process that occurs in various contexts and in different degrees of formality or informality – unintentionally or planned (Engström, 1999). Learning happens to all of us all the time, and yet it can be used to refer to very specific aspects and contexts. Learning is identified to take place within the school. But how do we understand a learning if it is not confined to educational institutions with their rules and structures?

This chapter examines main means of learning in Lunga, their roles and importance. In the first part, the learning domain is rites of passage, learning how to become an adult and an honorable member of the community. The second part of the chapter explores the spread of Islamic education and its role in constructing people's religious identity. The following sections will briefly outline the historical background of the formal education system that is a necessary frame for understanding many specific problems of education in contemporary Mozambique, and give the insight on the linguistic diversity in the country. It considers formal education and its different forms of valorisation in the past and present. Lastly, it briefly examines the present situation of the primary teachers in Lunga and a tense situation between the school and local community.

This chapter's aim is to present Lunga as a setting of various learning domains distributed across the community and embedded in social practices.

3.1 Traditional education: an initiation for life

Oral transmission of local historical memory is an important factor of the construction of a Makua identity. Reinforced by the cult of the spirits of the dead, oral transmission of history is fundamental in the conservation of ideas, traditions and practices (Ngoenha 1993). The Makua people feel profoundly united with nature and its vital forces (Martinez 1989:73, Tempels 1998: 429). *Ekumi* (Emakhuwa: life) is regarded as the axis of the existence and consequently everything that enriches and develops life has a fundamental value. In the Makua culture life is considered especially through its communitarian aspect and improvement through relating to nature, god and other people. This aspect does not deny the individuality of a person. The individual develops and improves through participation in the life of community (Martinez, 1989: 74-75). This tradition is recorded in various Makua proverbs, for example *"Ntata nimosa khinninyawiha"* – "One hand is not able to wash itself"; or *"Wetta mekhawe wisukumanya"* – "To walk alone (in life) is to decay" (idem).

> So, a child or a person Makua, just like any other person when they are born, they are born naked, they start with nothing. They must learn everything and learn to go among whatever surrounds them: their family, their traditions, their community and society. So they dress up their nudity with these elements: knowledge, morals through proverbs and tales, and this way their learn how to think, to feel and behave. (Respondent 28, "Celia", bar owner, 3/05/2011, Motomonho)

One is not created nor lives alone in the world. In the Makua society if one finds oneself separated from the others, one feels disoriented, loses strength and enthusiasm. De facto, one's strength is a community and without community one feels alienated. "To be" for a Makua means fundamentally "to be related with

others". In each individual there is also a unique non-transferable personal centre that can be fulfilled completely by being open to relating and by relating with the others (Covinhavo 2006:61).

The fact that there was no written Makua literature does not mean that that there are no narratives of philosophical reflections. These have been practiced for a long time and range from tales of people's own experiences, their needs and self-preservation to greater questions common for all people. Memory of the elders is a domain in this case, substituting the books. Covinhavo (2006) interpreted and analysed some of the Makua proverbs, tales and stories that make part of moral lessons about good and evil, mutual help, friendship, marriage, diligence and idleness etc. These sets of principles are extracted from the peoples contact with nature and are transmitted to the youth as the guidelines for their adult lives. The local knowledge complements it with names and history of the Makua chiefs; designations of rivers, mountains, animals and medicinal plants; duties to the parents and chiefs; dances and spiritual life.

Wineliwa (the initiation rites) is the crucial landmark of the youth's entrance to the adult world. In Emakhuwa it literally means "to be danced to" (Arnfred 2011) and is considered as one of "the ceremonies that make us human" (Arnfred, ibid). Sexual education is an integral part of the initiation as a natural part of the adult life and a component of the construction of feminine and masculine identities and socially accepted roles of a woman and a man (Matsinhe et al. 2010, Sheldon 2002, Martinez 1989). Sheldon (2002) describes these practices as tutelage conducted by the elders for girls about wifely duties and behaviours, while boys were taught responsibility and courage.

> *Wineliwa* is done when the boy or a girl are ready to have children. The rule is that they
> have to swear to keep secret what they learn during the rites. They must be obedient to the
> *mwenes* and do not question them. There is also a lot of dances and music during the
> ceremonies. (Respondent 28, "Celia", bar owner, 20/05/2011, Lunga)

The initiation rites were perceived and valued in many different manners throughout the decades. The colonial Portuguese, backed up by the Catholic missions, strongly condemned the rituals as "immoral"; during the liberation struggle Frelimo diplomatically refrained from taking a stand on traditional customs in order to win the peasants to their side (Arnfred 2011: 169 - 171). This permissive attitude disappeared quickly after the independence: although not overtly criminalized, "customary belief and practice was seen as obscurantist, oppressive and an obstacle to progress and modernity" for the communities (Arnfred 2011: 170). Only in the light of political changes of the 1990s the rituals became legitimate again to be celebrated openly.

Recently social science researchers from Univerisidade Eduardo Mondlane called for a debate about gender equality and the initiation rites. Conceição Osorio and Teresa Cruz e Silva argue that the initiation rites instruct girls that women's role is passive, with no agency, and a marriage as the only life goal (Cruz e Silva et al 2007; Andrade et al 1998; WLSA, 2012). Osorio and Cruz e Silva (2008) noted that the rites are being increasingly altered with introduction of payments for the *madrinhas* that may vary according to the family's wealth. The ceremonies lose their secret and sacred character and adjust their contents, being realized in a simpler and summarized form. However they maintain and perpetuate the same concept of women's servitude and contribute to gender inequality. UDEBA, the educational NGO based in Nampula, points out that the feminine initiations

accelerate the start of the girls' sexual life: "the girls consider themselves adult and ready to find a partner – their natural protector - and in result abandon the school" (UDEBA, 2005).

> Fourteen girls abandoned the school since January [out of 94 girls enrolled]. They got married. It's a big problem, the premature marriages. They will not come back to school, and they are only twelve years old. (Respondent 37, school director, 21/05/2011, Muanangome)

> B. is now one of a very few girls still going to school with us. Nearly all other girls dropped out because of pregnancies. When they are 13, 14 years old, they feel proud that they "know the man". They don't want to go to school anymore, and they lose respect for the others [fellow-pupils]. (Respondent 31, student, born 1994; 17/05/2011, Motomonho)

The initiation rites vary in length, but they usually require the youth to maintain a certain distance from the usual social life (including the boys "separation rites" during which they spend a few weeks time in the hidden camp in the bush - *orapatani*)(Martinez 1989:100). This caused prolonged absences of children at schools and influenced negatively the dropout rates. In the early 2005 during my work in the education sector in Mozambique I witnessed the State changing the schools' calendar introducing "interruption periods" to accommodate the rituals. Osorio e Cruz e Silva (2008) note, that beside this school does not seek to interfere in any way in the contents of the rites.

There are however some contradicting opinions on initiation rites, especially concerning the Makua girls. Arnfred (2011) points out that the rites' main purpose is to teach youth the distinction between gendered worlds. She does not see it as a disempowering factor for women in the matrilineal society; she points out that

there are domains of female power: food and sexuality. I find Arnfred's notion interesting, as I did not see the idea of men dominating women particularly fitting in my observations.

I agree with George Ndege (2007) that the ceremonies of initiation constitute a significant learning process, still important today. The rites' aim is to help the youth understand the local history pertaining to their cultural group. The rites also play a vital role in establishing cultural collective indentity of a person. It is a valuable process of learning the meanings and significance of social norms, gender, sexual identity and individual responsibility. The initiation rites are very relevant in terms of instructing the youth into the community's tradition and customs.

3.2 Islamic education – madrassas

Islam is a dominant religion in Mossuril District, with 85,5% of people being Muslim (MAE, 2005). Historical data about Islam in Mozambique during the pre-Portuguese times are very limited. There is archeological evidence suggesting that

> since at least, the eighth century, the coastal northern Mozambique was part of the Swahili world, and thus probably shared Islamic religious conceptions and practices with their Swahili neighbours (Bonate 2010:574).

Islam spread throughout the northern Mozambique through the Muslim chiefs from Zanzibar and through the commercial contacts with Arabs (Martinez, 1989:34). Upon his landing on Ilha de Moçambique in 1498, Vasco da Gama reported that the Island was ruled by a sheikh subject to the sultan of Quiloa (Zanzibar). Ilha de Moçambique was an important commercial centre of the

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western Indian Ocean until the end of 18th century; trade contacts with Mombassa, Zanzibar, Ibo and Quelimane, extending to Comoros Islands and northern Madagascar, were an integral activity of its inhabitants (da Conceição, 2006:38; Bonate, 2010:575). Despite a scarcity of research prior to 19th century, this proximity supports the thesis of shared Islamic traditions between northern Mozambique and Islamic world.

The brief history of Lunga regulados (traditional chiefdoms) from the interview with the local chief Alfane Tauria, regulo Movere, confirms the Arabic influences and associations of traditional rulers with Islamized islands on the Indian Ocean. Some time in the late 19-century, the Portuguese established themselves in Muacone, on the northern shore of the Mocambo Bay and constructed there a military outpost (*capitania-mor*). It was not easy to conquer the Lunga area, ruled by traditional chiefs and shaykhs:

> Most of the African Muslim rulers of northern Mozambique had traditionally held the title of the Shehe, except for Angoche and Tungui that had Sultans. The Portuguese usually called the regions ruled by a shehe as xeicado (Port. sheikhdom) (Bonate 2008: 125).

> One of them, Xa[21]-Moldi Natecume, of Malagasy origin, Arabic-educated sheikh of Quivulane (regulado Panto), visited frequently Muacone crossing the Mocambo Bay by boat. Portuguese had allied with Natecume, who deceitfully convinced the regulo Movere to accept the entrance of the colonists to Lunga, and in reward became a supreme chief of all the others (Regulo A. Tauria, 9/05/2011, Lagoa).

Historically, Lunga had always had a strong connection with the Muslim centre of Ilha de Moçambique. From the interview with the Ilha de Moçambique's sheikh

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[21] The term "Xa" is an expression of respect identical to another Makua term, "Muno".

Hafiz Jamu I learned that a famous sheikh Abahasan was born in Lunga in the late 19-century. Sheikh Abahasan, known as "a bishop (sic) of all the Muslims" visited periodically all the mosques in the District of Mozambique (now Nampula Province) as well as traveled frequently on *hajji* to Mecca:

> Abahasan – the great shaykh of Ilha – arrived from Lunga in 1898. The Sufi education established madrassas. People had the Makua identities before the arrival of Arabs. The Sufi influence integrated Islam and the Makua culture. The Emakhuwa language never had a written alphabet. It was written in Arabic alphabet. It was a great honour to send the sons to study Islam in Zanzibar and Hadramawt [Yemen]. (Shaykh H. Jamu, 14/02/2011)

The Sufi influence since the end of 19th century further integrated Islam with the Makua culture. According to Liazzat Bonate, the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane researcher, the nineteenth century correspondence in Arabic script between local African rulers and the Portuguese military commanders in the regions of the contemporary coastal Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces "illustrate legal, religious, cultural and economic aspects of the local societies of the time, as well as show the interconnectedness of the coastal Mozambique to the world of the Swahili in East Africa and other centres of Islam along Indian Ocean shores" (Bonate, 2008:121).

In the interior however, Arabic script and language is not at all popular. The probable reason for such reluctance could be Portuguese mission schools influence.

> It is considered a *feitiço* (witchcraft). People from the interior look upon the Qur'an, or any Arabic texts, as if they saw a seven-headed beast. (Respondent 7, vice-director of Africa Muslims Agency, 22/11/2010, Nacala)

Islam expanded in the north of Mozambique in the early 20th century mainly through the Sufi orders (*turuq,* sing. *tariqa*). *The turuq* were founded with the initiative of Muslim leaders from Comoros and Zanzibar, creating strong links with these countries. "The Shadhiliyya established a foothold at Mozambique Island in 1896 (…)The Qadiriyya founded a branch there, as well, in 1904 "(Alpers, 1999:166). The *turuq* maintained their headquarters at Ilha de Moçambique, establishing their branches along the coast and into the interior of the colonial state. By the 1930's, most of the northern Mozambicans were Muslim, with few Catholic converts. The colonial Portuguese records also confirm Lunga being an important Muslim stronghold:

> The Inspector for Indigenous Affairs, Captain Armando Eduardo Pinto Correia, who assessed the region in 1936-37, noted that Rodrigues Lapa, the colonial Administrator of the Lunga, felt "asphyxiated" and overwhelmed "amidst so many mosques and Arabicized [Muslim] chiefs whose acts of solidarity of faith represented an impermeable mystery." Lapa mentioned to Pinto Correia the annual congregation of Muslims reaching 100 people at one time in Lunga, coming from Mozambique Island, Mogincual, Nacala and other regions (Pinto Correia, w/d, in Bonate, 2007:97).

Although slightly hysterical in tone, characteristic for the Portuguese colonial administration, the reports of Pinto Correia suggest that growing Muslim influence in the north and their links with other Islamic countries was a concern for Portugal in late 1930s and 40's. Pinto Correia lamented in 1938 that

> "[*Qur'anic*] schools and mosques flourish on all sides, signifying a religious organization which among Muslims is synonymous with a political organization which is moved and oriented by foreigners originating from Tanganyika, Nyasaland and even Kenya, and the activity of which is building freely among the masses of natives over whom the surveillance

of the administrative authorities is entirely absent" (Pinto Correia, 1938, in Alpers, 1999:168).

He also expressed his indignation on the fact that the Mohamedia Madressa School established on Ilha de Moçambique in 1923 bore its names in Arabic and English, but with omission of Portuguese (ibid; see fig. 5.1) – which is an example documenting how distant was the Islamic education from the Portuguese policies.

Figure 3.1 The Mohamedia Madressa School, est. 1923 in Ilha de Moçambique (12/06/2011)

The Portuguese learned very little about the Islam in Mozambique. "Until the late 1960s, the Portuguese were also unable to perceive the existence of the Shadhuliyya and the Qadiriyya Sufi Orders" (Bonate, 2007:31), and considered Mozambican Islam as not 'true' Islam, but "a 'syncretistic' one, "mixed with gross superstitions," such as fetishism, magic and other 'African' practices" (idem, 2007:9). Convinced that Islão Negro was a superficial belief, the colonial administration assumed that the expansion of the Catholic Mission schools would provide a natural solution to the growth of Islam in Mozambique, at the same time providing educational opportunities for the 'natives' who "wanted to learn" but often had no other alternatives available than the *Qur'anic* schools. This policy turned out to be quite unsuccessful: Muslim parents from the coast were averse to

sending children to schools, fearing that they would be forcibly baptized and learn principles of Catholic faith; sometimes children were also given Portuguese names by the priests (as mentioned in interviews with respondent 8, respondent 10 and respondent 13).

Liazzat Bonate confirms that the *turuq* were responsible for the expansion of Islam and the increase of the *Qur'anic* schools, attached to a mosque, with a principal goal to teach reading and recitation of Qur'an, often without understanding the language and the meaning of the verses. The contents were explained by the madrassa teacher, the *mwalimu*, in Emakhuwa. Some *mwalimu* teach Arabic alphabet and language as well as *Tarbiya Islamiya* (Islamic moral education, including rules and traditions in everyday life, hygiene and hospitality)[22]. The *Qur'anic* school "offered also an esoteric knowledge, by which Sufi Orders are characterized, and which included specific *dw'as* (Ar., prayers) for different occasions (especially for funeral rites, for healing and other treatments called "*calmas*" aimed at calming the spirits), recitation of *mawlid*, including a specific set of the devotional poetry, and others" (Bonate, 2007:157).

The decline of madrassas in Lunga

There is no madrassa school functioning presently in the townships of Motomonho, Lagoa, Magomano and Lunga, despite the overwhelming majority of population being Muslim. The only madrassa I found in the Lunga region was in the distant fishing village of Muanangome, led by a charismatic sheikh among a small but vibrant fishing and trading community. It was quite a surprising finding to me, as in other locations in the region (Ilha de Moçambique, Vila de Mossuril,

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[22] Interview with the teacher of Africa Muslims Agency Secondary School, 22/11/2010, Nacala.

Matibane, Nacala) there are numerous *Qur'anic* schools, attached to local mosques, and are attended by the majority of children aged between 7 to 14. As the madrassas are religious and educational institutions playing an important role in identity forming, it seemed vital to understand the reasons and process of their disappearance from the Lunga communities.

The reasons of the decline of the coastal communities and *Qur'anic* schools are difficult to mark. Rafael da Conceição (2006) describes broadly a gradual exclusion of Islamized elites from political and economic power in the early 20th century: mainly due to the consolidation of colonial power, the dawn of the new elites and new urban centres in the South (Lourenço Marques substituted Ilha de Moçambique as a colonial capital in 1898 while since 1950s the modern harbour in Nacala took over the shipping business.)

Sheikh Hafiz Jamu pointed out that after 1945 the Ilha's sheiks, in pursuit of more autonomy, severed their contacts with Zanzibar. The Shadhiliyya *tariqa* had already two dissident branches since 1936; in 1963 internal disputes inside the Qadiriyya resulted in breaking out of four other branches. Once proud of sending their sons to study in Hadramawt, Yemen and Zanzibar, the Sufis began to lose credibility and gradually ceased their charity; madrassas education began to wane. In 1966 Portugal commissioned the first study of Islamic communities in the Mozambique District. Melo Branquinho's extensive report on all eight *turuq* of Ilha de Mocambique was completed in 1969 and concluded that

> « the weakness of Islam in Mozambique District resides in the lack of homogeneity and in
> its internal divisions, and the fragility of its organization », observing further that Islam there
> « is, therefore, more a current than a force » (Melo Branquinho, 1969 in Alpers, 1999:177).

"After 1975, the State took over" – observed cautiously Sheikh Hafiz. It certainly did: adopting Marxist ideology, Frelimo "sought to eliminate a wide variety of social practices and beliefs, deemed 'obscurantist,' 'backward' and thus contrary to the modernist 'revolutionary norms'", including religion (Bonate, 2010: 586). Madrassas were banned and functioned clandestinely.

The Motomonho township is an example of waning and decline of the *Qur'anic* schools and the religious leadership. From the collective interview with Sheikh Xabuto and *cabos*[23] in Motomonho, I found that there are presently six mosques functioning in Posto Administrativo de Lunga[24]. All are of the mud-and wattle construction, some in a dire need of rehabilitation. There are 120 Muslims frequenting the Motomonho mosque, especially for the juma prayers on Fridays. The Sheikh Xabuto complained of the growing weakness in Islamic leadership, lack of economic support and physical isolation of Lunga. Concerning the *Qur'anic* schools – which they all attended in their childhood – the Sheikh stated:

> Nobody does this anymore in Lunga. Children come and pray because their parents do it, too. Now this is families' responsibility to teach children how to pray. The sheiks have abandoned the *Qur'anic* education. There may be some interest from the people's side, but we are poor. We receive no help (10/02/2011).

I found the sheikh's and *cabo*s' attitude bitter, demanding and somewhat incompetent. They admitted that they never sought actively any support from Africa Muslims Agency representatives in Mossuril or Nacala, sponsoring

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[23] Cabo (Port.) – traditional chief of the group of population (cabado), acting as an auxiliary and ranking below a regulo.
[24] Mosques are located in settlements of Motomonho, Lagoa, Ampita, Muanangome and Holoca. From the collective interview with the Motomonho mosque members, 10/02/2010.

mosques and madrassas across Nampula Province. Nor they had an initiative to contact the *turuq* at Ilha de Mocambique.

In the neighbouring township of Ampita, the madrassa has been functioning on and off in a private house. However when I asked if I could assist a lesson, I was told that since the school year started, children do not come for *Qur'anic* lessons anymore.

Muanangome is a far-flung township on the southern coast of Mocambo Bay. The village environment however presents a dramatic contrast to other Lunga townships: the houses are painted in bright colours; some are given smart names in Emakhuwa, like *Casa Virane Mone* – "House Come Over and Take a Look". The centre of the village is lined with barracas with small commercial establishments, motorbike workshops, etc. There is a small lively market, habitually functioning in the period of early afternoon until dusk. The Muanangome mosque, a simple but spacious mud and wattle construction, is placed centrally in the township; to call for a prayer, the sheikh stood outside and sang in Arabic. The effect was immediate: the bars, barracas and workshops shut down; the man repairing a puncture in my motorbike walked away from it without a word of explanation. Some of the shopkeepers squatted outside their barracas to perform the ritual ablution before prayer and put on the *kofios* and *jellabas* over their clothes. In few minutes most of the people were at the mosque.

The sheikh greeted me in perfect Arabic and welcomed me to the madrassa adjacent to the main mosque. He has run the school for five years now with help of two mwalimus for 120 students of various ages, divided in three shifts to accommodate their official schooling and working schedules. The lessons focus on

memorizing the Arabic alphabet, reading, pronunciation and songs, depending on the level of the students.

Before the lesson, the students gathered in front of the mosque with the sheikh, sitting on the *matthatto*[25] in a shade of a tree and rehearsing the previous lesson. There were about 30 students in total, their age ranging from children about 4 to adults, including women with babies strapped on their back. The Sheikh distributed the Arabic handbooks and exercise books issued by the Johannesburg Islamic Society. A group of children sat next to the adults, repeating (memorizing) the Arabic alphabet. The lesson started after the prayers.

The Arabic alphabet was repeated twice by the *mwalimu*. Children appointed by him or voluntarily approached the blackboard and recited the letters. The occasional mistakes were corrected. Children sat together regardless of their gender. Older girls heads were covered with scarves. Women sat behind the children, while men sat under the opposite wall. Nobody took notes; there were no notebooks or pens; everything was being memorized. The students' levels vary from the very beginners to the quite advanced Arabic readers. When *mwalimu* was occupied with the older students, correcting their pronunciation, one of the girls took charge of the youngsters and corrected their reciting the alphabet by the blackboard.

The case of Muanangome may be the sign of the Sufi Orders' revival. In the early eighties, Frelimo reconsidered its position towards Islam and created a national Muslim organization, *Conselho Islâmico de Moçambique* (Islamic Council of Mozambique) in Maputo. However, this caused a further disillusionment of the

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[25] Matthatto (Emakhuwa); or esteira (Port.): a mat produced locally of the leaves of palm trees.

northern Mozambican Muslims, "who were not consulted on the creation of the Council, let alone invited to take part in it, its creation signalled a definitive victory of the southern Afro-Indian Wahhabis in their long-term historic struggle over Islamic authority against the northern tariqa-based Muslim leadership" (Bonate, 2007: 57). In 1983 *Congresso Islâmico de Moçambique* (Islamic Congress of Mozambique) was founded, to which most of the pre-colonial associations and confraternities, including Sufi Orders, became affiliated. The liberalization and legal reforms of the 1990's reinstated "traditional authorities" which began to slowly recover the northern Muslims authority and power.

Figure 3.2 Sheikh in front of the Muanangome mosque, 26/02/2011.

The Islamic education in Mozambique underwent profound changes across the last century:

> The mualimu were efficient teachers of Islam as literacy in Arabic script spread from coast into the mainland, and Muslims, including women and all the major chiefs of the interior were corresponding in Swahili or in local languages using Arabic script by the end of the nineteenth century (Bonate, 2006: 54).

The education in once numerous madrassas concentrated mainly on memorizing the *Qur'an* and learning the Arabic alphabet, losing gradually their esoteric aspects. The liberalization of the country in 1990s marked a beginning of another shift in Islamic education, this time aimed at "providing Muslims with opportunities to take part in a modern westernized society while still maintaining their religious identity" (Bonate, 2006: 56). The Africa Muslim Agency Secondary School in Nacala is an example of a boarding educational Muslim institution, with the curriculum including 'secular' subjects taught in Portuguese and recognized by the Ministry of Education.

Mozambican Muslim communities clearly adopted more westernized and secular outlook. The ancient forms of esoteric concepts as well as traditional madrassas seem to have been eroded to a certain degree. The new Wahhabi fundamentalists attempt to produce an alternative to this situation. According to Sheikh Hafiz Jamu, the conflict between two groups persists:

> The Wahhabis enjoy bigger status, being sponsored and supported by the Muslim puritans from Sudan and Saudi Arabia. We are aware of the risks it may bring: there are young people, receiving Saudi scholarships, who have already become the militant followers of 'pure' religion. What saves the situation here in the north is the Makua culture. There is no possibility of any positive feedback to the fundamentalism. For example, the Makuas are matrilineal and the fundamentalist Muslims would never accept that. We started a foundation to support the local confraternities. Our goal is to bring the madrassas back to the community (14/02/2011, Ilha de Moçambique).

Even though the Sufi paradigm is still present in the north of Mozambique and there is a resistance to Wahhabism, it seems that secularization of the Islamic education has adapted their most important institutions (Africa Muslims Agency School in Nacala or Universidade Mussa Bin Bique in Nampula) into a state-recognized educational structures.

3.3 Educate to assimilate – colonial era

The contact between the Africans and the Portuguese settlers during the colonial times represented a confrontation between a diversity of people with adequate education preparing them for life and the European interests. The traditions, values and culture were rooted and shaping everyday life of the African communities. They negotiated and adapted their lives with the contact with the Asians, Muslims and finally Europeans. This reality was confronted with colonial claims of Portugal seeking administrative, economical and psychological occupation. Other European nations' interests in Africa, the centuries of Islamic presence on the coast, and fluctuating politics of the African chiefs aggravated the weakness of the colonial regime.

The domination and reproduction of the *indigena* labour power became a pressing matter after the hesitant and slow end of slavery. Invention and implementation of a new education system adapting the Africans to the other forms of production for the global market became necessary. Louis Althusser describes how reproduction of people's skills, knowledge and techniques necessary for labour requires as well "people's submission to the rules of established order – a ruling ideology" and

"ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression" (Althusser 1984:6-7). In this case, education provided by schools or other institution like the church at the same time subjected the students to the colonial doctrine.

In the context of colonial Mozambique, labour was a fundamental value of *Indigenato*'s industrial capitalism and vital for the colonial economy. It was complemented by basic education of a certain amount of "know how", wrapped in the ideology of *assimilação,* the purpose of the Portuguese "civilizing mission".

Assimilação was a process similar to a rite of passage that guided an *indigena* to the educational goal and a transmission of ethic, religious, civic and behavioural values through labour practice. The sole benefactor of this process was de facto the colonial state. The concept of *assimilação* was never articulated completely – it was rather conveniently adapted to the necessities of the moment throughout the years. Since the 1917 order, the colony passed to be divided between the "citizens" (of Portuguese origin or of acquired citizenship) and the subjects that would eventually become citizens, if they satisfied a list of conditions. The 1953 *Estatuto dos Indigenas Portugueses da Guine, Angola e Moçambique* uniformized these conditions:

  a) to be +18 years old
  b) to speak correctly the Portuguese language
  c) to have a job, a profession or an occupation with a necessary income for
     self-sustenance
  d) to have acquired a good behaviour and habits appropriate for
     implementation of public and private rights of a Portuguese citizen

e) to have completed the military service (Cabaço 2010: 108).

Fluency in Portuguese and acquiring a profession demanded formal education. The primary schools were divided in 1929 into *elementarias* for the *não indigenas* and *rudimentarias* (with simplified curriculum) for the *indigenas* (Newitt 1995: 440). Since signing the 1940 Missionary Accord and Statute[26] between Portugal and Vatican the Catholic Church became the principal provider of education in Mozambique (see table 5.3). The agreement required that curriculum was under supervision of the colonial administration and fostered Portuguese nationalism (Sheldon, 1998) to which the Catholic Church implicitly consented, becoming an ally of the colonial regime and its "civilizing mission".

The main target of the *assimilação* policy was to withdraw the *indigenas* from the influence of their own tradition. In turn, they were trained in the mission schools to live as "good Catholics" and be disciplined labourers. Thus the imported curriculum included until 1960s texts referring to history and geography of Portugal, alienating the students from their own surroundings in an attempt of cultural domination. The "rudimentary education", commonly known as "*escola indigena*", taught catechism, reading, writing and arithmetic during one part of a day. The remaining time children spent "learning to work" by cultivating the mission's fields. After three years of rudimentary "schooling" children theoretically could join the 3rd class of the elementary school. In 1960 it was true for 1% of the *escolas indigenas'* pupils (Cabaço 2010:125). In effect, missions schooling aided to maintain children's ignorance, resignation, respect for the system and to

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[26] Signing the *Acordo Missionario entre a Santa Se e a Republica Portuguesa* and the Concordat "had two main consequences: Catholic church became incorporated in the authroitarian state and fulfilled tasks of colonial occupation, legitimising the regime, education and "portugalisation" of the Mozambicans. This led to church exclusivity on African education and the discrimination of non-Catholic institutions" (Morier-Genoud, 1996: 6-7).

perform well basic tasks. The products of such mis-education were the *assimilados* - people who worshipped European culture equating it with civilization and were left with feeling of inferiority and humiliation about themselves.

Table 3.3: Primary education in Mozambique, 1930

	Elementary schools	Rudimentary schools
Government	28	60
Private	6	-
Catholic missions	19	126
Foreign missions	3	84

Source: Anuario estatistico 1930 in Newitt, 1995: 440

In the rare case of an *indigena* acquiring the status of an *assimilado* including the Portuguese citizenship rights, on the social level they still were not considered as an equal member of the colonial society. Cabaço describes the process of the Other passing from the stigma of *indigena* to the stigma of the privileged *assimilado* – "never one of us, but always the most civilized of them" (p. 113) in the eyes of Portuguese. The *assimilado* was removed from the *indigenas* and judged them as the inferior caste. At the same time the "superior caste" of the colonizers was reluctant to accept the *assimilados*, leaving them in an ambiguous, difficult and often schizoid limbo. Clearly the objective of *assimilação* was to create a small African elite who would not compete with the Portuguese, but serve as a buffer zone between the dominated and the dominating. They were also to be a living proof of European "civilizing mission".

The first educational services in Lunga were founded and managed by the Catholic Mission of Mossuril only in 1952, when the first "schooling monitors" with the completed second or third grade of rudimentary education arrived in the region. Until 1975 the Missions established 23 *escolas-capelas* ("chapel-schools"), mainly basic mud and wattle constructions. *Escolas-capelas* were considered as

the institutions of Indigenous Education (as opposed to Official Education provided by the colonial government). The Lunga School (in a newly constructed brick building) was inaugurated in 1954 (Viegas, 2010: 17). The *escolas-capelas* were authorized to teach until grade 2; the pupils willing to study grade 3 traveled about 15 km to the Mission of São Antonio da Lisboa in Namacula with boarding facility. In 1963 the colonial government authorized the Missions to teach grade 4; however the final exams had to be completed before the jury constituted by the Official Education teachers – all white Portuguese. This required the pupils to travel to the closest Official School in the neighboring District of Mogincual (idem :27).

Respondent 13 (born 1946 in Lunga), a Motomonho shopkeeper, is a 1956 graduate of *Escola Capela da Lunga*. His reminiscences included studying the Portuguese ABC and Mathematics taught by the Catholic priests:

> They taught us well, to read and write, much better than nowadays. I went to school a year earlier than the others. It was a rudimentary school with two grades [years]. But before that we had an extra year for preparation. When I was 9, I knew how to write Portuguese, and now? Children pass from class to class without learning anything. The padres did not like our Muslim names though. They gave us other, Portuguese names. I became Zacarias. (Respondent 13, 15/03/2011, Motomonho)

His memories of the prosperous colonial past are indeed slightly exaggerated ("o tempo colonial era bom/ The colonial times were good") and clearly very subjective - he does not mention the Lunga local population or their well being during the Portuguese rule.

The Catholic missions and the Portuguese presence contributed mainly to a short-term spread of Christianity in the predominantly Muslim area. At present the

Catholic Mission of São Antonio da Lisboa stands empty and neglected in Namacula. The American missionary travels there once a month from Monapo to conduct a mass for a small number of the remaining faithful. The Mission education in the past however gave a way to a rise of the number of the assimilados. Respondent 13, although remaining Muslim, considers himself as an *assimilado*:

> In my heart I am white. My mother was mixed-raced; her family was one of these Indians that lived all over Lunga at that time. I grew up with whites; I have nothing in common with these people here. When senhor Castigo was leaving Ilha [de Moçambique] for Lisbon, he wanted to take me with him… I wish I could find him one day in Lisbon. (…) You can see who visits my house: people from the Posto [Administration] or from the mosque. Nobody of these people here. But if there is a visit from Nampula or from somewhere far away, they all come to talk to me. (Respondent 13, 16/02/2011)

My respondent's identity may be a product of the colonial Portuguese social policies; having completed the third grade of the rudimentary education at *Escola Capela da Lunga*, he moved to Ilha de Moçambique to work as a domestic servant in a house of a Portuguese family and subsequently as an assistant in their shop; he had learned this way the secrets of trade, which would be his occupation in his future life. In the early 1960s he was drafted for the obligatory military service in Ilha de Moçambqiue - a final step in the *assimilação* process. He returned to Lunga in 1974, the year of beginning of the exodus of the Portuguese from the country, and soon became disaffected by the new "scientific socialism" reality.

I must admit that coming across the *assimilados* identities was quite unexpected to me. The institution of *assimilacao* is quite archaic and believed to have been completely eradicated during the socialist revolutionary Frelimo government.

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3.4 Social changes and education after independence

Exactly one month after the proclamation of independence Samora Machel announced the nationalization of education system. It was a radical measure to break the social inequalities and establish the new public, secular and free schooling system open to all citizens. It resulted in an unprecedented explosion in rise of the numbers of schools and enrolments: from the 416.174 primary schools pupils in 1960 to 1.363.000 in 1977 (MINED 1988:24). Between 1978 and 1980 two national literacy campaigns involved over half million of adults (Mazula 1995:161). While the nationalization of schools changed education from being a privilege of certain social classes (whites, *assimilados* and urban) to the obligatory schooling for all, it was at the same time heavily influenced by Frelimo's ideology. It was a tool to implement Marxism and control society through schooling.

Still during the times of the Transition Government in January 1975 the first National Education Seminar took place in Beira. The principal objectives of the seminar were to find the mechanisms of implementation in schools the principles of Frelimo's ideology. The analysis of curricula scrapped "everything that would be contrary to the Frelimo ideology" (Machel, Graça 1979:18 in Mazula, 1995: 151). "The National System of Education's central objective is to create the New Man, free of obscurantism, superstitions and the bourgeois colonial mentality, who assumes socialist values" (Lei 4/83, art 4). In this aspect schooling can be considered as an agency producing new identities rather than reproducing the old ones, however leaving little space for issues of inclusion of marginalized groups or traditional values and livelihoods.

The objectives of democratization in schooling were quickly neutralized by the authoritarian practices that were increasingly visible in the social and political space of Mozambique. The centralist and bureaucratic tendencies, characteristic of the state institutions, slowly permeated the national education system. According to Buendia (in Mazula, 1995b: 354), people started considering the school as distant and alien and did not feel as protagonist or participants in education it offered.

Renamo turned out to become one of the most brutal guerrilla groups in the recent history. The wholesome total destruction seemed to be the ultimate goal of the rebel movement (Vines 1996, Hanlon 1991). Fuelled by the population's disaffection with Frelimo's "New Man" modernity, Renamo attacked "the signs and symbols of the one party-state's cultural hegemony" (Harries, 2001: 427). Although its leadership identified the legitimate targets roads, bridges and railroads, Renamo attacked primarily education and health institutions established by Frelimo after independence (Hultman 2009). They may have recognized the political value of education and singled out teachers and literacy workers as their primary targets for terrorist actions.

In 1983, a year when the civil war violence was spiraling out of control, a new education reform was introduced. The severe economic crisis forced the government to switch from the centrally planned to market economy. Without doubt this also redefined the role of state in the society affecting especially the services of education and health. In effect, the obligatory schooling and the implementation of the education system were compromised (Buendia in Mazula, 1995b: 354). The 1983 reform considered school in a utilitarian manner as a

training centre for qualified workforce, neglecting the aspects of citizenship and human self-realization. In the mid 1980s when the profound crisis brought the economy to a halt, the state terminated its political ideology in schooling, admitting that it is no longer possible to guarantee education for all. Buendia (pp 356) notices that this occurred in a moment when the state assumed a social liberal model, which in a historical paradox had established free and obligatory schooling. Here the state was not capable to guarantee an already constitutional right.

Mozambique emerged from the civil war with paralysed economy and devastation of material infrastructure, including schools, roads, and health centres (Handa et al, 2004: 16). Provision of education therefore was restricted mainly to the cities in the southern part of the country. In 1992, the year of the Rome General Peace Agreement, only about 40 per cent of the school network was operational[27]. Since then, the government has prioritized the rehabilitation and restoration of the school network, in order to gradually recover the 1983 levels of coverage and increase access to educational services (UNESCO, 2007a). Thus, the former liberation movement and the transition into multi-party political systems have taken place parallel with abandonment of socialist ideology as the framework of policy document.

This chapter is one of the layers of the meta-themes representing the complexity of Lungan coastal sociocultural environment. In this chapter I provided background information about the available forms of education on the Lungan coast. This is important as the colonial history and civil war in Mozambique led to limited educational opportunities for Mozambican citizens. The Lungans' perceptions of educational utility are shaped by the cultural history of the region

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[27] This figure takes 1983 as a baseline, when there were 5,886 primary schools. Source: UNESCO (2007)

and their access to local resources, collective uncertainties and the cultural

identity. This chapter constitutes important background in relation to the case

stories discussed later in Chapter Seven, where I will return to these issues,

drawing them together and analysing the tensions between the opposing spaces.

Chapter Four

Historical background and context of the research

The Lunga cemetery with Portuguese, Arabic and Hindu scripts (7/05/2011).

Chapter Four: Historical background and context of the research

"The coastal societies have passed through globalization centuries ago."

-shaykh Hafiz Jamu, in the interview on 14/02/11, Ilha de Moçambique

The historical past of Mozambique surfaced frequently in the interviews and informal conversations I conducted during my fieldwork in the coastal region of Lunga and Mossuril. Many respondents were acutely aware of the country's turbulent past, its consequences in the present and the effects it inflicted in their lives. The above quote from the interview with a shaykh from Ilha de Moçambique sums up the sometimes ambiguous comments on a constant dialogue between the past and present in people's lives.

This chapter describes some of the prominent aspects of the historical context of Mozambique. Its main objective is to create a historical lens through which the workings of the coastal societies will be explored. Starting with the literature review of power shifts in the early 16th century, the chapter will discuss the specificity of the Portuguese colonial and the independent Mozambican states. Other important themes explored in this chapter are the contrasting roles played by the education systems in the past and finally the context and a construction of a particular identity of coastal communities around Ilha de Moçambique.

A brief examination of these topics will provide a background to the understanding of contemporary social dynamics, identities and relations to the state of the coastal communities in northern Mozambique.

4.1 Power transitions: Afro-Arab-Portuguese presence

The power balance on the African east coast changed irrevocably with the expansion of Portuguese dominium over the Indian Ocean Basin. Since the early 15th century onwards, Portugal strived to expand and administer a huge overseas enterprise stretching from Brazil through African coasts to India and Far East. Incapable of transition to a more modern and professional state, Lisbon eventually failed; however, the process of Portuguese expansion triggered a creation of new identities in the societies in the faraway parts of the world. Shifting power relations between Lisbon, the Bantu chiefdoms and Islamic sheikhdoms as well as the growth of the new colonial state played their roles in processes of formation and disintegration in the Mozambican societies.

In the early days of 1498 the habitants of the Mozambican coast must have observed the strange vessels approaching the shore, larger and much different than they had already seen. The pale-skinned foreigners disembarked and reached the coast in smaller boats. Although nobody understood the language they spoke, the guests were well received and stayed on land for five days. Then, having collected fresh water and exchanged few objects, they returned to their great vessels and disappeared. Nobody knew who the mysterious visitors were and what they had witnessed.

 This first contact between the coastal peoples of Africa and Europe occurred on 11 January 1498, during the voyage of Vasco da Gama in search of the route to India (Axelson, 1940: 38). The Portuguese disembarked most likely in the region of today's Maputo. The promising encounter caused da Gama to call the land

"Terra da Boa Gente" (Land of Good People) (Reader 1998:349); but from that point the voyage turned disastrous. In March they reached the island of Moçambique where da Gama's diplomatic skills had failed him. Facing a prosperous harbour with Arab ships equally well equipped as his fleet, before long da Gama suspected a Muslim conspiracy against the Portuguese (Newitt 2005: 54). The hostilities spiralled out of control and the Portuguese hastily left, having bombarded and plundered the town of Moçambique (Reader 1998: 350). The Arab reprisal awaited them on their next stop in Mombassa. Newitt (2005: 54) stated that

> it was to prove next to impossible for future Portuguese captains to break out of the vicious cycle of violence and recrimination which began with the first voyage to the East. (…) A series of misunderstandings, which had their origin in the Portuguese captain's incurable suspicion of all Muslims, almost led him to break off diplomatic relations entirely. With da Gama's mission, direct European contacts with the East got off to the worst possible start.

Swahili identity and culture was shared among the northern Mozambican coastal communities. Their commercial networks stretched from Mombassa to Sofala and were based on trade with the Orient in the commercial centres of Quiloa and Mombassa. Each of these settlements were established and ruled by a *xehe* (from Ar. shaykh). They were among the most interesting political, economic and religious formations, some of which maintained certain autonomy until the end of 19th century. The *xeicados*[28] of Sangage, Sancul and Quitangonha, as well as Sultanate of Angoche, maintained close religious connections with Zanzibar, Oman and Comoros (Cabaço 2010: 30, Costa e Silva 2002: 617). Bonate also notes, that Islam of the coastal Shirazi clans integrated elements of African coastal culture as well as influences of other Western Indian Ocean regions, like

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[28] Xeicado (Port.) sheikhdom

Hadramawt. The identity construction of the Shirazi clans had two principal meanings: maintenance of legitimacy over the coastal *xeicados* against foreign invasion and as counterbalance to the African tribes from the interior, viewed generally as pagan and uncivilized (Bonate 2007:33). Despite being strongly Africanized through the centuries of intermarriage with the Bantu tribes, the Shirazi "were proudly conscious of their Islamic heritage" (Boxer, 1963:41).

The new Portuguese competitors quickly gained control over the viable maritime routes and trade of the local produce (gold and ivory). From the 18th century the slave trade turned to be a dominant activity throughout the colonial period. The French sugar plantations on the Indian Ocean islands initiated, and a demand for slaves in Brazil increased the prices and intensified the human trafficking. The Shirazi rulers of Angoche Sultanate, Mossuril, Sancul and Zanzibar *xeicados* participated in the trade with Brazilian, American and Caribbean merchants (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983:16-18; Cabaço 2010:50-53).

The slave trade had profound social and economic repercussions. Besides a forced exodus of around 1 million of Mozambicans during the 19th century that constituted a main productive force, the damage and destruction of villages and agriculture, the impoverished population fled to the more remote locations. Even after the abolition of the human trafficking in 1807 and 1840, the ambiguity of legislation permitted that slave trade continued along the northern Mozambican coast well into early 20th century, protected by the high ranking government officials, Asian and Portuguese traders, headmen of Makua and Yao tribes and the coastal *xeicados* (Cabaço 2010:52).

Table 4.1 Slave Exports from Ilha de Moçambique, Selected Years 1764-1830

Year	Number	Observations
1770 - 79	9,158	To Ilhas Mascarenhas
1781	9,315	
1784	2,313	
1788	11,016	
1794	3,807	
1803	5,239	
1818	9,281	
1819	12,953	Total Ilha de Moçambique and Quelimane exports to Brazil
1821	15,282	Total with Quelimane exports to Rio de Janeiro
1822	9,371	Total with Quelimane exports to Rio de Janeiro and Maranhão
1825	7,808	Total with Quelimane exports to Rio de Janeiro
1828	11,488	Total with Quelimane exports to Rio de Janeiro
1830	10,449	Total with Quelimane exports to Rio de Janeiro (from January through June)

Sources: Alpers, E. 1975, pp. 187, 213; Isaacman, 1972, pp. 86, 92.

The abolition of human trafficking did not mean an automatic elimination of prejudice, alienation and marginalization associated with the system. The reproduction of social relations of domination-servility outlived slavery: 'the Other' was still represented by an uncivilized African. Rafael da Conceição (2006) demonstrated a revealing example of their survival in his recent work on coastal societies in Cabo Delgado. During his research on Ilha de Ibo, da Conceição interviewed an elderly lady, "*sá*[29]" Costas, a descendent of the mixed-raced (*mestiços*) family of human traffickers. Over a century after its disappearance, "the old lady still refers to the women who help in her home as her "slaves"' (da Conceição, 2006:206). In the society of foreign domination, even the elites turned out to be incapable of political resistance. Some groups of the *mestiços* elites were classified as "*não indigenas*", while the others were pushed into the "*indigenas*" group - i.e. living according to the African values and behaviours. Like the other

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[29] Sá (Port. coll.) senhora; lady, madam.

groups defined by the racial colonial system they ended up accepting their subordinate position in the social hierarchy.

4.2 Bifurcated state: distribution of power during colonial times

The fact that Vasco da Gama disembarked on several points of Mozambican coast in 1498 was entirely accidental. Africa was not the objective for the Portuguese navigators – it was rather an enormous obstacle on the way to fabulous riches of India and the Far East. The Portuguese installation along the coast was a long and slow process; until the second half of the 19th century they occupied just a fraction of the whole modern Mozambican territory. They negotiated, coexisted or confronted the local rulers – in the north, the Afro-Arab-Swahili clans. Although historical sources tend to claim that Mozambique has been a Portuguese colony since mid 15th century, Macamo (2005) argues this is hardly true. He explains the reasons why the Portuguese as well as Mozambicans are not interested in clarifying this exaggeration (the motives being the statement of achievements of the Portuguese Empire and a greater coherence to nationhood of the latter). The historical evidence shows, that relations between the Portuguese and the native peoples of today's Mozambique were mostly limited to "trade exchanges, shift alliances and petty wars" (Macamo, 2005: 69). The fact that until 1752 Mozambique was administered from Goa as a part of Portuguese India also demonstrates the fact that the territory meant to Lisbon just "little more than backwater malarial zone of minimal value" (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983:15).

Figure 4.2 Map of Islamic *xeicados*, Bantu chiefdoms and Portuguese military posts in Mozambique ca. 1850.

Source: Bonate 2007; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Newitt 2005.

The Berlin Conference in 1885 (partition of Africa between European powers) marked a beginning of the increased interest of the Portuguese in controlling the land, and thus establishing the regulations of the native labour. The infamous conference was a principal reason that triggered Portugal's new militant attitude towards its claimed territories. Great Britain was eager to annex considerable portions of Mozambique – in particular the Lourenço Marques and Sofala areas,

both being the gateways to the interior British possessions in South Africa and Rhodesia. Lisbon was forced to prove its capacity in controlling the territory it claimed and which de facto was under rule of Bantu chiefs and Shirazi sheiks. In turn, Portuguese aggression threatened the autonomy of Mozambican societies. The conflict with the Shirazi *xeicados* in the north culminated in the defeat of the colonial army in 1896. Only after 30 years of failure in establishing a meaningful presence in the region, Portugal finally triumphed. Sultanate of Angoche, Quitangonha and their Makua allies surrendered in 1910 after an unprecedented campaign launched by Portuguese heavy artillery and 4,600 soldiers (Newitt 2005:24). It is interesting to note that internal divisions between the *xeicados* prevented them from uniting against the oppressor. This way Portugal managed to defend its rather fictitious rhetoric of "500 years of colonization" and proceed to struggle with another problem: construction of the colonial state.

The first attempts to determine a legal status of the territory and its inhabitants were included in the Pombaline[30] reforms of 1761. They integrated colonial territories with the Portuguese Kingdom and pronounced the first proposal of political identity of all habitants of Mozambique, giving them equality of vassals before the king. The Portuguese liberal constitution of 1820 incorporated colonies further – they became *Provincias Ultramarinas* (Overseas Provinces) (Cabaço 2010:72). The constitution also extended the citizenship rights to the inhabitants of Provinces – however, at this point, the inhabitants were very few and concentrated around the main military and commercial posts (see fig. 3.2). The official borders were finally wrangled out with the British in 1890s (Newitt 1995:355) and Portugal began the effective occupation of the whole territory. Subsequently, the liberal

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[30] Marquês de Pombal – Portuguese statesman between 1750 and 1777; introduced administrative and social reforms in order to enhance further colonial exploitation of the Portuguese Empire; also changed Mozambican administration from Indian Goa to Ilha de Moçambique in 1752. Source: Maxwell, 1995.

citizenship rights to all the residents of the Mozambican Province were dropped. The new system of "*Indigenato*", classifying people as "*indigenas*" and "*não-indigenas*" was introduced, initiating a multitude of dualisms of the colonized, divided world. *Indigenato* juxtaposed tradition and modernity, the civilized and the primitive, culture and customs, witchcraft and religion, education and illiteracy in a hierarchic system of misrepresentations and misunderstandings.

Mahmood Mamdani describes the complex problem of a foreign minority dominating a native majority through imposing an economic regime for the benefit of European powers. He emphasizes the colonial power's "central and overriding dilemma: the native question" (Mamdani 1996: 16) and a role of the colonial state's administration in answering it. He argues that the colonial state was a "bifurcated state" with two forms of governance: the direct and indirect rule. The direct rule appropriated the land destroying the autonomy of population that in consequence partly dispersed and partly reintegrated itself as cheap labour force. The direct rule also introduced law in a form of a single legal order derived from European civilized law, disregarding any native institutions. The society then was divided in two parts: the "civilized" with citizenship rights, and the "native" without them, but with the obligation to conform to the European laws (Mamdani 1996:16-17).

The first regulating laws and institutions introduced since 1899 illustrate the direct rule in Mozambique. Gradually occupying the territory, the colonial administration introduced in 1899 a labour law stipulating that "all natives … are subject to the obligation, moral and legal, of attempting to obtain through work the means that they lack to subsist and to better their social condition" (Newitt 1995:384). The labour law was followed by 1901 regulation of land ownership (by which all

unoccupied land passed to be owned by the state). Finally, the 1907 establishment of administration of African affairs (*Secretaria dos Negocios Indigenas*) tackled and regulated the questions of native justice system, duties of chiefs, codification of native law, civil register of the *indigenas* and migration control (Newitt 1995:387). Portugal never considered the northern *xeicados* or Sultanate of Angoche in their announced policies of preservation of the traditional institutions. The fundaments of northern societies with predominating matrilineal structure collapsed when the newly centralized colonial power attributed new community leaders from other lineages. A profound social and ethnic rearrangement followed.

The direct rule appropriated land and constrained the labour, excluding "*indigenas*" from civil rights guaranteed to the citizens. The indirect rule dealt with dominating and organizing the rural majority, which constituted reserve workforce. The indirect rule reproduced "traditional power", installing *regulos*[31] as traditional chiefs (selected and monitored by central power). O'Laughlin describes the *regulos*' role in the *xibalo*[32] system as ambivalent. The administration and the forced labour system depended on the *regulos* cooperating with the district administrators in identifying and recruiting workers. In return, the *regulos* benefited from bonuses of the migrant workers' wages and used the forced labour to cultivate their fields (O'Laughlin 2002:522). This way, the peasant communities were incorporated into state-enforced native law and would not become urbanized proletarians.

The colonial state maintained two parallel systems under hegemonic power – one, blessed with citizenship rights for the settlers, and another one, for the colonized,

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[31] Regulo (regedor) (Port.) upper level native authority figure, a king/chief.
[32] Xibalo – paid or unpaid work, based on coercive recruitment by private companies or a state.

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coercing and regulating, but advocating tradition and community. The split was also reflected in geographical terms, dividing the land into areas useful for the metropolitan economy and areas of little interesting resources. The direct rule prevailed in the first, investing in infrastructure and creating colonial communities of the European capitalist style. In contrast, the periphery received little attention and remained under the native laws and mostly subsistent economy (Mamdani 1996:22; Cabaço 2010:42).

Lunga is an example of a place with that heritage. Except for the military outpost erected in the late 18th century at the edge of Mocambo Bay, there was no interest from the colonial government in the area until late 1960s:

> In the area of Lunga we are faced with a population reacting apprehensively to the contacts and willing to abandon any dialogue [with the colonial authorities]; there are two *regulos* of great prestige – Panto, the descendant of the celebrated Molid-Volai, and Muantepa, the descendant of Xa-Momade. However, there is still a latent focus of perturbations and instability in Lunga, with short-term eruptions at the time of harvest of cashew. Concerning these, we have found only temporary solutions (Melo Branquinho, 1969: 198).

This quote from the Melo Branquinho's secret report commissioned by Portugal shows that Lungans were the colonial subjects, within the jurisdiction of local 'traditional customs and usages' administered by the appointed indigenous authorities, the *regulos*, who were a link between often distant Portuguese administrators.

4.3 Mozambican state or Frelimo state?

The ideology of an indivisible nation of the Portuguese *Estado Novo*[33] promoted by Salazar since 1933 continued throughout the next four decades. At times, it created appearances of tranquillity and relative prosperity (for example, the "golden years" of 1950's in Mozambique). The PIDE[34], infamous secret police system, dealt efficiently with any signs of rebellion or political resistance. In 1964 the small group of opposition to Salazar's regime took refuge in Tanzania and formed a nationalist movement – *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*[35] (Frelimo). They began guerrilla attacks at the border area in the northernmost part of the country. Cabaço argues that Lisbon, conscious of damaging psychological effects of the subversive war on the settlers' community, purposefully downplayed the dimension and importance of the conflicts in front of international community for reasons of propaganda:

> During the last months of 1964 and the whole 1965 the Portuguese authorities denied the situation of war, explaining the military actions in the north as the simple police operations of re-establishment of peace (Cabaço, 2010: 243).

In any case it is important to note that Frelimo had a clear vision of construction of national identity based on tradition being reinterpreted by the gradual introduction of modernity. Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's leader and a former anthropologist at the University of Syracuse influenced these ideas until his death in 1969. However, tribal antagonism, internal disputes and personal disagreements

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[33] Estado Novo (Port.) New State; the name of authoritarian regime installed in Portugal in 1933 by Antonio Oliveira Salazar. Source : Coelho (1995)

[34] PIDE (Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado, Port.: International Police of State Defence), a main tool of repression during the Salazar's Estado Novo regime; founded in 1945 in Portugal; its extensive network in Mozambique implemented by the Decree 39749 of 9/08/1954. Source: Cabaço (2010:223).

[35] Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Port.) The Liberation Front of Mozambique – a political party ruling in Mozambique since 1975, its power base stemming from the southern minority Shangaan ethnic group. Source: Kalley et al. (1999).

plagued Frelimo, making it easier for the Portuguese army to defeat them (Meredith 2005: 137).

In Portugal, the resentment of the dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano (who substituted Salazar in 1968) led to the "carnation revolution" and coup d'état in Lisbon on 25 April 1974. This triggered a wave of chaos in Mozambique: the colonial administration collapsed, and the withdrawal of the troops led to Frelimo guerrillas flood into the country. A mass exodus of the white settlers followed Portugal's Agreement in Lusaka on 7 September 1974 to hand over the power unconditionally to Frelimo.

The new Frelimo leader, Samora Machel, was very aware of the reality his party was facing. Mozambican society was poor and unequal, and experienced only the colonial authoritarian rule. It is difficult to speculate if Frelimo was aware of the colonial bifurcated state's legacy and tried to find a pioneering approach to counteract its multiple dualisms. Frelimo's proposal for the nation's new identity was focused on a unifying project of "creation of the New Man". In pursuit of constructing the new society – "of justice, solidarity, altruism, cohesion, social discipline and economic vision based on self-sufficiency" (Cabaço 2010: 286) Machel transformed the liberation struggle into full scale Marxist revolution. Frelimo's decrees rapidly nationalized the businesses and plantations, introduced a centrally planned economy, agriculture collectivization and communal villages projects. "All activities considered to cause internal divisions based on cultural factors – such as religion, ethnic, urban identity – were considered a threat to Frelimo's unity policy to 'build the nation" (Meneses and dos Santos 2009: 135). The principal obstacles on creating of the New Man were the old, existing structures – the colonial as much as the traditional ones. Catholic Church was

banned and the state took a full responsibility of education system; Islam and other religions as well as traditional chiefs (*regulos*) and customs were outlawed (Meredith 2005:312).

There are many interpretations of Frelimo's ideology and exercise of power; some are limited to the critique the evident abuses of Marxist-Leninist regime. The deeper analysis of what Frelimo tried to accomplish range from arguments that its actions proved an effort to reform the local government and overcome dualisms of the bifurcated state (O'Laughlin 2000:28). Sumich suggests that Frelimo's nation building project was founded on the old colonial social currents and *assimilado* logic (2007: 8). Fry compares small elite of the Portuguese and *assimilados* to the "equally enlightened vanguard party" (2000: 129) – similarly, "the New Man" could be equalled to the old *assimilado* status, *grupos dinamizadores* to the deposed *regulos*, etc. However, all analyses reflect peasants' growing discontent caused by many elements of the party's programme (detested communal villages, ban on religions and traditional customs, and economic exclusion caused by the Frelimo's focus on industrial projects).

The dreams of Mozambique becoming a peaceful democratic state quickly evaporated. In 1974 the power transfer from Portugal to Frelimo did not involve any elections or referendum (Newitt 1995: 539). There was more to follow: the 1975 Constitution legalized one party regime and extinguished any form of pluralism (Lalá and Ostheimer 2003: 4). The political opposition was quickly destroyed, labelled as "reactionary" and sent to the "re-education camps" in the

north. COREMO[36] members, among others its leaders Joana Simeão and Uria Simango, were arrested days after the Lusaka Agreement and subsequently murdered (Feijo 2008: 1682; Ncomo 2003). The corporal punishment for offences like "*candonga*" (black market) was legalized in 1983 in a flagrant regression to the *Indigenato* methods; black market trade on large scale was penalized by capital punishment; during the government coercive action "*operação produção*" persons considered "unproductive" were forcibly transferred by airplane to the rural areas of Niassa Province to work on the fields (Fauvet and Mosse, 2004: 191 – 201). A spreading discontent with such policies eroded Frelimo's popularity and was a clear sign that Mozambique was facing a crisis.

The opposition movement of *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Renamo)[37] was initiated abroad by those who fled the newly independent Mozambique. They found a haven in Rhodesia under Ian Smith's regime; there, Renamo developed more in the style of a military unit than a political party. The 1980 fall of Smith's government was also an end to Renamo's support. They found a new patron in South African government of P.W. Botha, the new base and military training in northern Transvaal included (Newitt, 1995: 564). Botha introduced a destabilization plan targeting newly independent, left wing black-ruled states and incorporated in this policy the rebel movement. Soon this product of South African secret services gained support in Mozambique. The population was increasingly disillusioned with Frelimo policies while traditional authorities noticed a chance to return to power and prestige (dos Santos, 2006: 64).

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[36] Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (Port. The Mozambique Revolutionary Committee), a small Frelimo splinter group, created in Lusaka in 1965. Their ethnic base was the Makua. Source: Banks et al, (1997).
[37] Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Port. The Mozambican National Resistance), a conservative political party led by Afonso Dhlakama. It fought against the Mozambican Liberation Front in the Civil War from 1975 to 1992. Source: Kalley et al, (1999).

It is interesting to consider the question if Frelimo underestimated the danger of the situation. Renamo's complaints about Frelimo's complete domination of all social institutions and monopole on social reproduction have been regarded as paranoia (Harrison 1999:544). Fauvet and Mosse (2004) argue that the government decided "the armed bandits" were not a well-organized group and did not pose a real threat; the media readily adopted this terminology and attitude (pp. 151 -156). After a South Africa-sponsored Renamo attack on Matola city in January 1981, an angered Samora Machel publicly challenged the rebels: "Let them come!" And indeed they came.

The conflict escalated into a horrific war. There is an abundance of literature reflecting on throughout devastation and human suffering (O'Laughlin 2000, Englund 1998, Bertelsen 2003). The war is still present in pepole's memory as well as in public and political rhetoric. Operating largely in the rural areas, Renamo directed its violence against the state, erasing its presence through destruction of physical structures (buildings, roads, bridges, etc) and controlling the population. Bertelsen points out that "the violence of the war not only maimed and killed persons or razed physical structures, but reconfigured social relations, cosmologies and outlooks" (Bertelsen 2003: 271).

In the context of the Lunga coastal communities, the violence of the civil war that swept through the villages since 1987 eliminated the role of the State as the provider and protector. The Lungan refugees dispersed to the relative safety of the cities; others undoubtedly joined the Renamo movement, although my interviewees admitted that rarely and with caution.

Respondent 26, a teacher at the Muanangome Primary School, arrived in Lunga for the first time in 1984:

> I worked in Necotia [primary] school since March until October. I did not manage to stay longer. At that time, Necotia was a wilderness where lions used to attack people; we had to burn fires all night long to keep the animals away from our yards and houses. Then the war started for good and I escaped by boat to Jembesse. This land still belongs to Renamo… In the 80s and 90s they had their military bases in Namavurra and just outside Quivolane. Frelimo is trying, but they cannot manage. (Respondent 26, 20/05/2011, Muanangome)

> Lunga was completely abandoned during the civil war. I stayed at Ilha [de Moçambique] until 1993. During the war, people would come by boat only by night to pick cassava and return to Ilha. (Respondent 18, carpenter, 16/02/2011, Lunga)

The event that triggered the mass exodus from Lunga happened in 1987 and is still present in the popular memory (mentioned in details by respondent 13, respondent 19 and respondent 29). Several hundred Renamo guerillas from the Zambezia or Maringue quartel attacked the area, burning the houses, plundering the shops and forcing people to join in. Respondent 13, a Motomonho shopkeeper, received a warning from the *secretario do bairro* and fled with his family from Lunga by boat; Alfane Tauria, the regulo Movere, fled the same way.

Lungans returned to their homes in the early 1990s, often because they had not been able to cope with the refugee life in the cities. Respondent 13 was one of the first who decided to go back, forced by extreme poverty during his exile at Ilha de Moçambique:

> I could let my family starve at Ilha or get killed by Renamo in Lunga. I preferred to take a risk. Here I can plant cassava and get fish to eat; there was nothing I could provide for my

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family at Ilha. They were here, the guerillas. They spoke different language – they must have come from Sofala. There were also some of the sons of the people from here who joined them. They asked me who I was – I said I was a shopkeeper from here and this was my house. They told me to wait while they talked to their chief in their language (…) We agreed I could go by boat to Ilha and buy some merchandise to sell back here. I started with soap, salt and petrol – the things they needed the most. Then I started the cashew trade. They let me stay here and protected me with their militia. They communicated with signals: if you heard 3 gunshots, it was the sign that Frelimo was coming. (Respondent 13, shopkeeper, 10/05/2011, Motomonho)

The traditional forms of life organization resurged as the structures of protection and solidarity necessary for survival. Chefe do Posto Administrativo da Lunga, Ms. Rafa Pereira, spoke about it with a very characteristic careful diplomacy:

The first years [after the civil war] were very complicated. There were plenty of difficulties since 1992. Now we try to explain to people the importance of their right to vote: to choose a candidate that they like and who has a viable programme. (R. Pereira, 21/06/2011, Lunga).

The difficulties of the 1990s that Ms. Pereira mentions is the fact that Lunga was a Renamo stronghold since the times of civil war. On the eve of first democratic elections in 1994, "in Lunga in Nampula province, Frelimo was forced to close its new office and barred from holding rallies; other parties have also been unable to enter Renamo zones in Nampula" (Hanlon and Waterhouse, 1994:3).

Very few people were courageous and trusted me enough to recall their desperate flight from Lunga in 1987/88, point out where the Renamo bases were established, or their return to a devastated homeland in the early 1990s and find it still under Renamo domination. Without doubt, it must be difficult to try to describe a world

that fell apart and the attempts to find order in a new reality. Frelimo won the local elections in Lunga for the first time in 2009 (AIM, 2009). Political affiliation is still a taboo in the community.

Lunga is an example of a dual state – Renamo and Frelimo coexisting side by side. As a result, the public administration is very highly politicized. In this case, "the parallel or cooperative coexistence among different dispute resolution institutions is replaced by a competitive coexistence which in the end aims at eliminating coexistence altogether and at replacing it by rival single sets of institutions each one affiliated with a specific party"(Menezes and Santos, 2009:132). People still consider the state administration (or the state structures in general) as a representation of Frelimo's political power.

History of Agostinho Siquilata

My name is Agostinho Saide Siquilata. I am the son of Siquilata Hansa and Zainabo Abdurramane. I was born and live in Vila de Mossuril, bairro Namiripe.

I was born on 25 April 1935. In my documents, it says 1938. I was imprisoned by PIDE between 1962 and 1964 in Ilha de Ibo. Since I could not travel after that – I could not leave Mossuril – I registered again.

I started my education – ensino rudimentario - in 1947, in Escola da Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Mossuril. I completed the 3rd grade of ensino rudimentario in 1952, and was transferred to Escola da Nossa Senhora da Consolada in Massangulu in Niassa. I studied a course of carpentry and received a 5th grade diploma. During the colonial times, you were obliged to study a technical or vocational course after three years of rudimentary education. You had to have a skill after leaving the school.

In 1957 I returned to Mossuril. I started working as a second mestre of carpentry in the Catholic Mission of Carapira. All my life I lived among padres.

On 28 May 1958 I started working at the commercial establishment of Mr. Antonio Brito de Reis. He was a Portuguese trader. I worked there until 1960. Then I moved to Ilha de Mocambique, where I worked in the Capitania do Porto until 31 January 1972. Then I worked in the Health Department of Ilha until 27 September 1977. From then, I worked as a farmer. In 2000 I was invited to join Frelimo. Since 5 April 2005, I have worked for the local government, in the Administration of the Mossuril District.

I've always had an initiative; living in Niassa, I heard a lot about the Independence War. We talked a lot about it in Niassa with my uncles and cousins. Few of them had escaped to Tanganyika. I was still very young, but thought a lot about it; I felt bad about them going and me staying. I decided to follow them to Tanganyika.

I spent a night in a hotel in Moeda. My plan was to hire a taxi and make a jump to Palma. In the night of 15 March 1962 I was arrested by the Portuguese [PIDE] in Moeda. I had some documents on me, from the collaborators, to bring with me to Tanzania. I was in a car, handcuffed. I noticed that the Portuguese did not pay much attention to me. With small gestures, I managed to bite them into pieces and swallow.

These people… the type of their interrogation was: "Do you know Nyerere?" It was before they knew about Mondlane. The judgment was just a beating. If I had known better, I would have lied, made up stories. It was what saved people's lives, a lie.

It was in Ibo where I realized that whites could be as badly treated as we were, the Africans. There in prison in Ilha do Ibo, whites were next to the Africans, next to the Indians.
I was a member of Renamo since 1986. I was a chefe distrital of Renamo. But the government here is Frelimo. There is nothing more to it. You don't gain anything [from Renamo]. I was an interpreter of Dhlakama, and I wasn't paid anything.

Renamo is more popular on the coast. In the beginning [after independence] Frelimo said that God doesn't exist. The coastal zone is Muslim. During the war, there is no time for a prayer. So the Muslims kept this caution in their hearts.

I worked a lot for Renamo, but it didn't entitle me for any salary. Frelimo paid me just to negotiate with me. You know, how they [Frelimo] conquered Matibane? Forty men left Renamo for Frelimo. The word of papa Siquilata is a remedy to win many people. Frelimo helps people more. Renamo could – but they do not construct schools or shops. They could have reigned with that. These politics don't work. The people's reality is to have something to eat.

4.4 Coastal communities: origins and specific identity (Islamized Makuas)

Ilha de Moçambique is a cultural and historical centre anchoring the coastal societies and a space of their profound identity transitions. The occupation of the coast is very much connected with the Indian Ocean basin history. The formation of the coastal societies is a very ancient process:

This was a specific form of life in the buffer zone: the aristocracy lived on Ilha, while the workers came from Mossuril, Matibane and Lunga. The commercial outposts were established in the interior. The hospital, built in 1877, and for many years the largest in Africa, was on Ilha, and the children were born here. The agriculture produce were brought from Lunga and Mossuril. The slaves came from Lunga. Ilha de Moçambique influenced the whole coastal zone until Nacala, Quisimajulo, Sinisa. (Shaykh Hafiz Jamu, 14/02/2011, Ilha de Moçambique)

There are various versions about the origins of the name of Ilha de Moçambique – Island of Mozambique – a name that later was assigned the whole country. The

most common and most likely account is that the name was derived from the Islamic shaykh Mussa Bin Bique. Born on the continental side, he settled on the island and turned it into an important trading and naval post. The island was (and still is) called in Emakhuwa language as Omuhipiti, and came to be known by the shaykh's name around the time of the arrival of the da Gama expedition (Cabaço 2010:201-202).

The populous Makua[38] people inhabit the northern portion of the country. With around 3,300,000 people, they constitute about one third of the total Mozambican population (Kroger, 2005). The diversification of Makuas intensified in the 19th century when some of their chiefs established alliances with the coastal sheikhdoms for slave trade (Cabaço 2010: 273). Thus, there are reduced numbers of Makuas in Malawi and Tanzania, as well as in Comores, Madagascar, Seychelles and Mauritius (Martinez 1989: 37 - 38).

The Makua territory borders the Makonde, Yao and Nyanja tribes in the north, with the Sena and Tchwabo in the south, and with "Islamized groups" on the Indian Ocean coast (Martinez, 1989: 38). Martinez divides the coastal Muslim Makuas into following groups (see also fig. 3.3):

-Emarevoni, inhabitants of Moma and Mogincual;

-Esankaci, in the area of Angoche;

-and Enahara, in Mossuril, Ilha de Moçambique and Nacala (opp.cit. 38).

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[38] I chose this orthography as the most accessible one and unifying all the members of this cultural group. Traditional orthography refers to a single Makua person as M'makhuwa, pl. Amakhuwa; while the Makua language is spelled Emakhuwa.

This division corresponds with the past coastal territories of Sheikhdom of Sangage, Sultanate of Angoche and Sheikhdoms of Sancul and Quitangonha respectively.

Figure 4.3. Map of Makua ethnic subgroups in northern Mozambique.
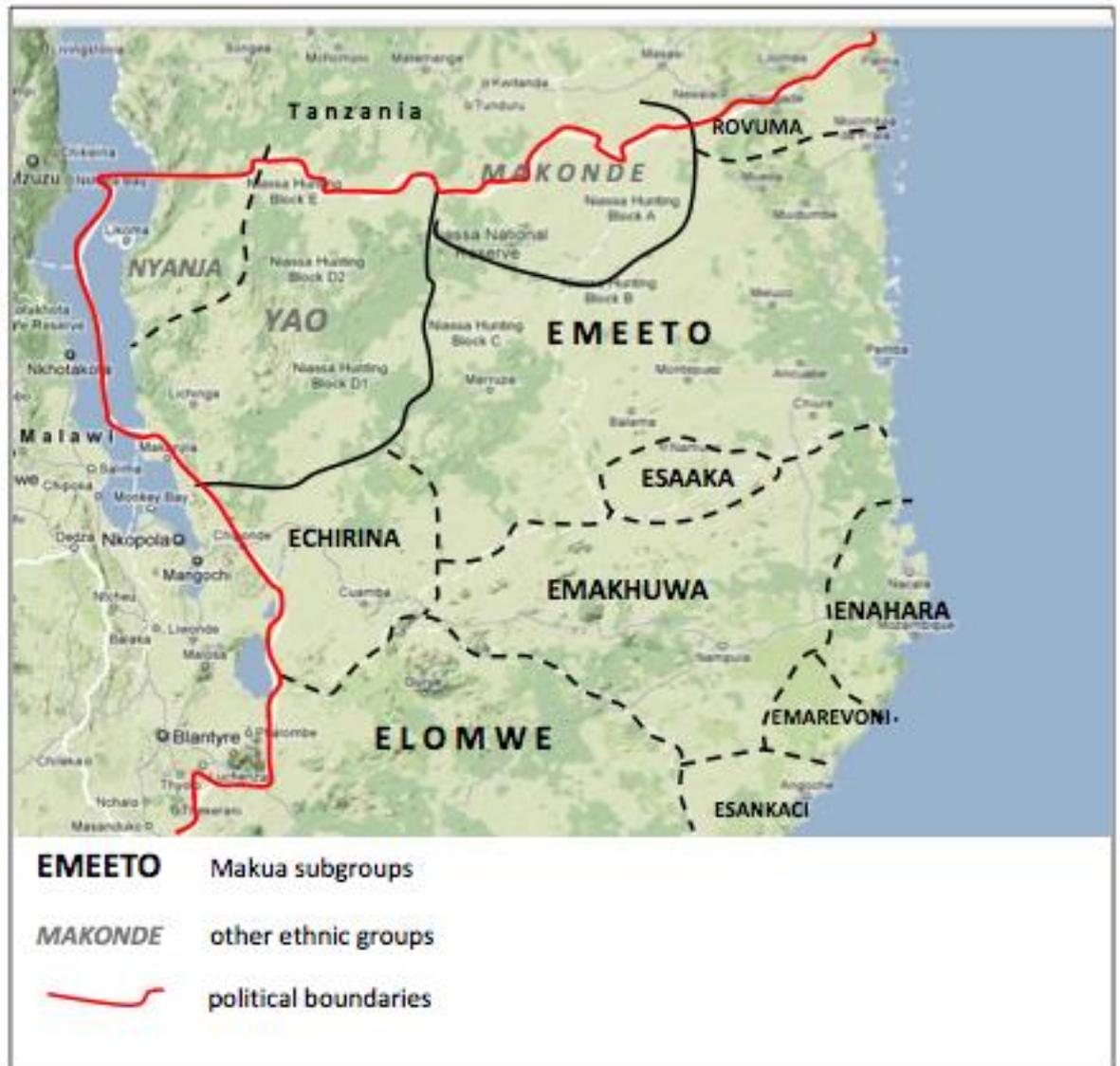
Source: Martinez, 1989

Martinez highlights several factors that support a fundamental unity among various Makua groups. The essential element is the "Namuli myth" referring to the origins of all the Makuas. Mount Namuli (2,419 m) is situated in the Gurue region of Zambezia Province and traditionally is considered as the primordial place of origin of human beings. One of the versions of the myth mentions:

Muluku[39] created six pairs of humans in the caves high up at the Mt. Namuli. They came down to the plains using various routes. It took a long time, and during their travel they had many children. Then *Muluku* asked them what kind of activity they wanted to do in their lives. The skin of the ones who wanted to work with the land became darker than the rest. They went on in different groups, separating from each other, and their languages and habits also changed. (Respondent 25, traditional healer, 19/03/2011, Lunga)

The "Namuli myth" occupies an important place in the Makua cosmogony. It synthesizes their unity in the ontological sense (the existence of the world and people's place in it) and determines their identity. Their linguistic unity makes mutually intelligible different existing dialects; also their geographical names and the names of people are commonly derived from names of animals and plants (Martinez, opp.cit. 39).

Lineage territories

The "Namuli myth" confirms that each ethnic group in Mozambique traditionally occupied a certain geographic space. Even today this space is considered as a zone of origin of these ethnic groups, for example Varonga in the area of Maputo city, Vanyanja in the Niassa region and Makua in Nampula. These lineage territories have specific names in the Mozambican languages:

- *Mutthetthe* – in Emakhuwa
- *Muganga* – in Cicopi (Chope)
- *Dziko* – in Cinyungue.

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[39] Muluku (Emakhuwa) god.

In the colonial period, the traditional chiefs administered a majority of these territories. They received a name of *règulo* by the colonial authorities. *Regulos* served as a link between the colonial authorities and the community. Besides *règulos* and their *Conselho de Anciãos* (Council of Elders), there are other types of the traditional authorities, all belonging to the elite of community: *curandeiros* (traditional healers), religious leaders, traditional healers, mediums. They all represent the traditional rules and norms regulating the political, economic and cultural life of the whole lineage territory. These rules are valid in many circumstances even today due to their cultural importance.

The leadership of the lineage territory is reserved to the members of the royal family, who are a part of the dominant lineage, legitimated and recognized by the other lineages (see fig. 3.6).

Table 4.4. Lineage territories and clans in Mossuril and Ilha de Moçambique

District	Posto Administrativo	Territory (regulado or mutthetthe)	Lineage/ clan (nihimo)
Mossuril	Matibane	Chicoma	Econe
		Mutacane	Gicone
	Vila do Mossuril	Namarral	Lapone
		Naguema	Lapone
		Ampapa	Lapone
		Cabaceira	none
	Lunga	Muticuiti	Lukasse
		Mucutula	Lukasse
		Motomonho	Murrupaine
		Quivolane	Murrupaine
		Xa Jamali[40]	Lapone
Ilha de Mocambique	(City of Ilha de Mocambique)	none	none
	(Vila do Lumbo)	Lumbo	Murrupaine

Source: Melo Branquinho (1969)

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[40] Also: Murrula

The origin of some of the clans' names is explained in Melo Branquinho (1969: 225):

LAPONE – from ELAPO (Emakhuwa)– country, land, hence: people of the land

LUCASSE – a river flowing in the heart of "*nihimo*"[41] – or from OLUCA (Emakhuwa) – to add salt to food, hence: people who extract salt

GICONE – from OCICA (Emakhuwa)– zebra's or lion's mane

MURRIPA (Emakhuwa) – very dark woods

From the interview with Alfane Tauria, Règulo Movere of Motomonho in Lunga and materials from Historical Archives of Mozambique in Maputo, I found out about the historical background of lineage territories in Lunga. There are 5 lineage territories (*regulados*) in Lunga: Motomonho, Mucutula, Murrula and Quivolane, of Murrapahine clan; and Muiticuite of the Lucasse clan. They are considered as the representatives and descendents of the great chiefs Molide-Volay and Xa[42]-Momade from Madagascar and Comoros (A. Tauria, 9/05/2011, Lagoa). The aldermen ascend to their positions by means of customary law.

According to Regulo Movere, the current aldermen in Lunga are: Règulo Panto in Quivolane, Règulo Muantepa in Muticuiti, Rainha[43] Muanema Msara in Muaualo, Xa-Jamali in Murrula and himself, Règulo Movere in Motomonho. The regulo was very open to share his knowledge of the ancient lineage in Lunga. His explanation of the family and clan ties and provenance was convergent with the Melo Branquinho's 1966 report, stating that the rulers of Motomonho (Aiupa and their rivals, Movere) and Quivolane (Panto) from the Murrapahine clan are relatives of the rulers of Lumbo and of the deceased famous shaykh Saide Abahassane. Both

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[41] Nihimo, pl. mahimo (Makua) - a term used in the Makua dialects to allude to the mystical ancestor of matrilineal family and also to a family, which inherited, preserves and transmits its common or symbolic name. This term indicates, without doubt, the clan.

[42] The term "Xa" is an expression of respect identical to another Makua term, "Muno".

[43] Rainha (Port.) queen

sources mention Comoros and Madagascar as the origin of many coastal people in Lunga (Melo Branquinho, 1969:84).

The chiefship of regulos continued throughout the colonial period. Bonate states that regulos' authority "was legitimized not so much from their association with colonialism, but through more 'traditional' *longue durée* historical discursive means adapted to the new historical context" (2007:7). The regulos and the local societies were profoundly transformed by their relationship with the colonial state and capitalist economy. All the same, the Africans believed that legitimacy of chiefship protected them from the malevolent spirits and helped them to maintain the connection with their ancestors. On the other hand, the Portuguese allowed the continuity of tradition by leaving the customary law up to the chiefs in terms of formulation and execution. However, the Portuguese attributed the functions of community leadership with disrespect of the principles of matriliny which legitimized exercise of power by mother's brothers, affecting the foundations of social life (Cabaço, 2010:73). The new structures of traditional leadership began to transfer their political and social position to their own sons, contrary to the customary rules (Serrão and Marquez, 2001:555).

The regulos represented the last step of the colonial administration and at the same time, the first step of the traditional authority. They were the contact point between two societies that coexisted in the colony: the direct centralized administration and a form of indirect controlled authorities. It was a clear example of institutionalization of the dual society of the "bifurcated state".

The contradictions and conflicts within the regulados are the result of human relations, interventions of the colonial and post-colonial state, including detentions

or banning of traditional authorities involved in influential political and subversive activities. Alfane Tauria, regulo Movere (born in 1949 in Lunga) recalled the history of rivalry between two families of Murrapahine clan for the ascent of the regulado position. In 1996 he submitted an official document to the Administrator of the Mossuril District regarding his claims to the position of Regulo of Motomonho in Lunga. This rare document outlines over one hundred years of history of local chiefs in Lunga, passed orally over the generations:

> The exponents [Alfane Tauria and Issa Sumaila] are heirs of the Regulado Movere and this way they wish to fully inform about their claims to Regulado Movere.

> The ill-fated Movere was a traditional captain of war and his full name was Movere Mutianaro. He ruled this land and his residence was in Milapane, the actual Parra. Before the arrival of Portuguese settlers, Movere ruled this land as a king. This is to say that before Portuguese colonialism, the land was divided into zones and each zone had its own traditional structure. For example, king Mucuto-Muno ruled in Mossuril, king Movere ruled in Lunga, and king Mucupere ruled in Mogincual.

> Movere was a king of Mutomonho and he ruled the area until his death. Then he was succeeded by his brother called Movere Nanzaia Pithanha, who also ruled for a long time before passing away.

> When he died, his nephew called Sataca ruled the Movere Empire. After the arrival of the Portuguese few years later[44] they recognized him as a ruler of the Movere lands. There was a man named Molide Natecume, who asked the King Sataca for permission to settle in Motomonho. Then Molide Natecume secretly contacted the Portuguese and asked for a recognition as a Regulo of the zone, even though he had no right to become one.

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[44] The Portuguese military post in Lunga was established around 1896. (Source: *Boletim Oficial*, 24/10/1896, no 44, p. 486.)

And this way Natecume defeated the old king Sataca, eventually taking his place without the will of the majority.

If the settlers had any requests in the area, they delegated Molide Natecume to give the orders who responded as a Regulo without the consent of king Movere. This way Molide Natecume reached the point of acting as regulo of the Zone, because of his close relations with the Portuguese, and not as the rightful land owner. Molide Natecume came originally from Quivulane - Regulado Panto.

During the visit of Governor General Regimio Graveiro Lopes[45], king Sataca denounced Molide Natecume as an impostor. But because the king did not have any academic knowledge the Portuguese misunderstood him and suspected a revolt. As a revenge, Molide Natecume convinced the Portuguese to imprison the king.

After the king's inprisonment, Molide Natecume was free to rule. After his death, his nephew Aiupa Momade succeeded him. Being a minor, he failed to take responsibility as a regulo, eventually being substituted by his uncle Momade Atumane.
In 1965 the Movere family began to claim their right to the Regulado. In 1969, the Portuguese Chefe de Post Administrativo de Lunga, Mr. Mendosa, requested the Movere family to elect a suitable candidate (adult, capable, and literate) for the position of Regulo Movere. That failed with the arrival of Frelimo and the subsequent exodus of Portuguese settlers. Following the Frelimo Government's implementation of the traditional authorities, Aiupa Momade was again reappointed – however, still without rights[46] [sic].
This way, the exponents ask Your Excellency to study this matter in order to return the Regulado Movere to its rightful heirs.[47]

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[45] Most likely during 1956 visit in Mozambique of the Portuguese President Francisco Higino Craveiro Lopes (appointed by Salazar). Source: http://www.presidencia.pt/

[46] Frelimo abolished Regulados and deposed the regulos in 1974, which is omitted in exposition for obvious reasons. Frelimo reappointed the regulos and included them into the state administration apparatus in 2000.

[47] The document copied and quoted by kind permission of Alfane Tauria, 6/06/2011, Lagoa, Lunga. The PDF of the original is in Appendix 4.

4.5 Matriliny and heterogeneity of Makua-Enahara people

The base of the Regulado's structure is a family. In Mozambique there are two principal forms of family: matrilineal affiliation predominating in the territories north of Zambezi River and patrilineal in the central and southern parts of the country.

Matriliny is typical for the Makua culture. In this type of family a child is linked with a maternal lineage. This way, children are identified by their mother's name. This does not mean however that a father's family would not have influence in the children's lives. Matriliny is a form of principal identification of an individual in the society. The family is not a rigid form: there is always a space for others, also regarded as family. This can happen through adoption or establishing fictitious or classificatory family ties, categorizing a person as a family member through their place they occupy within a family. These ties are felt as real even if the family is not related (Fernando 1996: 21-22). It was also my experience during the time of my fieldwork in Lunga, when after few months I was regarded by the Salimo household as a brother (*muhim'aka*).

In a matrilineal society, a woman is a principal link identifying the lineage. It is important to note that matriliny does not mean a matriarchate where women would hold power. It is her brother who holds a role of family chief. Her son will take over that role in case of the uncle's death or incapacity. A woman is a councilor (*apiamwene*) of the chiefs (her brothers or uncles). This gives her a special status but does not transform the social system into a matriarchate, as the role of the family chief is still played by her uncle, brother or son.

The Lungan society is not typically matrilineal, similarly to other coastal societies like Koti in Angoche or other Enaharra groups from Ilha de Moçambique and Cabaceira. According to researchers (Conceição 2006, Fernando 1996, Martinez 1989, Bonate 2007), the Islamist northern coastline of Nampula and Cabo Delgado is a meeting point of matrilineal and patrilineal traditions, creating local variations of Makua culture. For example, sheikhs and *mwalimos* enjoy a social status of *mwenes*[48] from the interior of Nampula. The two affiliation systems, one stemming from Makua traditions (matrilineal) and the other from Islam (patrilienal) are present. A third hybrid form has not been yet clearly defined.

Rafael da Conceição describes a paradox of the domination of men by women – where women in turn depend on men. Men exert considerable power over the functioning of the lineage and destinations, the area of marriage and community leadership. At the economic level, the patrilineal trends coexist with the rules of matrilineal systems. Thus, men depend exclusively on women's control of agricultural production, but in turn men exclude women from managing products at the market (2006:94).

The other significant difference is *lobolo*, the bride payment or matrimonial compensation. *Lobolo* is a practice of a great importance to patrilineal societies where husband or his family compensate the wife's parents of the wife, or their patriliny, traditionally with seeds or livestock or today, with money. *Lobolo* legitimizes the marriage (Fernando 1996:24-25) and is not practiced in the matrilineal Makua societies where children follow their mother's lineage. However, in the coastal communities exists *mahari* – a payment made by a prospective husband that is being kept by a classificatory father (a maternal uncle) of the

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[48] Muene (Emakhuwa) chief, lord

future bride. *Mahari* cannot be repaid to the husband in case of the divorce, very frequent after the first marriage. However, there are cases that after a death of the husband, a woman returns to her family – that is, her lineage of origin, her *kabyila* (her mother's side, typical for matrilineal societies) (Conceição 2006:101). Conceição concludes that the question of patrilineality of coastal communities remains debatable.

However, if the Makuas from the interior represent a certain ethnic cohesion, the coastal societies can be considered as promptly denying the notion of ethnicity. According to Rafael da Conceição, the coastal communities in the north of Mozambique are naturally heterogeneous and consist of many individuals originating from various regional ethnic groups. They appear to function in the system that does not privilege any ethnic origin to the point of denying it completely and

> making *a tabula rasa* of the individual's ethnic past, which is an essential condition for their entry in the coastal social space. Coastal people's place of origin is a legend, a myth, continuously renewed, a place to escape their servile condition, an obsessive search of their Arabic origin – real or imaginary" (da Conceição, 2006:142).

They are eager to point out that "Enahara is different than Macua – Enahara means *gente da praia* (people from the coast)" (Respondent 8, director of Education Department, 7/12/2010). According to shaykh Hafiz Jamu, Enahara means

> "the bastard sons". This is because the first Portuguese settlers as well as the Arab traders arrived here without women. They intermarried with the local Makua women and had

children with them. There are very few sources about this. (Shaykh H. Jamu, Ilha de Moçambique, 14/02/2011)

The history of Islam and the Asiatic presence on the coast plays an integral role in the past and present profound changes within the coastal communities. The arrival of the Indian traders on the Mozambican coast in the 19th century is one of the factors that influenced transformations in the society. The participation of navigators and merchants (Gujarat and Malabar among others) in the commercial activities with East Africa preceded the Portuguese by centuries.

Antonio Rita Ferreira (1982: 48-49) writes about the indications of sporadic visits of Indonesian, Persian and Arabic navigators as early as in the first millennium. He mentions Indonesian (proto-Malagasy) already intermarried with Africans arrivals from Madagascar in the 7th century at the Comoros and the Mozambican coast.

Historically, the coastal Makuas established limits between themselves (the Maca, Muslims and 'civilized') and those to be enslaved (the Makua and Lomwe, derogatory terms, meaning savagery, i.e., 'non-Muslims' and 'uncivilized')(Bonate, 2006:142)[49]. The difference between people from the interior and the coast is easy to note. If for the continental groups the most important is to establish relationship between themselves and their land, the coastal people seem to cultivate a social distance between them and the interior. The reference to Islam is an element of a tremendous meaning in defining their identity and their idea about their own distinction. The northern Mozambican Muslims has used the Arabic script for communication purposes – the coastal communities used it for writing in Emakhuwa, at the same time having little or no knowledge of the official language of the country, Portuguese. "In fact, writing a letter to parents in this script along

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[49] This is also one of the interpretations of the meaning of the word "Makua". Martinez (1989) notes that there are other hypotheses, for example that Makua (Ma-Koa) means: coming from Goa.

with recitation of the *Qur'an* remains one of the traditional ways of showing that a student of a *Qur'anic* school has concluded his/her studies" (Bonate, 2008).

The presence of *baneans* (Hindu traders from Diu) and *mouros* (Islamic traders from India) were notable on the Mozambican coast since the end of 17th century. Cabaço (2010: 64) finds them distinctive because of two aspects: they never strived to hold political power, seeking rather privileged relations or association with the instituted power. Secondly, they had never been interested in investing in the means of production; they preferred controlling trade and transport networks and usury. The prosperity of the Indian and *mestiço* traders is still vivid in the popular memory:

> Lunga, Motomonho, all this used to be a city. There were plenty of whites living here. They came from Ilha [de Moçambique] and the Indians from Goa. There was a lot of movement between Ilha and Lunga, because Lunga provided food products for all people at Ilha. Here, only in Motomonho there were 16 shops. Today, only mine is functioning. (Respondent 13, shopkeeper, 12/02/2011, Motomonho).

> Lunga was a commercial centre during the colonial times. Before Frelimo entered, there were many shops here. The traders were Indian. They had plenty of houses here. Now they are in ruins. They had their houses from here, all the way to the beach. When Frelimo entered, they all left; and not on good terms. They were beaten, there were gunshots. They did not want to be "*mandados pelo governo*" (obey the government) – they wanted to be independent. (Respondent 18, carpenter, 16/02/2011, Lunga)

As discussed earlier, the colonial *Indigenato* separated European and African customary laws, leaving the latter under jurisdiction of *regulos*. According to Bonate (2007: 184) Portuguese regarded northern Mozambican Islam as a part of local African "traditions", calling it "*Islão Negro*" (Black Islam) and categorizing it

accordingly within *Indigenato*. In the 20th century when the colonial power

consolidated, the Islamic coastal elites were slowly but steadily excluded from

economic and political power. The end of slave trade was an end to their

prosperity. The decline of their power went together with the decline of the

historical city of Moçambique and a transfer of the urban life thousands kilometers

south to Lourenço Marques.

Postcolonial times often epitomize "persistent 'neo-colonial' relations within the

'new' world order"(Bhabha, 1994: 6), making continuum of the history of

exploitation and strategies of resistance. Frelimo's rise to power, with its

revolutionary discourse, was the final blow to the pride and history of the coastal

elites. They despised the Frelimo policies of collectivization and common villages.

The coastal Muslims maintained their distance in a similar manner they did with

Portuguese. Conceição (2006: 226) states that the coastal people were hostile

towards the newly independent state just as they had always opposed any form of

enforced administration. Excluded from power, feeling persecuted because of the

religion ban, their lives began to become increasingly secretive. The prayers and

rituals had to be done in the most discreet manner possible. Their traditional

fishing and commercial activities had to be done secretly: in April 1983 Gulamo

Nabi was executed for illegal shrimp trade[50] – one of the principal exports of

Mozambique, monopolized by the state (Fauvet and Mosse, 2004:192).

Considered as anti-revolutionary, they found refuge in an identity of the excluded,

in their embittered memories and profound distrust of the state. Bhabha writes

about the cultures existing in post-colonial "contra-modernity". They may be

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[50] Lei nº. 5782 «Lei de Defesa da Economia» (Economy Defence Law) on which Tribunal Militar
Revolucionario based the death penalty for Gulamo Nabi, was unanimously revoked by Parliament of
Mozambique in March 2007. Source: Luis Nhachote, Canal de Moçambique, 22/03/2007.

dependent on modernity or be resistant to its assimilationist technologies. They are characterized by their "cultural hybrydity of their borderline conditions" (Bhabha 1994: 6). These conditions, according to Bhabha, renew the past's meanings in the present. "The 'past-present' becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living" (opp.cit. 7).

In this chapter I traced a historical trajectory of the coastal societies that begins with the onset of the colonial rule in the late nineteenth century. I demeonstrated the mechanisms of how the society perceived the state using Mamdani's concept of 'bifurcated state'. Mamdani suggests the continuation of the bifurcated state in the post-colonial context, where two forms of power – traditional and civil – exist under a hegemonic authority, separating rural from the urban. There is a contemporary relevance of the both assimilationist colonial and post-independence anticolonial discourses on the sociocultural universe of the coastal societies. Both arguments needed a State – an authority necessary to accomplish "civilization" through the *assimilação* policies and the creation of the "New Man" through "scientific socialism". I situated in more detail the historical background and the context of the research and examined the persistence of history in my respondents lives in the cases of Regulo Movere and Agostinho Siquilata.

This chapter provides a background to the discussion of the dynamics of tensions between the fields of state institutions and the coastal society that will be discussed later. In the following chapters I will reflect on a number of issues connected with traditional authorities and history, national politics and schooling, livelihoods and marginalization.

Chapter Five

The modes of life

The Motomonho fishermen weaving *gamboas* (fishing traps, 8/05/2011).

Chapter Five: The modes of life

"This is a complicated area. People do not value education. What they want is their usual activities – fishing. We asked them to help us in getting their children go to school. They just say "yes". And then send their children to learn how to fish. This is the local community: fishermen, traders and Muslims." (Respondent 37, primary school director, Muanangome, 23/05/2011).

During formal interviews and informal conversations in Lunga and Muanangome the topic was often people's everyday life, and the above quote encapsulates the tone of many of these conversations. Residents' comments were often ambivalent, and many respondents remained convinced that Lunga communities are detached from the rest of the district, forgotten by the state, and with little chance for people who struggle to get by.

This chapter starts with a description of Lunga and its surroundings followed by a brief historical sketch of social characteristics of artisanal fishing communities. Their livelihoods depending on the sea create a unique habitat, influencing social structures and relations. Gender, age and control of means of production function everywhere as principles for social stratification. Social differences tend to be reproduced over generations, causing children to take over their parents' class membership (Eriksen, 1995:150). The chapter describes the main themes emerging from the conversations: people's responses to uncertainty and exclusion.

Political affiliation plays an important role in social stratification of a community, and the relationship between state and local communities in the post-colonial states often shows how inhabitants of such communities resist dominance (ibid, 158). According to James Scott most subordinate classes had little opportunity in

creating or participating in open and organized political activity, resorting to "everyday forms of peasant resistance" notably, avoiding any direct confrontation with authority (Scott, 1985:xvi). The chapter aims to provide a thicker description of some of the issues concerning people's forms of resistance and responses to uncertainty and exclusion, while I will return to these themes and discuss them further in Chapter Seven.

5.1 At the edge of the world

From the national highway heading towards Ilha de Moçambique it is possible to see a glimpse of seemingly boundless plains stretching south across the Monapo River. That vast green territory is Lunga, the southernmost coastal administrative region of the Mossuril District. Its climate favours agriculture and intensive fishing while the lavish beaches could attract any investor of tourism. Lunga however remains remote and isolated from the rest of the district. The unique entry by road stops after three kilometres at the Monapo River crossing. Until the 1980s there had been a concrete bridge about 50 meters long. The raging waters caused by cyclone Nadia washed it away. The alternative route forces travellers to trek over 200 kilometres through the sandy roads of the neighbouring Monapo District or to cross the river by a canoe.

In the course of my initial visits to Lunga in December 2010 and January 2011 I found that the name "Lunga" is assigned in very broad terms to the area of Mossuril District stretching south of Monapo River toward Mogincual, rather than to a specific settlement. A vast territory known as Lunga, also designated Ttokoma

in Emakhuwa language, is a sparsely populated coastal strip, encompassing several small far-flung townships[51].

The isolation and bleakness of Lunga have persisted for more than seven decades. The earliest colonial inspection reports from 1930s Mozambique by captain Armando Eduardo Pinto Correia described his voyage through the wooden bridge over Monapo and

> after a shaky journey of 48 km , we are in the old town of Mutomonho, once thriving, bustling trade for 50 stores, which are now reduced to a third. Whitewashed buildings with rusty zinc roofs, some houses in ruins. Along the beach, installed opposite a deserted bay, stands the headquarters of Lunga, on a strip of sand and gravel, which juts between the sea and the rotten stagnant waters of a lagoon. This peninsula, not wider than a road that descends to the village of Mutomonho, was constructed on a landfill certainly at the cost of heavy mobilization of porters. (…) Abundant in mosquitoes and almost unbearable heat, Lunga does not please anyone. The head of the post, Rodrigues Lapa, lives away from trade, which is in Mutomonho, and away from the population whose nuclei are more numerous on the slopes of Quivolane. He has the appearance of a marginalized individual, isolated, stripped of any functions other that a customs guard, watching the few sailboats arrive in Moçambique (Pinto Correia, 1938:96).

Today the Administrative Post of Lunga remains at the same location at the southwest coast of the Mocambo Bay and is as desolate as in the Pinto Correia's report. It is an important governmental station, however, comprising the secretariat, office and residence of the Chief of the Post, a police station, a health centre with a maternity ward, a local court and the Frelimo's party office. Besides these, there are only just a few mud and wattle huts occupied by four teachers of

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[51] The primary areas of this research are the following Lunga townships: Motomonho, Lagoa, Magomano, and Muanangome.

the Lunga Sede Primary School in a neighbouring settlement of Magomano. The ruined, dilapidated buildings of a colonial enterprise "Monteiro e Castanheira", Portuguese shops as well as the Catholic chapel and mission school "*Escola Capela* da Lunga" are long time abandoned, creating a desolate atmosphere of a nearly deserted township.

The decrepit, obsolete structures provide evidence of Lunga having been once a thriving commercial and educational centre in the region. In the 1940s and 1950s Oliveira Salazar introduced in Portugal the strict reforms concerning the economic relationship between Metropole and the colonies. Lisbon's political and economic fragility was the principal reason of conceding the hefty portions of southern and central regions of Mozambique to the foreign investment (mostly British and South African). Salazar cancelled the last concession with Britain in 1942 and reinserted all territories under the Portuguese administration. Metropole was to become financially capable of any intervention in the colony, aiming for a more intensive exploration – this time, for the Portuguese benefit only (Magode, 1996:61). The colonial administrator of Lunga, Constantino Alves Martin, set up in 1955 a system of summoning all the inhabitants registered in *Livro de Recenseamento Populacional*[52] to work as "contracted employees" at the plantations and factories throughout the Mozambique District (today Nampula Province), thus making sure that nobody escaped the forced "contracts" (Viegas, 2010: 9).

Since the 1950's there have been about 25 commercial establishments in the Lunga region, including three in Lunga, six in Motomonho, two in Muanangome, three in Namirupela, as well as a large industrial fishery "Companhia Gil e Morgado Lta" (Viegas, 2010: 7). The influx of settlers triggered establishing of a

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[52] Population census.

health centre in 1958 (sill functioning today), and Catholic religious and educational institutions.

The sudden withdrawal of the Portuguese in 1975 and ensuing civil war lead to the darkest moments in the Lunga's history, devastating it throughout the 1980s and leading to collapse most of created structures. Today the few coastal settlements of Lunga are sparsely populated and distant; none are electrified.

5.2 Social stratification, livelihoods and gender

Fisheries development in the past

There has been very little social science research done in Mozambique in the past. The principal reason was a dispersal of the colonial apparatus after 25 April 1975, including the scientists. The Portuguese intellectuals experienced decolonization as a disintegration of their social status, and as a denial of their meaning of life. In a result, it had been more convenient to forget the colonial period than to study it. The Frelimo government considered anthropology as a "bourgeois" science regarding facts without emphasising the class struggle (Cahen, 1995: 134). It further weakened the few existing academic Africanist institutions. This point is particularly valid in the field of fisheries "where just a handful of predominantly aid related studies have been carried out" (Johnsen, 1992: 115).

Fishing played an insignificant role in Mozambican trade during colonial times despite of over 2000 km of coastline and large fishing resources. Portugal imposed division of labour between the colonies and chose Angola for

development of the fishing sector. Colonial authorities prohibited trawling the Mozambican waters until 1960's. The national supply of fish was insufficient and Mozambique relied on fish imports from Angola and Portugal, creating consumer habits. In effect, people appreciated more Angolan mackerel and Portuguese *bacalhau* than national product (ibid).

The first report concerning fisheries *"O problema das pescas maritimas nas costas de Moçambique"* by Moreira Rato was published only in 1961 and caused interest in developing industrial fishing of shrimp, whales and lobster. The colonial state established the first fishing enterprise in 1959 in Lourenço Marques (da Conceição, 2006: 108). The products were effectively destined for export to United States and South Africa. Artisanal fishers, commercial and self-subsistent alike, subsequently fell into secondary position, using locally made fishing gear. They had to pay fishing tax to the maritime authorities.

In the 1980's the artisanal fisheries became a focus of the government's attention for interventions such as fixed pricing, centralized planning and state control. However, these interventions met with little success and compounded by the worsening civil war situation, led to a decrease in production and commercial activities in artisanal fisheries (Johnsen, 1992:117).

Artisanal fishing on the Mossuril coast

The coastal area of Mossuril is composed of low lands, rising above 200 m between 15 and 140 km from the shore. Typically, mangroves, low strips of beaches and cliffs, characterize the northern coastline. Tropical rain savannah

climate is predominant and due to a warm current in the Mozambique Channel the surface of the sea varies between 25 and 29 degrees Celsius (Chemane 1998: 64-65).

Artisanal fishing is a main occupation of the coastal societies north of Sofala Bank, which covers the coasts of the three northern provinces of Zambezia, Nampula and Cabo Delgado. Large-scale industrial fishing is developed in the south of the country[53]. Artisanal fishing communities are largely dependent on natural resource-based activities (Rosendo et al. 2011: 60), which besides fishing include trade, farming, carpentry, boat making and weaving of mats.

 Artisanal fishers are an enormous and badly defined group with multiple activities, usually alternating between agriculture and fishing and depending on seasons, migration and possibilities of other sources of income. They engage in fishing with various types of gear (see fig. 4.1); may possess a boat usually less than ten meters long and use simple manual systems of conservation of fish on-board. Artisanal fishers also include collectors and divers. According to IDPPE (Development Institute of Small-Scale Fishing) total labour force involved in artisanal fishing in Mozambique approximates 350,000 people, a half of which does not own a vessel (IDPPE 2009: 19). About 40 per cent of all artisanal fishers operate on the coast of Nampula Province, which emphasises the importance of this activity in the local work force.

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[53] From the interview with the director of Instituto Nacional de Investigação Pesqueira (IIP) Maputo, 22/10/2010.

Figure 5.1. Types of artisanal fishing and fishing gear.

Fishing type	Devices used	Type of a fisher
Fishing on foot	gamboa[54], quinia[55], nets, cloth (capulanas[56]), cage (gaiola[57])	Individual men, women or children
Line fishing	line	Individual men
Boat fishing	boat	Fishers with line - individual or in groups
	Boat + nets	Individual (men) or collective
	Boat + gamboa	Individual
	Boat + traps	Individual

The coastal societies have traditional knowledge and a history of artisanal fishing. There are no existing apprenticeship programmes for young fishers. They learn a trade by observation and practice, gradually gaining the necessary experience and confidence. In Lunga people are predominantly dependent on artisanal fishing for food and cash income making the demand for fish is unremitting and therefore providing a continuous practice for young fishers. Having acquired the necessary skills, the apprentices usually begin to work as a part of the hired fishing team as they lack resources to start as independent operators.

The sea is an environment naturally foreign to humans, dangerous and unpredictable. Acheson (1981: 276) argues that this insecure ambiance has a profound influence on social structures and relations. Fishing is a dangerous occupation, dependent on man-made devices like boats or fishing gear adapted to the specific fishing conditions. Fishers are constantly threatened by the climatic

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[54] Gamboa (Port.) gillnet or woven mats, fixed vertically on poles on seabed, set up during high tide and removed during low tide (personal communication).

[55] Quinia (Port.) nets approximately 5 meters long and 3 meters high. The net is fine meshed (usually mosquito net), and dragged by two persons. Quinia is generally operated on the beaches, estuaries and riverbanks (personal communication).

[56] Capulana (vernacular, originally from Shangaan) a length of printed cotton cloth women wear wrapped around their bodies; also used as a baby carrier (personal obs.)

[57] Gaiola (Port.) traps of various forms and dimensions (cylindrical, rectangular etc.) with an opening in one side through which fish enter; usually constructed of reeds or other materials (personal obs.)

conditions, winds, storms or a mechanical breakdown. Even the collectors, operating in the estuaries and not in an open sea, must be aware of the tides and use equipment and techniques that are completely different from those being used on the land.

> One never knows how the day will go. *Inshallah* one day a lot of fish die, but sometimes we come back with almost nothing. It's difficult. Even sometimes when we catch a lot of fish, there is a lot of work to conserve them and sell them so it won't get rotten in the heat. Last week I sold 17 boxes of fish. I transported them on motorbike to Monapo and made a lot of money. But sometimes there are weeks when fish don't die and we barely have enough to bring back home to eat. (Respondent 40, fisherman, Muanangome, 21/05/2011)

> When you tell the stories from Lunga in your country, don't forget to tell them it's dangerous here. The men are going out on the boats, but you can never know the sea. You never know how many will never return. (Respondent 20, fisherman, Motomonho, 19/02/2011)

There are three types of fishing communities on the Mossuril coast: urban or semi-urban centres (Ilha de Moçambique, Lumbo and Vila do Mossuril) where a small percentage of inhabitants live from fishing; villages where fishing is a major occupation (most of the coastal villages – Muanangome, Muacone, Lagoa) and the temporary encampments (Lunga, Terrene) or uninhabited islands harbouring the seasonal fishermen.

Figure 5.2. Temporary encampment of artisanal fishers in Lunga (4/08/2011).

Most of the fishing vessels are powered by rowing or sailing which can be considered characteristic of the artisanal fishing. It is important to note that less than 2% of all the artisanal fishers' vessels in the country are motorized by an engine (IDPPE, 2009: 31). In Lunga there are only 13 boats with engine operating, in addition to 430 "Moma"[58] boats and 195 hollowed trunk canoes.

Livelihoods of the coastal communities depend of the sea and need to be understood as an immense and complicated network of social and economic relations that are made possible and viable by this environment. Different social categories (fishermen, sailors, boat constructors and repairmen, maritime authorities, collectors) represent a structure that is strongly connected to the marine resources (da Conceição, 2006: 114). The relation to the sea creates a unique habitus of the coastal societies.

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[58] "Moma" is a type of a canoe with a tabbed hull, open deck with sheer, two bows (IDPPE 2009:48). Name derived from the coastal Moma District, in the southern Nampula Province.

Gender and masculinity

Research on fishing communities usually interprets women as passive actors in this labor model, often ignoring their role (Bene and Marten, 2002; Bennett, 2005). The sexual division of labor in Lunga fisheries is very visible. Fishing is a predominantly male activity (with over 33,000 male fishers in Nampula Province) while women are only occasionally involved in fishing with nets or collecting molluscs and shrimp from the estuaries (616 women, according to IDPPE in 2009). Men are also the principal owners of the fishing vessels (idem, p.36).

> Women participate in fishing. But there is no project that would develop their role. And all the [fishing] equipment belongs to men. Women usually collect shrimp with *quinia*. In Lagoa, there are many women fishers. They usually have no skills, and follow the men. They also don't follow Islamic education. (Respondent 38, fisherman, Motomonho, 17/06/2011)

The fact that men work on boats for prolonged periods of time has its consequences on their psychological well being as well as on their families from which they are separated. Acheson (1981: 277) argues that it forces both fishermen and families to play distinctively different roles than in the other societies of the same ethnicity. It directly influences the role of women who are taking the main role in running the households, bringing up family, cultivate small agriculture plots and sometimes help with processing and commercializing the catch. Da Conceição notes that women's contribution to the household through agriculture is often of crucial importance, as the family's economy depends on it equally to secure their self-subsistence (2006:123). In effect, the psychological

characteristics of the coastal Makuas are very different from those living in the interior.

Male fishers' notions of masculinity are strongly linked to defining "their" occupation as being a male occupation in which women are, by definition, unable to participate:

> It's men's work, fishing, and the whole sea work. Also collecting *capim*[59] from the bush. To cut it, carry here, load on boats and sell. Fishing is mostly pulling the nets; majority of men is doing it. The women don't work at all (sic). They take care of children and the house. I want to continue with small trade and boat construction. I have one client now, Sr Zalico. His boat is being built in Lunga in my workshop. I cannot get any youngsters for apprentices. The youth want to go to pull the nets on the beach, get paid 5 or 10 meticais and go to the market to buy sugar cane or bread. (Respondent 36, boat constructor, b.1980, Muanangome, 20/05/2011)

According to Dunbar Moodie (1988), an aggressive and macho masculinity is fundamental to construction of male identities in a range of contexts. Campbell (1997: 275) confirms that in the context of dangerous and often impoverished lives hyper masculine identities serve as a way of coping with struggles and distress in their day-to-day working lives. According to Acheson (1981: 297) the extreme masculinity display is often a disguise, "providing an illusion of being in control over their families" and a certain separation between fishermen and the other social groups "to insulate the society as a whole against the threatening values and behavior of fishermen (i.e. independence, aggression)".

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[59] Capim (Port.) grass; respondent means a type of dry, tough grass collected from the bush and used commonly for covering the roofs of huts.

Fishers have opinion of being *"brutos"* (rough, unfriendly) and *"não educados"* (uneducated, ill-mannered). In Lunga and Muanangome I had an opportunity to observe fishermen's interaction with people on the landing sites. During the high tide the boats returned with the catch, and people gathered on the beach waiting to buy fresh fish directly from fishermen on considerably lower prices than from the intermediaries on the market. Few fishers got off the boats, throwing the catch on the sand for the buyers to appreciate and make their choices. The majority stayed on-board, forcing their clients to wade into the water and leaning into the boats, ask for the prices. The fishers' attitude was defiant and rude; they seemed to make a deliberate point of displaying indifference and condescension towards the others.

Figure 5.3. Lunga landing site, March 2011.

I met most of the fishermen I interviewed in the Muanangome madrassa, where they displayed a completely different behaviour than on the landing sites or in the bars along the shore: they were quiet, gently spoken and respectful. In the conversations they showed a strong commitment to their occupation despite the associated risks and uncertainty it brought. Several respondents openly discussed the disadvantages of being a fisherman and mentioned their responsibilities towards their families:

> My father was a *mwalimo* and a tailor. He died in 1998. My mother also died in 1993, so after my father's death I had to figure out how to live. I had younger brothers to take care of. They shouldn't suffer. So I started fishing bit by bit, earning 10 meticais for pulling the nets on the shore. In 1997 I married. Now I have 8 children, 5 boys and 3 girls.
> (Respondent 35, fisherman, Muanangome, 18/05/2011)

> - I am not entirely satisfied with the gains (earnings). But I never worked "*na rua*" (on the shore - in trade or any other occupation) only "*via maritima*" (living off the sea). I want my son to study. Working with boats is not so good. I have 3 children, 2 girls.
> [His son came around during our conversation and sat next to me. I greeted him in Portuguese, but the boy did not respond. My respondent explained that the boy has not gone to school yet and does not understand Portuguese.]
> -How old is he?
> -Eight.
> -When are you going to enroll him?
> -Maybe next year.
> (Respondent 36, fisherman/boat constructor,19/05/2011, Muanangome)

The commitment and identification with fishing is very strong. Respondent 38, born in Motomonho in 1951, had been particularly active in the adult education area since the times of the 1974 Transition Government and currently also in social

development in Lunga. Still, one of his first statements during our conversation was "I am a fisherman".

Responses to uncertainty

Fishing is a competitive occupation. The sea is a resource open to anyone and uncontrollable in terms of weather or location of fish. Additional pressure is a migratory lifestyle of fishers: they leave their home areas to fish along the coast during the dry season (May to November). Rosendo et al (2011: 60) also notes that the fishermen originating from the Nampula coast increasingly travel much larger distances reaching the Cabo Delagdo on the Tanzanian border, some 400 km away. There is very little management of resources and "anyone could fish where, how, when and how much they wanted" (Rosendo et al 2011: 61). The government agencies responsible for fishing regulations rarely travel to the remote locations. During my fieldwork I met the representative of IDPPE (based in Lunga Administrative Post) only twice.

The fishers cope with uncertainties mainly by their accumulated skills and experience. From their personal histories I found that they have been "working on the sea" for many years and often learned their expertise from their fathers. Power (2008: 575) describes this kind of embodied knowledge as having fishing "in their blood" and connects it directly to the unique habitus where they operate as well as to a fact of fishing being a highly gendered occupation.

Apart from acquisition of skills and access to the resources, successful fishermen possess a remarkable ability to invest the generated income. The boat owners employ directly or indirectly up to twenty fishers. They are great entrepreneurs,

selling oftentimes large quantities of fish mainly in the interior towns of Monapo and Namialo. Some of my respondents (35, 36, 39, fishermen) have long term plans in establishing a viable networks of transporting the catch inland where the prices are higher as well as establishing other income generating projects. Respondent 35 invested in a petrol generator and a DVD player and started a local cinema and a disco in Muanangome.

To become *o patrão* – the owner of social and technical means of production – is a dream and an objective of all fishermen. The owners of boats are considered as people with superior status. Many times fishermen start as hired help, selling the catch locally at the same time. Having saved enough money, they buy a small boat and hire cheap labour:

> My job is to be part of the fishing crew on a boat. I work on the large boat, for 18 fishers. We divide money from the sale of the catch, fifty-fifty with the boat owner. We don't divide fish. There is one trusted fisher who deals with the boat owner. The rest [other fishers] doesn't matter. Sometimes I arrange transport for the catch to be transported in the interior, Monapo, Nampula. That's why I want to have a driving license, too. But first of all I must have my own boat. It is difficult. I managed to gather wood for the construction. I still miss the nets and the engine. It's enough to have my own boat. The fishers will show up. Anyone from here, Lunga, will do. (Respondent 35, fisherman, b. 1975, Muanangome, 18/05/2011)

> My plan is to buy a boat – about 12 meters long, with an engine and sixty rolls of nets. This is how to earn a good life. Plan my retirement. My life would be solved then. I'd employ 15 to 20 people. It would be my benefit and theirs as well. (Respondent 10, district administration worker, b. 1935, Mossuril, 7/12/2010)

Whittingham et al (2003) highlights the importance of understanding the isolation of fishing communities from policy implementation, the absence of local organizations, the poor infrastructure and education, and the extreme vulnerabilities of people. He argues, "there is the real risk that the communities may be incapable of responding to the opportunities and incentives emerging through other intervention or development processes specifically targeting a single sector or concern such as the coral reefs" (pp.107). The fact that fishing communities are underrepresented politically may be a result of long periods of absence while on the sea.

5.3 Community leadership

Mozambique is a state multi-layered politically and culturally. The fusion of different forms of political rule and practices originate from its cultures (African traditional, Islamic, colonial Portuguese, Marxist/socialist and finally capitalist) (Menezes and de Sousa Santos, 2009). These factors coexist in a complex way creating a multitude of representations, understandings and meanings, which separately or jointly may design a profile of a citizen identity and his relation to the state. Certainly it is not a simple process. The loose network of authorities (state, traditional officially recognized or not, religious leaders, non-governmental organizations etc.) operate simultaneously or interact with each other.

> A given conflict is divided up in different issues or sub-conflicts, some of them to be dealt
> with by one of the institutions and others by others, or when one institution functions as an
> instance of appeal for dispute non-satisfactorily settled by another institution, or still when
> one institution is called upon to help (evaluating or providing evidence, for instance) in the

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decision of case submitted to another institution (Menezes and de Sousa Santos, 2009:131).

In Lunga, the District Administration dealt with the tax payment issues; the local community court solved the debt conflicts – however, they could be also settled by the District; local healers or the Islamic leaders came to aid with spiritual, physical health and social problems; official local authorities as well as religious leaders assisted and validated the ceremonies of marriage; while the *humu* and *muenes* play an important role in the initiation rites.

The administration of the Posto de Lunga promotes civic values with "speeches to raise awareness about elections; public programmes about health – about importance of maintaining the houses and yards clean and how to engage in work to guarantee self-sufficiency for the households. We emphasize the role of women in the society. We encourage women to study and start their own commercial activities, including fishing, to be more independent from men."[60]

Mrs Rafa Pereira is a new *Chefe de Posto Administrativo* de Lunga, the second highest authority and a representative of the State in the district. She was nominated as the first woman in this position in the district in the summer of 2011. I had not had the opportunity to meet her predecessor, absent for most of the time during my fieldwork. As a Makonde born in Cabo Delgado, the Lungans considered him an outsider with a little interest of contact or involvement in the life of community.

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[60] Interview with Rafa Pereira, 21/06/11, Lunga

The current *Chefe de Posto* is aware of a delicate and complicated task of diplomacy and cooperation with the community and traditional leaders to secure the votes for Frelimo party. She explained how the newest system of state administration works after inclusion in 2000 traditional community leaders[61] (see also fig. 4.4). Both *Chefe do Posto* and *Chefe da Localidade* are nominated by the government, while a position of a *regulo* is inherited. People can choose only the lowest ranking officials of the state structure - *secretarios do bairro* (neighbourhood secretary).

Figure 5.4. The state hierarchy of a *Posto Administrativo* (based on the interview with Rafa Pereira, 21/06/2011, Lunga)

Chefe do Posto Administrativo
-the highest authority in the Posto, nominated by the government
-there are 3 Postos Administrativos in the Mossuril District: Vila do Mossuril, Matibane and Lunga

Chefe da Localidade
-nominated by the government
-responsible for a portion of Posto Administrativo
-there are two Chefes de Localidade in Lunga: Ampita and Muaualo

Regulo
-traditional community leader
-title and position inherited from the times of semi-independent sheicados
-historically, there are 5 regulos in Lunga, each responsible for a portion of Lunga territory: Panto, Muantepa, Muaualo, Murula and Movere
-the Lunga regulos belong to the two clans (Murrapahine and Lucasse)

Secretario do bairro
-elected every 5 years by the population of each one of 41 bairros.

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[61] The traditional authorities (*regulos* and *secretarios do bairro*) have been officially recognized by the state through the Decreto 15/2000.

The *regulos* were officially recognized by the state and joined its structures in 2000. However, there are many other traditional authorities that are not official: Islamic leaders and teachers (sheiks, *mwalimos*, *khalifas*), traditional healers (*curandeiros*), community elders (*humu* and *muenes*). Although not included in the official (state) structures of authority, they are widely respected and enjoy a high esteem of the population.

5.4 Taboos: political affiliation and power

Politics is irrevocably associated with power. The state exercises power over society through institutions constraining people's agency while people wield power over each other (Eriksen, 1995:157). The powerless groups, excluded and vulnerable, often made "invisible" in the society, strive to develop their own strategies to control their lives. According to Rafael da Conceição, the coastal societies did not adapt to the rapid changes dictated by colonial capitalism of Portugal, and in effect were consigned to the margins of socio-political position (2006:193). Pinto Correia noted in his report of the colonial inspection in 1938:

> In one of the points of Lunga bay, there is the regulado of Malimo, which is not at all covered by the jurisdiction of the chief of post. It belongs to Lunga and should respond to the Administrator's orders. It is needless to say this situation is absurd and contributes to a loss of prestige of the chief of post. It only increases indiscipline of the *indígenas*. Nobody from Administration will stick their noses there. This is a no man's land. There is not even a road opened there. (…) The *indígenas* who do not manage to escape [from forced labor] to Lumbo, Quixaxe or the enclave of Malimo, are captured during the raids. Chief of the post dispatches them to the Monapo-Quixaxe road works, from where, however, they quickly

evade, forcing *cipaios*[62] to new raids, less and less fruitful. This problem is so widespread and deeply rooted that it must be attacked at its source rather than at its superficial manifestations (Pinto Correia 1938: 101-102).

The coastal societies maintained a certain level of autonomy by keeping their distance and sabotaging the impositions from authorities. Melo Branquinho noted in his 1969 secret report:

> The information provided in 1966, still before the start of this report, characterized the Makua milieu as reserved, closed, difficult in obtaining any information, unapproachable to any conquests, and therefore totally different from the Manica and Sofala peoples (1969:7).

The flight of the Portuguese in 1974-75 and the start of the civil war brought the whole country to a standstill. The subsequent rapid decline of Lunga was no exception; however, few people speak openly about the early Frelimo rule. Respondent 13 (Motomonho shopkeeper) recalls the lack of maintenance and collapse of the bridge over the Monapo River, linking Lunga with the rest of the district and the city of Ilha de Mocambique, as the symbol of indifference and apathy of the local structures to development of the region. Respondent 38 (fisherman) mentioned the failed attempt of establishing a communal village in Muricuini, renamed Vida Nova (Port. New Life).

It is interesting to note that the Renamo's rebellion developed in the same areas where anticolonial feelings had been strong (Geffray 1990:41). According to Sumich and Honwana (2007) in the post independence years Frelimo treated rural people as suspended in a timeless state of subsistence agriculture and channeled

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[62] Cipaio (Port., from Eng.: sepoy) a term applied to the Africans recruited as auxiliary rural police or soldiers (Laranjeira 1987).

all investment into massive state farms, causing a collapse of rural shops and creating food shortages. Ignored economically, the rural folk were treated socially as an incarnation of backwardness and obscurantism - a sharp contrast to creating a nation of Homem Novo, based on "scientific socialism". To modernize the rural citizens of a modern nation, Frelimo abolished traditional leadership, outlawed polygamy, witchcraft and lobola, banned religious ceremonies, and made efforts to move rural population from their scattered townships into communal villages (Sumich and Honwana, 2007: 10). Naturally, Renamo tried to respond to the grievances of a part of population, for example, recognizing and empowering the traditional authorities rejected by Frelimo. 'While it is doubtful that [Renamo's] ideology was really a credible alternative on the national level, it allowed Renamo to root themselves in certain parts of the country" (ibid, 2007: 12). Geffray (1990: 53) analyzes how the Renamo arrival in one of the Nampula districts triggered the alienated chief and the population severing their links with the Frelimo state, placing themselves under the rebels' "protection".

The civil war, raging in the country between 1977 and 1992, devastated Lunga thoroughly, forcing the population to flee to the relative safety of cities of Nacala and Ilha de Mocambique and rendering the whole Lunga area abandoned. Lunga seems like a perfect location for the Renamo bases: remote and distant from the main administrative centre (in Vila de Mossuril), and with local authorities at the Posto Administrativo too inexpert and bureaucratic to retaliate.

"During the [Civil] war, I stayed at Ilha [de Mozambique], until 1993. Lunga was completely abandoned during the Civil War. Only in 1992 - 93 people started to come back. During the war, people used to come by boat during the night to collect some cassava and immediately return to Ilha." (Respondent 18, carpenter, 11/03/2011, Motomonho)

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"Then the war started for good. I escaped in the night by boat to Jembesse [continental part of the city of Ilha de Mocambique]. This land still belongs to Renamo. Frelimo is trying to do something, but they fail. In the 80s and 90s there were two main military bases of the guerilla fighters here, in Namavurra and just outside of Quivolane." (Respondent 37, school director, Muanangome, 20/05/2011)

"One of the Renamo bases was here in Lagoa. Down there, if you follow these path. I took my family and escaped in the night to Monapo. It was a long way. First we took a boat to Ilha. It was impossible to travel by land. In 1987 all the houses were burned down. People started to return in 1992 onwards." (Respondent 29, regulo, Lagoa, 9/05/2011)

"In 1983 I started working as a secretary of the economy department of Frelimo in Lunga. Then the terror started: Renamo came over from Sofala, and were joined by some of the locals. I had to escape in 1987 – first to Lumbo, then to Ilha. I lived a life of a refugee there… We had to take boats in the night from Lunga or Muanangome, you couldn't pass the Muantepa and Muaualo areas at all. I came back only in 1994. I have worked since then with the adult literacy programmes." (Respondent 38, fisherman/teacher, Motomonho, 17/06/2011)

It is still not easy for people to talk about those times. Only on few occasions I heard people going back in memories to the late 1980's, when the horror of the war was at its worst. Few respondents (29, regulo; 18, carpenter; 13, shopkeeper) recalled that in 1987 all houses from Motomonho to Lunga were burned down. Several hundreds of guerrillas, en route from the Renamo quartel in Zambezia or Maringue, attacked Lunga. The infamous *grupos de limpeza* (cleaning groups) killed the population; others plundered and stole, searching for certain individuals of some influence in the community. Respondent 13, as a mixed-raced shop owner, was one of the wanted. He narrowly escaped his captors on several occasions. In 1988 he received a warning from the *secretario do bairro* that a

group of strangers – most likely "*bandidos armados*" – ("armed bandits" - the Renamo guerrillas) were asking about him. At the time he ran two shops in Motomonho and Muanangome and betting on the odds that guerrillas would wait at his Motomonho residence, he collected his possessions and fled with his family from Muanangome by boat.

"Civil wars have a sticky quality: they are notorious for being a past that won't go away" – noted Stathis Kalyvas (2006: 35). The present political implications influence researchers to take sides of the antagonists or discuss their cruelty. William Finnegan describes his confusion after interviewing the first Renamo captives who "subtly but firmly refused to demonize his captors"(1992:262) and realizing immense and nuanced ambiguity of the conflict. Lungans' resentment and dislike toward Frelimo may seem paradoxical after terrors of the civil war. Having returned to Lunga from their exile in the cities in the early 1990's, people jointly supported the opposition party. On the eve of first democratic elections in 1994, "in Lunga in Nampula province, Frelimo was forced to close its new office and barred from holding rallies; other parties have also been unable to enter Renamo zones in Nampula" (Hanlon and Waterhouse, 1994:3).

The topic of political affiliation is still taboo in the community. Respondent 13 was one of the few who dare to express openly their views. Others, stating their dissatisfaction with the governmental policies and criticizing "a political game going on", ask for discretion and confidentiality. His recollections are both philosophically stoic and full of bitter remorse.

> You know, I had two prospering shops. I was left with nothing. (…) Sure, there are ways of compensation [from the government]. You need to write a document to the district. And

what of it? If you don't have friends with Frelimo, you will get nothing. Who gets money? *Secretarios, chefe de posto…* Once the administrator asked me if I had prepared such a document. I said I had sent three, nothing happened; I got tired of sending documents. He answered me: *Oh, essa gente* (these people!) And now I ask: What people? Who are these people? These all are Frelimo people. Many spread the rumor that I speak badly about government. What good can I say about them? I got no compensation or help for what I had lost during the war. I had two shops; now I can't get this one running; the only shop there is in Lunga. Sure I didn't have much education. That how it is when your father dies. I grew up with a white man at Ilha de Mocambique, during colonial times, became *assimilado* and all that. But here now, in Lunga, I don't seem to have friends (Respondent 13, shopkeeper, b.1946, Motomonho, February 2011).

Besides personal resentments, Frelimo's unpopularity was possibly aided by Renamo's shrill arguments about Nampula and its Makua ethnic group having historically been marginalized:

What is specific to the Mozambican case and, in light of the civil war, highly problematic is the way in which the state's image of the 'good' community has consistently been monopolised by Frelimo, with Renamo being the negative 'Other' (Kyed and Buur, 2006: 581).

In the 1990's Frelimo's one party government had only one Makua minister; during the 1994 campaign, "Dhlakama accused Frelimo of despising the north, neglecting its people and disrespecting its religious communities. He promised to right those wrongs by decentralizing local government and appointing local people to local posts" (Hanlon and Waterhouse, 1994:5).

Over 27,000 people living today in the Lunga Administrative Post (MAE, 2005) are assisted by 12 primary schools (a secondary opened in Motomonho in January

2011) and barely two medical units. The evacuation to a hospital of the critically ill depends on the ambulance service from Monapo or Mossuril. Notifying ambulance of such a case depends on a sheer luck in capturing the signal of the patchy cell phone network, mCel. There is no electricity or any system of generators. The bridge over the Monapo River has not been reconstructed since mid-80's, despite the repeated promises during the electoral campaigns (Tembe, 2007), creating feelings of rebellion in the population.

> To make the government understand that we need the bridge for our business to survive, we are ready to negotiate our votes with Frelimo in the next elections... We can as well unbalance the votes in this region. The majority of voters in Ilha de Moçambique, Monapo and Mossuril come from Lunga. They were born there but had abandoned Lunga due to the hard living conditions that were imposed on them – said Muanema Sara (Tembe, 2007 – my translation).

The presidential visit to Lunga in April 2010 has been considered as the first sign of big changes. Armando Guebuza dazzled the population with his speech, promising rapid improvement in living conditions. Some developments appeared in a flash:

> -We suffered a lot because of the water situation. The only drinking water well was in Lunga, so people were forced to take a drum tied to the bicycle and walk 9, 10, 15 km to fetch water - or to drink the dirty water from the river. Now we have pumps with safe water in the townships.
> -Since when?
> -They opened in 2010, after the president's visit. I had constructed my house in Lunga because of the well there. But it is so far away from everything – 10 km to the Motomonho market, 15 km to Muanangome. Now I can think of moving here [Motomonho] with my family. (Respondent 18, carpenter, Motomonho, 17/03/2011)

The Lunga Administration and Health Posts are also to be finally moved from its remote location to a more central and accessible site in Lagoa. The government supposedly plans to create a luxury tourist resort at the present installations in Lunga, generating jobs and income, similarly to the ones at Chocas Mar.

People comment on the imminent changes in Lunga with a specific blend of hope and disbelief, and with wistful expectations for the long time awaited reconstruction of the Monapo River bridge. The bridge would shorten the over 200 km distance to 67, providing invaluable access to outlets for the abundant agricultural and fishing products on the Mossuril and Ilha de Moçambique markets. The more cynical commentators declare quietly that for once the Lungans had voted correctly, but in spite of that the bridge construction, as a blunt instrument of political persuasion, will not start before 2014 (the year of the next presidential elections).

> It looks like they liked the results of the last elections… Frelimo finally won. Now there will be some changes around here. (Respondent 22, teacher, Lagoa, 15/02/2011)

Nevertheless, Frelimo seems to have already won some people over:

> When the president visited Lunga in 2010, he made a speech there. I constructed the lectern that he used. He asked in public who made it: I said I did. He liked it so much he offered me a motorbike, in front of everybody. Let me show you. Yes, the president Guebuza gave me this motorbike. Now, if someone says he's against Frelimo, he's against me, too. (Respondent 18, carpenter, Lunga, 16/02/2011)

It is possible that Lungans increasingly recognize Renamo's impotence and spent force. While observing Frelimo leadership become more prosperous, they may

realise they gained little from supporting Renamo. The ambivalence in the political arena is likely to persist and influence other aspects of life on the coast.

In this chapter I have drawn attention to the themes that were particularly prominent in the discussion about social, economical and political aspects of the local lives in Lunga. In this discussion I highlighted that from the perspective of many residents of Lunga their lives are characterised by a pervasive uncertainty due to their maritime occupations. There was unanimity among my respondents that life on the coast demanded courage and commitment, which hints at a more active sense of agency of the coastal people: they adapted to earn a living from a highly uncertain and dangerous environment, challenging dominant and external political pressures and agendas. Lunga, so far regarded as a Renamo stronghold, has been changing its political affiliation.

In the following chapter I will look upon the insights about uncertainties and marginality from a perspective of teachers, "the Others" in the coastal communities and representatives of the state. This will be the basis for the discussion in Chapter Seven in which I engage with the issues of ambivalence and resistance of the coastal societies towards different modes of lives promoted by the state sponsored schooling.

Chapter Six: Teachers' perspectives on their work and life in Lunga

A Portuguese lesson in Motomonho Primary School (20/06/2011)

Chapter Six: Teachers' perspectives on their work and life in Lunga

I have been working here for three years already. It is very difficult for me. My wife and family are in Nampula, and I can visit them very seldom. I lose all my opportunities here. I can't continue with my studies; I can't work extra hours; I am stuck here and feel like my life is passing away. The District Department told me there is no way I could get out from here this year or the next. This is like serving a prison sentence. Maybe in a year time they could transfer me somewhere along the road to Ilha. I don't really care where, as long it would be next to the road and there would be an easier access to the transport, and where there is electricity. I suffer too much here (Respondent 33, teacher, 18/05/2011, Lunga).

Schooling in a remote, disadvantaged community is a great challenge for the newly appointed teachers. High teacher turnover in such schools can reproduce disadvantage by limiting students' access to the dominant cultural capital held by teachers. Teachers come from very different backgrounds from their students. City-raised, often young and on their first appointments, teachers face many difficulties in teaching the cultural capital of a dominant group while responding to the needs of a disadvantaged community.

In this chapter I demonstrate how outsider perspectives also contribute to the production of coastal habitus and ideas about marginality of Lungans. This chapter contrasts the schooling with discussion from Chapter Three where rites of passage and madrassas are illustrative of practices within another education domains.

I begin with a brief description of the National Education System in Mozambique and the schooling situation in Lunga. Then I discuss the position and the role of a teacher as a physical representation of the 'Other' of the margin, similarly to the

roles of other state officials. In the final section I focus on the Portuguese language in which teachers operate and which they propagate as a significant marker of teachers' representation of state.

6.1 The National Education System and the Lunga schools

The National System of Education, introduced in 1983 by Lei 4/83 (MINED, 2003:16) divided the curriculum of the basic education into two levels. The first – Ensino Primario 1 or EP1 - consists of five grades while the second (EP2) comprises remaining two, 6th and 7th grade (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Organization and curricular structure of Basic Education

Age	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Grade	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Cycle	1		2			3	
Level	Lower primary - EP1 (Ensino Primario 1 grau)					Upper primary - EP2 (Ensino Primario 2 grau)	

The seven grades of primary education have been divided into lower and upper levels (EP1 and EP2) and three cycles of learning. The lower primary level, EP1, comprises a range of content aimed at developing basic skills for the pupils initiating schooling. The upper primary is designed to deepen knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired during the previous level in order to prepare pupils for either the entry in the subsequent secondary schooling or the entry into adult life. The latter is of great importance as the pupils' perspectives of continuing education into secondary and further education is still conditioned by the scarcity of available places in secondary education.

The Lunga schools

According to the official statistics of Ministry of State Administration the literacy rates in the coastal regions are very low. In Mossuril District, 88 per cent of population is estimated as illiterate (MAE, 2005); in the city of Ilha de Moçambique, about 65 per cent (ibid). The following criterion has been used to classify adult people as literate or non-literate in the census and in the surveys: "A person is considered literate if he/she can, with understanding, read and write a short simple message about their day-to-day life", whereby it is enough if the household head, or his substitute, declares that he can read and write and identifies other members who also can (Lind et al., 2009:11).

Over 32,112 people living today in the Lunga Administrative Post (INE, 2007) are assisted by 24 primary schools. It is estimated that nearly 14,000 children aged 6 to 15 in the whole Mossuril District do not attend school (INE, 2010:13). The schools network is organized into three Zones of Pedagogical Influence (ZIP), with their bases in Motomonho (ZIP Lunga), Muaualo and Lapuela[63]. ZIP Lunga consists of 5 primary schools, located throughout a vast territory stretching from the Monapo River to the Lunga coast. The schools of ZIP Lunga are serving the total of 1,416 pupils (Dec 2011). Only four schools (Motomonho, Quivolane, Muaualo and Ampita) are Escolas Primarias Completas offering the complete 7 grades programme allowing entry to the secondary education, the rest being the

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[63] ZIP (Zone of Pedagogic Influence) Lapuela includes primary schools in Muanangome, Quivulane, Necotia, Ampiquireia, Murito and Lapuela; ZIP Lunga includes primary schools of Monapo Rio, Lunga Sede, Muacone, Muticuite, and Motomonho. From the interviews with the director of ZIP Lunga, 13/12/2010 in Motomonho, and the director of EP1 Munangome, 23/03/2011, Muanangome.

EP1 level lower primary schools with grades 1st to 5th. The first Lunga Secondary School was inaugurated in Motomonho on 16 January 2011.

Table 6.2: General data about the schools in Lunga visited during fieldwork (2011)

Name of school and location	EP1 Muanangome	EP1 Lunga-Sede, located in Magomano	EPC Motomonho	ES da Lunga, located in Motomonho
Grades	1st to 5th	1st to 5th	1st to 7th	8th to 12th
Number of teachers	3	5	9	9
Number of pupils (incl. girls) as of early 2011	230 (94)	300 (89)	339 (92)	100 (16)
Number of classrooms	2 classrooms; mud and wattle construction. No equipment except the blackboard.	3 classrooms; concrete construction; no equipment except the blackboard	2 classrooms, mud and wattle construction; with tables and chairs. 4 classrooms shared with Lunga Secondary in the afternoon shifts.	4 classrooms equipped with tables and chairs, windows with mosquito nets and electricity from a solar panel
Adult education programmes	none	2 literacy teachers per 35 adult students	7 literacy teachers. 3 year long programmes with Portuguese, Mathematics and Natural Sciences.	none

The lack of upper primary schools (EP2) contributes to the fact that a large share of pupils completing lower primary level does not continue to EP2. "Out of 100 children who began lower primary in 1998, 66 percent would have made it up to 3rd grade, 48 percent to 5th grade, and 37 percent to 6th grade (upper primary). Only 30 percent would have completed upper primary (grade 7). In 2002, 36 percent of students who began 6 years earlier were reaching grade 7" (Fox at al, 2012: 28-29).

Figure 6.3. The Lunga schools

The new installations of the Lunga Secondary.

One of the two classrooms of the primary school in Muanangome.

6.2. Teachers' perspectives and attitudes about their work in Lunga

During my initial visits in the Lungan schools I realised that all of the teachers working there come originally from the interior of Nampula Province, Cabo Delgado and in two cases, from Maputo City. The teachers and the directors have been deployed by the Ministry of Education to work in Lunga for a number of

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years; upon completing their first contracts, they were promised to be transferred to the school in the more attractive location. Most of the interviewed teachers complained of the remote setting and being demotivated by difficult working conditions. They felt unhappy "being sent to Lunga" and looked for any opportunity to get transferred elsewhere.

The teachers were hardly involved in the life of local community. None of them were Muslim; they kept mostly within their own company and considered themselves as outsiders. They emphasized that they stayed in Lunga because of their contract deployment, which although lengthy, was only temporary, and they all looked forward to the perspective of the future transfer.

David and Rosalia are young teachers who graduated in 2008 and 2010 respectively from the teaching training institute in their native Maputo. Soon they found that there were no vacancies in the schools in their city. The department offered them a place in the rural setting in Nampula Province. David (born in 1990) had never travelled in the north and did not feel ready to take a challenge. He started working for a Maputo Coca-Cola plant instead. Quickly he grew tired of it and in 2009 he accepted a teaching post in the EP1 Lunga-Sede. At the interview under the cashew tree in front of his hut next to the school in Motomonho, he told me that he was shocked when he first arrived in Lunga.

> - When I arrived here in 2009, you know, I was only 19. I have never seen such setting in
> my life. I grew scared when I had to cross the river, and then finally I arrived here. There
> was another ZIP director here, before Elias arrived. On my *guia*[64] it said I was to be placed
> in the Lunga Sede Primary. When the ZIP director saw it, he must have felt pity for me,

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[64] Guia de marcha (port.) – an official document issued by the State accrediting a work placement.

because he said I was to turn back and start working at Monapo Rio, which is basically at the river crossing and nearby the main road to Ilha. But I saw the situation at Monapo Rio – everyone does, who passes the road from the crossing – did you visit it?

-I passed next to it. Are there no installations there?

- Yes there is a school building, but the local parents complained that it was too far away from children living in one part of the community, while the others lived very close. So they decided that the school should be in the middle – so that children from all parts of the community would have the same walking distance. Now they teach under the mango trees and the school building is standing empty. So I refused. I said: "My *guia* says "Lunga Sede", I want to go and work there".

-But did you know what Lunga Sede was like?

-No! Not at all. But I was completely deceived by that "Sede[65]" part. I reckoned there must be some development there since it says "Sede". So the ZIP director said, "Very well, if you want it, go ahead".

-So how did you feel when you saw the school?

-(laughter) I am telling you, Anton, I wanted to cry. I could not believe they called that place "Lunga Sede". It's illogical. What "sede"? There is no "sede"! Do you know where I lived for the first year? In a hut in Lunga, 5 km walk from the Magomano settlement [where the Lunga Sede school is actually located], where nobody lives at all. Even the administrator was never there, he has a house in Mossuril and spent most of the time there. Every afternoon I walked back from Magomano to Lunga, sat at the beach and watched the ocean. When I grew tired of it I went to sleep. After one year I thought I would go mad, and I asked for a transfer. So they sent me here to Motomonho. (David, 19/02/2011, Motomonho)

David overcame his depression and found himself in the new place. He quickly learned basic Emakhuwa – a vital capability for a teacher working in the lower primary school. His lessons were creative and passionate. He felt immensely proud that his 2nd grade pupils were already able to read and write. This success was a result of his patient and conscientious work. David rarely starts his lesson

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[65] Sede (Port.) – headquarters; centre.

on time; he waits for the pupils arriving late from more remote settlements like Lagoa and Namacula. His lessons end only when he evaluates his pupils' progress. "They don't have a clock at home, and probably they must fetch water or firewood before they walk these few kilometres to Motomonho. It is hard for all of us" (David, 20/06/2011, Motomonho).

Rosalia (born in 1988, Maputo) has just started working in the recently opened Motomonho Secondary and was still struggling to cope with the new reality:

-I was supposed to be sent to Lapuela, in January (2011). They frightened me with the stories from there!

-Where exactly is Lapuela?

-I don't know really, I never actually went there.

David: - It's really in the bush. You take the Muanangome road first. You have to take a right turn at the Holoca crossroads, near the baobab, and then go there until Necotia. From there you can't travel by the motorbike, the road is too sandy. You have to walk to Lapuela. There is nothing there. Just the bush.

Rosalia: -They said that teachers sent there just never return. I thought they must die there or something. Motomonho was terrible at first. I could hardly believe places like this exist in Mozambique. I thought, this is really another country! I couldn't get used to things, these beds. They don't use coal for cooking, just firewood. Besides, I couldn't communicate with people, they don't speak Portuguese, and I don't speak Makua.

-What about your work at school?

-I teach English and Civic Education. It really is very frustrating. My students are not responsive; they just sit quietly. They have grave problems with reading and writing in the 6th and 7th grades. Everything is so closed [isolated, remote] here. If there were TV or at least the newspapers, it would open the students' minds.

-How do you teach Civic Education? Do the students identify themselves as Mozambicans?

-They identify themselves as locals. From this or that settlement, Motomonho, Magomano, or Lunga in general. They have never been in the city, like Nampula, or Maputo. Very few went to Ilha. It is very difficult to introduce the abstract concepts, like independence or civil rights. It is easier if the lesson is about something familiar. I was teaching about the dangers of stagnant water. So I took them out of the class and we identified the pools of stagnant water in the neighborhood. I could see they actually grasped what I was trying to tell them. The adult students did not want to participate though. They refused to leave the class. To introduce the "national independence topic" I had to make sure at first if they understand the concept of "independence' as such. So I went asking them: do you live with your parents? Who brings food to the house; who brings food to you? Does it mean you are independent, or you depend on your parents?' You know, it takes a long time to introduce any new topic.

David: - In Lunga Sede I was teaching the first grades. I had to learn Emakhuwa as soon as possible. Nobody spoke Portuguese there. Children escaped from school, they ran to the beach to collect shrimp and clams. Besides they all go to the mosque in Holoca in the morning instead. So you have to wait for them to return… And their parents refuse to enroll their kids. There was a problem in April 2010. The president Guebuza was visiting Lunga and we had to do anything to get the children to school. So I went around the bairros, and told the parents about it.

-Did it work?

-Not really. They answered: "Aren't we here living? And we didn't go to school".

Rosalia: -People here, when they get older, they change their ways. They become interested in frequenting school and regret not having gone earlier. In my 6th there is a woman who enrolled and goes together to classes with her daughter.

The relation between teachers and the Lungan community was difficult and often strained. Teachers, considering themselves and being considered as outsiders, rarely participated in the daily life of the community, more often seeking the opportunities to leave Lunga and spend time with their families in the interior. On many occasions they failed to return to work on time. Majority of the teachers identified learning to take place at school, disregarding its any other form not

confined to the classroom and ignoring other learning domains distributed across the community and embedded in the social practices. This situation caused frustration and disappointment on both sides.

> A great challenge is to keep the pupils coming to school everyday. During the Ramadan five or six pupils showed up out of the class of forty. The next day there would be another group of five children, forcing the teacher to introduce the same topic on several days (respondent 34, teacher, 18/05/2011, Muanangome).

6.3 Language issues

Like most African countries, Mozambique possesses enormous multilingual and multicultural wealth[66]. Apart from Portuguese, the official language and the lingua franca, some Asian languages (mostly Gujarati and Urdu) spoken by immigrant communities, the major part of languages belongs to the Bantu group, constituting "the major language stratum, both with regard to number of speakers and in terms of distribution over the territory" (Lopes, 1998: 441). However, since virtually no large-scale linguistic study had ever been made in Mozambique, it is difficult to state exactly how many languages and variants are spoken in the country (ibid: 441). It is interesting to note that Arabic is not included in the surveys and statistics, being usually referred as a 'language used for religious purposes'. However,

> Kiswahili, Kimwani and Ekoti (fusion between Kiswahili and Emakhuwa) are associated with the spread of Arabic, which occurred during the period of Islamic expansion from the eighth century onwards (Lopes, 1998: 447).

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[66] See Appendix 2.

The results of 1998 survey of the *Instituto Nacional de Estatistica* (National

Statistics Institute) reveals that no Bantu language can claim majority status in

Mozambique, the largest group being Emakhuwa with 24,8 per cent of the

speakers on national level. According to Robinson (1993: 52) it is a clear situation

of high linguistic diversity, as there 'is no more than fifty per cent of the population

speaks the same language'.

There are vast differences in language use in the urban versus rural areas.

Generally, Portuguese is spoken as a mother tongue (L1) in the cities, while the

local languages dominate countryside. History of establishing Portuguese in

Mozambique is obviously connected with colonization. Portuguese was used not

only as an official language, but also as an essential symbol of the colonization

process: "the Portuguese language had been elevated to the status of *the*

language, contrary to the local languages, simply downgraded to the term of

dialects" notes Firmino (1997:6). The Mozambicans could acquire the 'civilized'

assimilado status, provided they proved their fluency in Portuguese (Mondlane,

1976: 46). In effect, the local languages were banned from institutions and made

social mobility totally dependent on knowledge of Portuguese and indispensable in

pursuit of, however limited, socioeconomic dividends.

After the independence in 1975 that situation had not changed. Portuguese was

adopted as the official language – although with a new ideological context. It was

a well considered and carefully examined political decision, aimed at one objective

– the preservation of national unity and the integrity of the territory. The history of

appropriation of the Portuguese language as a factor of unity and leveller of

differences dates back to the foundation of Frelimo in 1962 (Ganhão, 1979: 6).

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Teaching by "submersion" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981) conducted in Portuguese and not the native language (while Portuguese had never been properly taught) combined with limited access to education, the poor quality and insufficient quantity of textbooks and teaching materials, teachers with weak general preparation and little professional training did not seem to have much of positive results. The language barrier is difficult to break even now, when vernacular languages are finding their ways to the classrooms. The teachers usually "talk at students and elicit role responses" (Benson, 2004:50). This is particularly persistent in Mozambican primary schools, where interaction is limited to *"Entenderam?/Siiiiim!"* (Understood?/Yeees!) dialogue with "appearance of understanding where there is neither" (ibid, 2004:50).

The first bilingual school experiment funded by Ministry of Education in Mozambique (MINED)[67], UNESCO and World Bank was first conducted in southern Mozambique in 1996-97 and was met with enthusiasm by students and teachers. In a setting of Portuguese being the teaching medium while the home and community milieu dominated by Bantu languages "the model of bilingual education would use the L1[68] to teach beginning literacy while developing oral communication skills in Portuguese" (Benson, 2000: 151- 153). The qualitative results of experiment were overwhelmingly positive; there was a strong evidence of the potential of bilingual education to improve quality of primary education through increased interaction and facilitated contact between students and teachers. Better students' performance and general support of the parents to the program added to the decision for continuation of the project.

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[67] Abbreviation from *Ministério de Educação*; in 2005 renamed for *Ministerio de Educação e Cultura* (MEC) - Ministry of Education and Culture.
[68] L1 – First language, mother tongue or familiar lingua franca; L2 – Second or official language

A new basic education curriculum was defined in 2003 with one of the main features being the introduction of local languages in early primary grades as well as introduction of foreign language teaching (English) in later grades (UNESCO, 2007b). However, in the schools of Mossuril district the bilingual programme has not been yet implemented, despite of overwhelmingly monolingual population (predominantly Emakhuwa speakers according to MAE 2005:10). The main reasons are lack of materials and lack of available teachers' training for bilingual education (respondent 9, District Education Directorate, 6/12/2010, Mossuril).

Teaching Portuguese in Lunga remains a difficult challenge. Although a majority of teachers speak and understand Emakhuwa and therefore are able to communicate with pupils, the official language is rarely being used outside of the schooling domain. 85 per cent of the Mossuril District habitants do not speak Portuguese. Men are the main group with some knowledge of Portuguese, as they tend to be more active in the social and scholar milieu and the job market (MAE 2005:10).

The language chasm between school and village life brings negative consequences in various aspects of education. Curricula in Portuguese are based on concepts that have little or no relevance to the students' daily lives. The parents reluctantly approach the teachers, "powerless to support their children's schooling because they do not speak the language of the school" (Benson, 2004: 50). The gap between parents and school is amplified by teachers' opinion of lack of interest from the parents' side.

Parents consider school essentially as "a place to learn Portuguese". There are vast differences in language use in the urban versus rural areas. Generally, Portuguese is spoken as a mother tongue in the cities, while countryside is dominated by the local languages. In the cities, Portuguese continued being considered as a language with most prestige and socio-economic value. It expanded a great deal, encompassing informal activities: "De facto, there is already the urban generation whose language of social interaction in all contexts is Portuguese" (Firmino, 1997:6). School, as a space of instruction in Portuguese, is associated with the educated elites, operating inside the state bureaucracies, and social mobility and intermediation. Young Lungans however constitute a disenfranchised majority, largely excluded from major socioeconomic institutions and political processes. Because of their class background, it is difficult for them to orient themselves towards town life and turn their back against the life of their parents.

In this chapter I focused on the physical representatives of "the Other" of the margin and the Portuguese language as a significant marker of this. Teachers are frustrated at not being able to teach at a level they expected, which is often urban and personal. The Lungan schools are institutions expecting academic habits but unable to provide the conditions in which school learning habits can be induced. It is difficult for teachers who see coastal children and youth as equivalent to children at a city level, to comprehend the habits of mind formed in the everyday life at the coast. Teachers embody the exterior, the former "assimilados", and representing the state and modernity they constitute the significant "Other" withing the coastal society.

In the following chapter I introduce the concept of coastal habitus, which has much to offer in understanding schooling in Lunga. In the three case studies I analyse how different individuals interact and operate between different fields and how it relates to their identities.

Chapter Seven

Schooling and coastal habitus

The Primary School in the fishing village of Muanangome (23/03/2011)

Chapter Seven: Schooling and coastal habitus

"Among the coastal societies one's place of origin is a legend, a constantly renewed myth, an imaginary place to which people attach themselves to escape their servile condition: an obsessive search for their Arab origins, real or imaginary. If for people from the interior it is important to justify the relation established between themselves and the land, in the coastal societies it seems to be important to cultivate 'being outside' in the social relation with the hinterland. The reference to Islam is an element of the definition of a new identity. It is an aspect of identity and an effective means to include this demarcation line that separates each other in the social fabric. It is important to note that what makes the uniqueness of coastal people is not fact of their own otherness conceived as a material and tangible reality, but the ideas that people have about their own otherness. We must refer to this idea in order to understand the contents of the relations observable in the field." A. R. da Conceição, 2006: 144.

In order to understand the social universe of the coastal societies and the mechanisms of its reproduction and transformation, I analysed in the previous chapters the historical background, specific livelihoods of the fishers and various educational options available for the coastal societies. In this chapter I come back to these issues. I begin by picking up the discussion in Chapter Five about the distinctive modes of life "at the edge of the world". I focus in particular on the problems of life on the periphery, communication issues involved with it, and the social, political and physical distance. In other words, I introduce the concept of space and place in their social, historical and geographical aspects, and analyse the tensions between local and national space.

From there, I seek to probe deeper into the relations between competing institutions promoting certain distinctive aspects of coastal life, describing

production of the local and the global (national). The main focus of this chapter is the characteristic, ambiguous and strained relations between the schooling and coastal habitus, being the manifestation of the tension between local and global spaces. I found the coastal societies' relationship to schooling deeply problematic and emotionally charged. In three case studies, I examine how different individuals operate and interact within local spaces and how it relates to their identities.

Towards the end, I will engage in a dialogue with Pierre Bourdieu about the habitus, his concept of culturally conditioned agency. Habitus describes embodied, learnt and enduring dispositions for action, imprinted in people's minds and bodies (Bourdieu, 1977:78). In drawing together the threads of this chapter, I pose the question of the "coastal habitus". This specific characteristic of my respondents directs them in a complex navigation through the educational field and in their lives, leading them to reproduction or transformation of their social positions.

7.1. Space and place

> Standing in the middle of Motomonho I could see the both southern and northern extremes of the tiny settlement. A red dusty track was disappearing among the foliage, heading south towards the Motomonho River that regularly flooded with the salty waters of the Mocambo Bay and vanished according to the tide; and then further toward the Lunga beach. To my right, the road followed north for about 40 km to the Monapo River crossing and then to the paved highway. In the morning I observed children walking in groups along this road from the settlements of Lagoa and Magomano. They walked through the bush obstinately, squinting into the sun and the red dust, carrying their notebooks, chatting and laughing. Some wore bright blue primary school uniforms and these bits of colour leaped out at me from a distance. Arrivals of people coming from the direction of the estuary always surprised me. The homogeneity of the bush absorbed and concealed everything – I

could watch it for days and see nothing. People appeared suddenly in Motomonho, habitually rested in the shade of the cashew trees, rearranging their bundles and then carrying on walking north toward the river crossing.

Time and school schedule do not seem to have much importance and use here. The lessons were scheduled to start at 8 AM in the Motomonho Primary. When I showed up to assist the lesson, there were only a few pupils present around the schoolyard. The teacher, David, appeared soon after:

"I forgot to tell you that we usually start late. You know, they [pupils] walk quite a distance from Lagoa and Magomano, and they probably fetch water or firewood before they set off to school. And nobody around here has a clock or a watch. So let's wait until there are about 20 children and then we will start. They will keep on arriving".

Yesterday morning I walked the same road to Lagoa for the scheduled interview with regulo Movere. He was not at home. I spoke to his wife, trying to make myself understood in Emakhuwa. Apparently he left on his motorbike to Muaualo for a meeting. I asked when he would be back. "A noitinha [by the nightfall]" answered the woman and presented me with a melon, smiling. *(Field notes, May 2011)*

Significance of social, historical and geographical space

The specificity of location plays a role in relationship between human agency and the social processes. Space is the product of interrelations; thus we must recognize space "as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny" (Massey, 2005: 9). My respondents were historically and culturally grounded in this particular location; from there they constructed and developed their practice and experiences in the social space, extending its

boundaries beyond those of physical space (Bourdieu 1984). If we examine what social groups make use of the coastal Lunga as their habitus, the material environment, and physical location of isolated settlements, their influence on the socio-cultural situation of its peoples becomes apparent.

Martyn Lee (1997:126) considers location and locality as a dynamic social component. Particular groups of people inhabiting a certain geographical terrain do not simply happen to exist there. Lee argues that places have cultural characters and "exist relatively autonomously, although by no means independently, of their current populations and of the consequences of the social processes which may be taking place upon their terrain at a given historical juncture" (p.127). He sees the space not as a neutral ground upon which things happen, but a historically determined site shaped by the complex effects of prior social relations. According to this, physical location represents an independent social domain that influences and defines upon the population inhabiting it.

The remote location of Lunga is an important factor to consider. For most Mozambicans Lunga remains an unknown territory, *o mato* - wilderness with backward fishers where civilization has yet to arrive. The people live in small far-flung *povoações* (settlements) speaking the same language – Emakhuwa Enahara, a distinctive coastal dialect of Emakhuwa spoken throughout the northern provinces of Zambezia, Nampula and Cabo Delgado. A lack of the bridge on Monapo River drastically limits the possibility of motor transport with the rest of the Mossuril District. Few Lungans visited the 250 km away provincial capital, Nampula City, while Maputo seems to be as distant as the moon. Notably, few of my interviewees referred to "Maputo and Lisbon" simultaneously, which

emphasized the vastness of distance separating them from the capital and the centre of the power of the state.

Another important aspect is the relationship between people and their geographical environment. The Lungans use the coastal environment for their livelihoods. However, that same environment defines their identity and emphasises their notions of belonging or alienation. According to Lee, the social and material conditionings (the location's climate, demographic composition, commercial activities, legal and political regimes imposed etc.) confronting a particular location through time form a particular habitus. "This way local history is not seen as the simple aggregation of historical facts pertaining to a place but as the cumulative product of the dialectical interaction between the objective conditions and the [location's] habitus as each form and re-form in response to the other" (p. 134).

7.2. Tension between the local and the global

It is peculiar how we tend to associate the local with insignificance and powerlessness and opposed to the global standing for dominance, expansion, and subordination of the local.

> Globalism is synonymous with abstract space, the frictionless movement of money and commodities, the expansiveness and inventiveness of capitalism and the market. But its Other, localism, is coded as place, community, defensiveness, bounded identity, in situ labour, noncapitalism, the traditional (Gibson-Graham, 2002:27).

The challenge however is to analyse the local culture not as belonging to a particular territory, but as a process of interaction. Jan Blommaert counterparts the traditional anthropological and sociological approaches that tend to assume that societies and their features "belonged" to a specific geographical area to the challenges of "loosening the connection between culture and a particular territory" (2010:63). The local is situated in a certain geographical space, but is always in relation with the global, within a larger context. In Lunga, seemingly peripheral and cut off the rest of the world, the connection and communication with the rest of the district and the province have been mentioned numerous times by my respondents as one of the most burning issues. Following Blommaert I do not assume that the coastal societies and their features belong exclusively to the particular area; my aim is to emphasise their trajectories, movements and their relative spatiality. The local place – Lunga – is a located in a geographical space that has been made social. The coastal societies of Lunga made social, historical, political and cultural investments in the local space, which seems to function in a state of a long-lasting tension with the national (global) space. Although the local may seem peripheral, it is essential for the Lungans.

Production of the local

The space and its physical location are not incidental. Doreen Massey (2005:9) understands space as a sphere of the possible existence of multiplicity; a meeting point of different distinct trajectories. For Massey, space is therefore a sphere of coexisting heterogeneity. In Lunga, I expected that the members of such small and isolated community would be rather homogenous and also have similar

opportunities to gain knowledge and skills. However, I found that Lunga social micro-cosmos was as complex and multifaceted as any other.

 In these isolated settlements most inhabitants know each other personally. The social system they participate in and reproduce is based on face-to-face contact. Even in this seemingly favourable setting it was difficult for me to map out the relationships between the members of the small communities in order to develop an ample picture of their social interactions.

For the inhabitants of Lunga this setting brings about important consequences. Most of their activities take place locally and they seek to satisfy their needs locally. The community has been reproduced and maintained for a long time, sharing the dramatic experiences of the civil war, the flight from violence, subsequent return from the safety of the cities and re-establishment of local structures. Applying Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1977:82) to the communities, their history, becoming unconscious and internalized, produces practices and their very specific sense of local identity. For the coastal people, Lunga represents home; their places of refuge in the relative safety of the cities during the late 1980's were only temporary. The strong popular resistance against the re-establishment of the Frelimo local government in 1994 (Hanlon and Waterhouse, 1994:3) could be considered as the coastal peoples' defiance against yet another form of dominance.

In the past, the Lungans found shelter from the oppressive colonial state among their clans and extended family structures. There was a great distance between them and the colonial state: a no man's land, difficult to venture by both sides, well documented in the archived reports from the colonial inspectors: "The Africans (…)

are ours in body only, but not in spirit. We cannot delude ourselves as to their fidelity... should a greater threat to the integrity of our dominion in this zone of the Empire appear" (Pinto Correia, 1938, in Alpers, 1999:167).

Today the young Lungans also remain close to their families, not as a way of escaping the state, but as a form of protection from a potential danger of a failure in finding a job or making a living elsewhere. From one side, this strategy is historically grounded: the Lungans were forced to turn their back from the colonial state that remained in constant confrontation with its subjects. They found security in their clans, Islam, communities and families, building their capital and practicing their culture inside them, and not within the formal institutions that appeared to be tentacles of the colonial regime. They are familial societies, producing important social ties within their own communities.

Production of the global

The role of schooling is instrumental in producing the global: promoting and strengthening the nationhood. The main theme of the Ministry of Education and Culture's Strategic Plan of for 2006 – 2011 was 'The School as a Pole of Development Consolidating Mozambicanity[69]'. All of the teachers working in the Lungan schools have been deployed there for an imprecise number of years. They journey from their remote work location back to their homes and back again. In the most extreme case of Rosalia and David, discussed in Chapter Six, the Ministry of Education stationed them some 2000 km away from their home. This may be an effort to prove the unity of the country; the teachers may be considered as

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[69] "Fazer da escola um polo de desenvolvimento consolidando a Moçambicanidade" – MEC, 2006.

mediators of the nationhood, and importantly, they will be forced to propagate the official language of the state. In their capacity of intellectuals they also proliferate literature of the national leadership, common historical past and anti-colonial struggle. These elements were put together into a whole and are reproduced by the means of unified, over-regional state provided education. However, the deficiencies of the education system and persistence of regional religious, cultural, linguistic and historical sub-worlds create a powerful opposition to "the global".

The tension between the local and the global in Lunga was clearly demonstrated to me during the early month of my fieldwork. The information about the government's plans of splitting the Nampula Province into two[70] started circulating in Lunga in early 2011. In 2008 the Nacala Special Economic Zone was established offering a number of fiscal and non-fiscal benefits[71]; it triggered a foreign investment boom in Nacala City. The agriculture, biofuel, services, and tourism sectors "could register investment totalling USD160 million this year in the fields of industry, tourism and agro-processing, according to the Maputo daily *Noticias*" (AllAfrica.com, 2011). The Mossuril District Administration team visited Lunga in May 2011 for a meeting with local authorities and community leaders. They proposed that Posto Administrativo de Lunga to be sliced off the Mossuril District and added to Mogincual District instead. The Lungan community vehemently rejected the idea: "We in Lunga do not belong with the people of Mogincual. The only option we gave to the government people was to be included to Ilha de Mocambique, or remain with the Mossuril District" (respondent 38, fisherman, 17/06/2011, Motomonho).

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[70] Supposedly the new Nacala Province is to be created from the existing coastal districts of Nampula (Memba, Nacala-a-Velha, Nacaroa, Mossuril, Monapo and the municipalities of Nacala Porto and Ilha de Mocambique). However, I could not find any official confirmation to this.
[71] Source: http://www.gazeda.gov.mz/

Others suspected a second agenda behind the proposed change:

> "If they join Lunga with Mogincual, **we will be completely forgotten**. They [people of Mogincual] are *confusos e complicados*. The government will say, <You do not need the bridge on Monapo anymore, your administration is in Mogincual>. **Nothing will ever change here**. And Mogincual is too far away, the transport there even worse than river crossing. Nobody wanted that" (Respondent 13, shopkeeper, Motomonho, 23/05/11, my emphasis).

Few days later I heard the Radio Comunitario Mossuril announcing that Posto Administrativo da Lunga will remain as a part of the Mossuril District. Clearly, the Lungans are aware of the global, but are determined to deal with it on their own terms.

"People are obliged to recognize their interdependence – happy or otherwise-with people distant from themselves" (Calhoun, 1991:107). We are encouraged to believe that the community among neighbours and the community among citizens of the same nation are essentially similar. Calhoun argues that there is a great deal of difference between the social groups formed out of their direct relationships among their members and the social categories defined by common cultural or other external attributes not necessarily linked by any dense, multiplex or systematic web of interpersonal relationships.

In the context of my observations, Lungan people's identity of belonging to a certain group is stronger than their national identity or their citizenship. They express their relation to the state primarily through their "local" identity. "It is not without a reason that in the contemporary slang in Mozambique we say that

"someone went to the Nation" or "this problem is being solved on the level of the Nation" when we mean to inform that someone travelled to the capital or that some issue needs a decision from the seat of central power. Nation, State and Government assume (…) overlapping meanings, fusing the notion of Power" (Cabaço, 2010).

7.3. Social reproduction: Failing national projects

What was the reaction of the coastal societies to the historical changes dictated first by the Portuguese colonial capitalism, followed by the newly independent Mozambican state's modernization project with a goal of "freeing" rural people from "colonial" and "traditional thinking"? According to Rafael da Conceição (2006), the coastal societies did not adapt to these changes; they were eventually relegated to a position of second order on the socio-political chessboard. The coastal-continental divide of the society was enhanced. By choosing to keep themselves faithful to old principles of life and Muslim religion, in a context where Catholicism was a means of social promotion, the coastal societies made a choice of a resistance by religion. This strategy, conscious or unconscious, put up the margin of the process of assimilation encouraged by the colonial state and allowed the most coastal people stand outside the colonial world, in their eyes too western and capitalist. In the independent Mozambique the regulos, traditional leaders of lineage of many generations, were marginalized as actors of previous regime and the communal villagization and obligatory state schooling in Portuguese and were introduced at the same time. The coastal societies felt increasingly disadvantaged and resentful and responded with a deeper social withdrawal.

The revolutionary discourse of Frelimo of the 1970 and early 1980s, harassing the local "traditional-feudal obscurantism" and placing the state as the sole agent of national development, quickly suffered crisis. In effect, "major segments of rural society became further marginalized and disillusioned with the ruling government" (Lala and Ostheimer, 2003: 4). The discontent was used by Renamo to establish its own support base inside Mozambique. The new discourse replaced the "creation of the New Man" in the following decades with the recovery and promotion of "the traditional", seeking alliances with local chiefs and notables (De Brito, 1999: 8.11).

The traditional and the local possess a certain ambiguity that may be used in a political context. Bertelsen argues that "Frelimo may be seen to challenge Renamo's previous role as protector and guardian of tradition as it professed to be during the post-liberation war and after" (2003:266). In Lunga the local expression of experienced struggles and problems are important elements of social life. The politization of the local traditional sphere by national politics was also clear to me in Mossuril:

> I worked a lot for Renamo, but it didn't entitle me for any salary. Frelimo paid me just to negotiate with me. You know, how they [Frelimo] conquered Matibane? Forty men left Renamo for Frelimo. The word of mine is a remedy to win many people. (A.S., Mossuril, 6/12/2010).

My respondents occupied various positions in the social space in Lunga, defined by the specific characteristics of the coastal habitat, their main occupation, place of origin, age and gender. They were self-reproducing patterns of difference,

relating themselves in different ways with school and other institutions, depending on importance they attributed to education and how it could benefit them.

It is remarkable to note that the group composed of the state employees are largely outsiders, deployed by the government, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education respectively on contracts of various lengths of time. None of the state employees I interviewed was born or raised in Lunga. They all came from sometimes very distant and extremely different milieus (in most cases from the interior of Nampula Province, but in two cases teachers were deployed from Maputo city; others – including the Chefe de Posto and the director of the secondary school - came from neighbouring province of Cabo Delgado[72]).

Clearly, the outsiders embody the dominant culture. They possess linguistic and cultural competence that is being transmitted and is expected to be acquired in schools. This particular social constellation lays foundation for the further analysis of the phenomena of social reproduction and transmission of the dominant cultural capital.

The role of the school: Local curriculum

> Ministry of Education is not responsible for any question concerning religious issues - neither Islam nor Catholic Church. They are not a part of local curriculum. For example, learning Arabic is a part of the Muslim religious education. We aim to focus on solving immediate problems – to have immediate results: capacity building courses for teachers, for example, integration of the elements of local tradition, dances, etc. Also the bilingual education is not a part of local curriculum, although there are elements of local languages

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[72] Cabo Delgado, the country's northernmost province, was the backbone of Frelimo operations since 1960s and it remained supportive of the government after independence (West, 2005); also, most of Frelimo's military elite originated from that province (Hultman 2009: 830).

for example in children learning names of the plants in the maternal languages. (The manager of Local Curriculum Programme, INDE, Maputo, 1/11/2010).

"Local curriculum" was introduced in 2002 in the primary schools in Mozambique. Defined as including the "matters of local interest" and "relevant to the local community" in the centrally defined contents (Castiano 2005:194), it implies that the local community determines which activities should be taught at school in order to facilitate children learning their role and place within the community. Comprising 20 per cent of the total learning period, considered to be an innovative aspect of the Elementary Education Curriculum (Manhiça 2010), in practice it seems not much more than vaguely described incorporation of "components of local traditions and dances". It does not encompass more important elements like Arabic script or teaching in local languages. The teachers In Lungan schools, struggling with the introduction of the global (national curriculum), and in a complete disassociation with the locals, are ill equipped to follow the directives of the Ministry regarding the local curriculum.

From the perspective of this research, coastal societies both historically and currently are constituted as an unknowing, uncritical, tasteless mass from which the interior (for example, the teachers) draws their distinctions. On the other side, however, this situation is a result of the present failure of the global: neo- liberal economic policies and bad governance cannot provide stable jobs. Young people cannot support themselves or start their own families without support of the local structures. Alcinda Honwana (2012) describes young Africans as living in a state of "waithood " - a period of suspension between childhood and adulthood; a state of limbo increasingly inescapable and replacing conventional adulthood.

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7.4. Schooling, identities and aspirations within local space

Bourdieu viewed schooling as a mechanism of reproduction of social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next. The dominant group controlling political, economical and social resources is favoured in the schools (1973:80). Therefore dominant group's attributes are being considered as the only proper cultural capital and as such are embodied in schools. In Chapter Three I discussed the politics and the targets of the *assimilação* policy. Withdrawing the *indigenas* from the influence of their own tradition, they were trained in the mission schools to live as "good Catholics" and be disciplined labourers. In effect, the students were alienated from their own surroundings in an attempt of cultural domination. Since the independence in 1975 the obligatory schooling for all was introduced; at the same time however, heavily influenced by Frelimo's ideology, it became a tool to implement Marxism and control society through schooling.

In these circumstances, considering habitus as culture embodied in an individual, the schooling success has been strengthened for the children from the dominant cultural groups, while not for the others. The success of the individual from the non-dominant group is depending on their acquisition of "the appropriate cultural capital, with inevitable consequences for the habitus" (Harker, 1984:118).

In this section I will discuss various ways in which the members of the coastal society in Lunga consider schooling.

Cohaneque: School as a way of escape

My respondents generally admitted it was important to go to school. Their reasons varied: "*To learn how to read and write Portuguese and to know how to speak to people*"; "*To improve your life and live like a human being*"; "*Not to live like those who sit all day long on the road doing nothing, playing tchuva[73]*"; *"To be able to sign my name*". I found that in Lunga little or no schooling and "being illiterate" were used interchangeably. Being illiterate was associated with lacking certain qualities and often was equalled with ignorance. Cohaneque, a 16-year-old secondary school student did not hide his disdain talking about his older cousin, a prosperous *chapa* driver on a route between Muanangome and Monapo River crossing:

> "I don't admire his ways at all. He may have a car and make a lot of money transporting people and their things to the river crossing. And what of it? He hasn't even finished 5th grade. He's a burro; barely speaks Portuguese. He thinks of himself a lot and dresses in fashionable clothes. But he will always be that *chapa* driver. Until he dies. If his car breaks down or gets stolen he will go back to fishing. Where else could he go? What else could he possibly do without education?" Cohaneque, Motomonho, 5/05/2011.

Cohaneque's father is one of the traditional authority figures (humu) in Motomonho. Despite a relatively high social status within the local community, his family is poor and without a steady income. Cohaneque's elderly authoritative father is a mixed raced merchant running a failing shop in Motomonho. His main source of income comes from buying cashew, cassava and maize from the local

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[73] Tchuva – a traditional game of Arabic origin. A certain number of seeds/rocks are placed in each of the pits on the game board (usually a stone board with hollowed pits). A turn consists of removing all rocks from a pit, sowing the seeds (placing one in each of the following pits in sequence), and capturing those based on the slate of board.

farmers and selling it for a higher price in the Jembesse market. Cohaneque's main goal is to "finish the secondary school and move out from here, to the city, Ilha or Nampula. There is a different life there, you can live there like a person."

During the conversations with Cohaneque it became clear to me that his strong drive to study and ambition to have "a better life" was partly motivated by the typical teenage conflict with his father. An imposing individual, he demanded a total obedience from his children; he did not hide his plans about his children's future, which he expected them to fulfil without questions. Cohaneque was to remain in Motomonho and carry on with his father's business – which obviously clashed with the son's ambitions in frequent disagreements. His father however did not oppose Cohaneque's secondary education, but at the same time did not seem to actively help in the process (for example, he refused to buy the books or the school uniform, justifying it by lack of money). At the same time, Cohaneque visited a few times his relatives in the cities of Nacala and Ilha de Moçambique and developed rather idealized views about the "life in the city".

> We don't have many options here. What can you do if you are not fishing? You can cut banana off the tree from this side, run to the road and hope that someone will buy it for 5 meticais[74], and tomorrow cut it from the other side and run again to the road with it. The shaykh doesn't even do that; he just does his prayers and then comes always to our house to ask for something to eat. His son dropped out of school – he's the guy you always see sitting on the road in the shade with his friends. They don't ever do anything – just playing cards or tchuva.
>
> -Why do you think they do that? Isn't it better to go back to school?

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[74] £1 equals approximately to 50 meticais (2011).

-Don't ask me, mano[75]. **You see for yourself what kind of people they are. Have you ever seen me hanging out with them? You need to have a plan to decide what kind of life you want**.

-What are your plans?

-I want to finish the secondary school, and then leave for Ilha, like S. did. I could continue studying there. I want to be a teacher. There is a different life in the city." Cohaneque, Motomonho, 17/05/2011.

It is significant to note his conscious rejection of his afforded social position. He seems to have developed a sense (in Bourdieu's terms) of his world and have come to re-mediate his position in it. It is interesting to note that similarly to the teachers he regards fishing activities as evidence of low intelligence, and considers schooling as a vehicle that may help him to "decide what kind of life" he would like to lead. Although he is a dedicated student, he does not admire blindly the teachers and their attitudes, especially their weekend drinking binges at the local bar, sarcastically commenting on their self-pity as "crying over their beers in '*Bar Lamento*'". He choses to enter certain activities (assisting the local cinema) or to refrain from some (playing *tchuva* or taking part in local celebrations with drums). This way he tells what he claims to be in the local society.

This kind of claim is certainly not an easy one to make. In the coastal society, children at school are kept from learning skills that are taken as indices of social position as well as their livelihood – often subject to the teachers' disapproval: "*They do not value education. What they want is their usual activities – fishing. We asked them to help us in getting their children go to school. They just say "yes". And then send their children to learn how to fish*" (Respondent 26); "*The youth want to go to pull the nets on the beach, get paid 5 or 10 meticais and go to the*

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[75] Mano (coll. Port.) brother

market to buy sugar cane or bread" (Respondent 34). In some cases, the pupils fail to show up at school at all: "*Here in Muanangome, the pupils treat International Children's Day as the end of the school year. They don't show up anymore after 1ˢᵗ of June"* (Respondent 37). This clash of attitudes creates a specific situation in the classroom: according to Holland et al., "teachers will take some pupils claims to knowledge seriously on the basis of certain signs of identity. The ones whom they will regard as improper or unlikely will not be awarded with encouragement and informative feedback" (1998: 135).

Schooling is unquestionably linked with learning Portuguese – a precondition of any possibility of formal employment, which seems to be scarce and unattainable in Lunga. The exclusive formal employer in the district is the state, hiring a small group of higher qualified staff in the offices of the Administrative Post and the Bairro Secretary, and in services like schools, police, and the Lunga health post. Absurdly, the overwhelming majority of these available posts were distributed to people deployed to Lunga from the interior of Nampula or from the City of Ilha de Moçambique.

The teachers seemed to be puzzled how from their superior stand such an activity could be deemed more important than education. Fishing skills underpin the coastal habitus. They are serious and necessary proof and recognition for hard and dangerous work across the generations. Fishing skills are a measure of value of workforce that proceeds and overrides school's capital. On the other hand, the teachers seem to have great difficulties to differentiate the coastal pupils from their equivalents in the urban and interior schools.

Teachers struggle to comprehend the habits formed in their pupils' minds during the long hours or days of "pulling the nets". These skills do not transfer well into the schooling's setting. Closed in a limited physical space of the classroom, they are institutionally constricted without possibility of developing skills they would need for their livelihoods and social status. The concept of habitus is very useful in understanding schooling that has little use in the coast where they live. The situation in the Lunga schools reflects the culture of the dominant class being transmitted and rewarded during the process of "symbolic violence" of schooling (Bourdieu 1973). To be able to acquire the cultural capital from this process, the student must have capacity to obtain and internalize it. This capacity however, although demanded by school, is not provided by it.

Ibraimo: Shifting identities

Ibraimo's educational history shows how coastal society's habitus operates in ambiguously located individuals within the field of education. It can generate uncertainty, and a sense of disenfranchisement. Ibraimo, born in Lunga in 1951, lives in a typical fisherman's dwelling of mud and wattle construction. On many occasions I saw Ibraimo, his wife and children walking towards the Motomonho River estuary with the shrimping nets. He began his interview introducing himself in the following way:

> My name is Ibraimo. **I was born here, in Lunga**, on 17 June 1951. **I am a fisherman, like most of the people from here. From Muanangome to Quivolane, there is only fishing**. We try to improve the sale of the catch – we fish for the money, **it's a necessity** (Motomonho, 17/06/2011, my emphasis.)

In the course of several more conversations it emerged that he has had by far the longest history of various activities within the field of education. Having graduated from *Escola Capela* in Lunga, he was involved in the literacy programmes in Lagoa since its beginnings during Transition Government in 1974. In 1983 he began working as a Frelimo secretary in the finance department in Lunga. In 1987 he fled Lunga escaping the escalating anti-Frelimo violence, returning only in 1994. Currently he reached the 8th grade of schooling and continues to be involved with the local literacy programmes as well as welfare projects:

> I work with literacy classes in a regime of 4-month-long contracts, renewable. I am still a member of the Frelimo party. In 2006 the INAS[76] project started in Lunga. I'm responsible for this project. The beneficiaries are the elderly, disabled, chronically ill and orphan children. The women older than 55 years and men over 60 are also the beneficiaries. They receive a monthly subsistence subsidy of 100 meticais – in May it rose to 130 meticais[77]. We have 52 beneficiaries in the Lunga Post. (Motomonho 23/06/2011)

Bourdieu describes habitus as "a power of adaptation. It constantly performs an adaptation to the outside world which only exceptionally takes the form of radical conversion" (Bourdieu, 1993:88). Ibraimo's identity is a rich interlock of his past and present, combining his familial coastal heritage and his upward social mobility through his involvement with education and the state. There is an evidence of shifting identities in the ways he portrayed himself. To claim he was a fisherman was a denial of his educational achievements; the lack of substantial material remuneration as a literacy worker may have been a reason of questioning the relevance of the results of his educational trajectory.

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[76] INAS (Instituto Nacional de Acção Social) National Institute for Social Action - a government agency under the under the Ministry for Women and Social Action (MMAS). Their Food Subsidy Programme started in 1997 focused on urban and peri-urban areas, but expansion to rural areas has recently been approved. Source: Barrientos and Holmes, 2007.

[77] Equals around £2,6 (2011).

Amir: Return to school after 20 years

I met Amir during the madrassa lesson in Muanangome. Later we met incidentally in the neighborhood of the local primary school. He was getting a motorbike ride from Quivolane where he studies in the afternoons. Amir is a fisherman, born in Muanangome in 1975. His schooling trajectory seemed typical for the fishermen's children. Even if they started the formal schooling, they soon dropped out due to various reasons. In Amir's case, it was his parents' death in 1993 and 1998:

> "I had to figure out how to live. I had younger brothers to take care of. They shouldn't suffer. So I started fishing bit by bit, earning 10 meticais for *puxar rede* [pulling the nets]. I stopped the school completely after my mother's death".

With time, Amir became a prosperous fisherman, although he still doesn't own his own boat. His house in Muanangome is large and adjacent to the local cinema and disco (powered by the petrol generator) that he established. He charges 2 meticais per person, saving up for his own boat construction. He also returned to school, noticing the potential benefits for improving his livelihood:

> I started school now again in 2010, I'm in the 6th grade in Quivulane primary. It was a problem for me, not to know how to write my own name. That's why I enrolled, to know how to read and write. **I want to make a driving license. So I keep my job. I don't want to change it.** My job is to be part of the fishing crew on a boat. There is one trusted fisher who deals with the boat owner. The rest [other fishers] doesn't matter. Sometimes I arrange transport for the catch to be transported in the interior, Monapo, Nampula. That's why I want to have a driving license, too.

Amir's desire for the material benefits was the principal reason to go back to school. He considers it evidently as beneficial due to the credentialism it embodies: he needs to be literate in Portuguese in order to obtain the driving license. This document in turn would enable him to launch a profitable business of distributing fresh seafood further inland. He desires that to maximize and fulfill his life goals: to be a successful and wealthy fisherman. Was he aware of the cultural losses and subordination to the social domination that schooling involves? Significantly, I met him in the madrassa, where he read and recited fluent Arabic. While talking about his educational trajectory, he mentioned:

> I studied in madrassa with my father since I was 3 years old. Then I abandoned, and 15 years passed before I started again. In 2003 I started again in Namialo. Now I study here in Muanangome. In the madrassa I learn about Allah to be sure I will go to heaven after I die. (Muanangome, 18/05/2011).

It seemed to me that in the last quote Amir signaled clearly his sense of belonging. His fragmented educational history reveals uneasy union of schooling with personal satisfaction and achievement. He does not aim for academic improvement or transformation; he is aware what is the most important for him. He does not want to engage in difficult negotiation around the issues of identity and balancing the potential costs of losing his cultural coastal-fisher identity.

School and weakening of traditional practices

My respondents did not express to me directly their reluctance and questioning the value of schooling. It may have been caused by their perception of me as a foreign student, which I made clear during the introductory meeting with the community

leaders. Nevertheless I received many signals of the people's disinclination towards schooling mostly from the teachers' and education representatives' side. The school was believed to clash with Islam and a cause of decline moral values:

"*People didn't want to send their children to school. The Islamic education was more important for them. They were convinced that in the schools children would be baptized, converted to Christianity and forced to eat pork.*" (Respondent 11, fisherman)

"*What was in our parents' heads: not to go to school to eat pork and get baptized! But people do not learn to drink wine or eat pork in schools. They learn it here, among themselves. But it was difficult for people to accept schools. In this region Islamic studies reign and are very respected: there are many madrassas, the first letters one learns are Arabic. Only recently people are aware of the Portuguese studies. Even Al-Qu'ran is translated into Portuguese.*" (A. Siquilata)

"*Many teachers sleep with their students. It's abuse. I don't want to get my daughter pregnant like that, ruin her life. The teachers come and go, and what will she do with that child? He's going to promise her things, but he will not take her with him to the city.* " (Respondent 13, shopkeeper)

Sending children to school is also inevitably connected with material costs. Buying the uniform, notebooks and pens compete with the other needs of the households, while time spend at school contends with domestic activities and learning how to fish. Besides that, according to Bourdieu (1984) and Holland et al. (1998:136) the issue of timing is crucial in children's development of learning behavioural markers of their social position. Habitus "is not composed solely of mental attitudes and

perceptions" (Reay 2004:432) but it is embodied. People express habitus not only through thinking, but also through the physical manifestations of their behaviors (for example, the way of speaking or gesturing). Bourdieu argues that activities learned in childhood are later performed in more natural way. Schooling here may be seen as a marker of privilege that would affect their sense of self and consequently exclude children from participating in and identifying with their coastal social world.

At the same time, as I noted in Chapter Three, the Islamic schools and the traditional education preparing youngsters for adult life seem to be in constant decline. Once thriving and numerous madrassas disappeared; the only one functioning in the area of Lunga, in the very distant settlement of Muanangome served about 40 students. Bertelsen (2003) explains that these deeply local and traditional elements are also subjects of transformation and constant change, influenced by the global (national) processes. During the Civil War violence, affecting Lunga since 1987 to 1994, the local practices had to come to a sudden halt. Most of the population from Lunga fled to the safety of the cities, where the rites, often performed in the local sacred places, were impossible to execute. It is likely that following the people's gradual return from the exile, these practices have been weakened or lost.

Coastal habitus is characterized by persistent ambivalence about education. The Lungans are aware and desire the benefits that education may bring. On the other hand, they fear alienation and cultural loss it involves. Cohaneque sees education as an escape to a better life; Amir considers it as a potential means of fulfilling his life aspirations which are however deeply rooted within his sense of belonging and cultural identity; and for Ibraimo it is a complicated mixture of both.

7.5. Coastal habitus

In this chapter, I attempted to use the concept of habitus to analyze the findings from my fieldwork in Lunga. The ambiguity of the concept of habitus corresponds to the chaos of reality: never static, always changing depending on circumstances and internalized past experiences. Considering both reproductive and transformative characteristics of habitus, this chapter has captured both continuity and change of the coastal society in Lunga.

Habitus generates a wide range of possible actions, at the same time transforming and constraining individuals' actions. Bourdieu sees this as a mechanism that reproduces people's social conditions but in an unpredictable and complicated way (1990c: 87). The habitus therefore is not something that can be predicted despite its tendency to reproduce practices familiar to certain cultural groupings. Reay (2004:433) emphasises the constraints and demands of habitus on individuals. She sees habitus as "a complex interplay between past and present" (p. 434). Habitus is multi-layered: responsive to current circumstances, it internalizes them as yet another layer added to the earlier ones and this way being re-structured by people's relations with the world.

Bourdieu's work on social reproduction through education attracts criticism for his seemingly automatic notions of power, domination and determined view of human agency (Giroux 1983; Hey 2003). Bourdieu's work is sometimes viewed as locked in a reproductive cycle without room for social modification or a change. Reay (2004) critiqued "the contemporary fashion of overlaying research analyses with Bourdieu's concepts, including habitus, rather than making the concepts work in the context of the data and the research settings" (p.432).

Reay considers habitus as an open and fluid concept with a strong relevance to empirical work (438-439), quoting Bourdieu himself seeing habitus as "in a continual process of being reworked". I found that using habitus as the conceptual tool helps the research to be much broader than the specific focus on schooling. My respondents - fishers, teachers, traditional authorities etc. - are active agents in their social worlds. Studying them through the habitus lens highlights the ways in which these worlds were created and defined.

Individual and collective habituses

Habitus is constituted by a person's individual history; however, Bourdieu also defines a collective understanding of habitus, based on marks of the individuals' social positions within a family, class or cultural grouping (Bourdieu 1990b:82). In this chapter I have extended the concept of collective habitus. I attempted to work with "coastal habitus", recognizing its duality. My respondents talked in the biographical interviews about their individual trajectories, but their stories always included some collective elements: they were placed in the larger contexts of a family, clan or the Lungan coastal society they felt they were a member.

Coastal habitus can be viewed as a compilation of the more complex individual habituses, moving from the individual cases to the collective one and recognizing its duality. Coastal habitus is depicted by several attributes that combine Bourdieu's conceptualizations; by manifestations of the fishers' masculinities, reverence to Islam, relation to the authorities in the past and present, ambivalence to schooling, strong identification with the place widely described as Lunga, and

the dramatic experiences from the time of the civil war. In this way, coastal habitus captures muliti-layered indentities of Lungans, embodying their ambiguities of their historical relationship with the local and the global.

In this chapter I demonstrated a more multi-layered set of perspectives to construct coastal habituses. The concept of coastal habitus includes the discrepancy between a collective (structural) habitus and actor differences. The case studies of Cohaneque, Amir and Ibraimo demonstrated diverse types and spaces for agency among and between the different groups living in the Lunga area. It seems that the young generation's views (Cohaneque and Amir) differ from the the older members of the coastal communities (Ibraimo, Mr.T., Agostinho Siquilata). It appears that there are shifts in marginality and generational aspects. Cohaneque and Amir do not demonstrate a very negative attitude towards education – the former sees schooling as a way to escape to the city while the latter values the utility of the school for his life goals. Lungans' dislike of education may be more of a notion produced by the teachers, (the significant Others on the coast), to the ambivalence associated with the collective coastal habitus.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

Mending the fishing nets (Motomonho, 17/06/2011).

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

This chapter summarizes and draws together the main arguments of the thesis and highlights the key findings that contribute to the understanding of the ambivalent attitudes towards education in Lunga as the expression how coastal habitus plays in educational matters. I also touch briefly upon implications and some areas in which research might be taken forward in the future.

I began this analysis asking what are the meanings and utility of schooling and how they are shaped by the cultural history of the coastal societies in northern Mozambique. I made a claim about a specific coastal habitus in Lunga that could influence the way schooling is being perceived in this particular social milieu. The attitudes of the coastal peoples towards schooling do not seem to manifest an absolute opposition; it is clearly a different situation to the cases of Latin America (indigenous movements, popular schooling). In Lunga there is no visible clash between the local expressions of public education and the people. Schools are there; pupils frequent them, albeit irregularly and are likely to drop out; also there are cases of adults returning to complete their education often after a prolonged break. Moreover there seems to be no significant alternative to state-provided schooling. In particular, the madrassas schools, once flourishing, seem to be in a constant decline. The question therefore remains of the reasons of such ambivalence. I am suggesting here that answer could be found in the following dimensions of the Lungan coastal habitus.

I presented evidence regarding heterogeneous practices, attitudes and motivations with regard to schooling and other forms of education in Chapter Three. I analysed how different types of education and learning domains are embedded in, or foreign to, local social practices and thus valorized in different

ways. Schooling vis-à-vis political ideology also pointed towards the questions of political power, suggesting that Lungans' ambivalence about the utility of schooling may be seen as one of the dilemmas of citizenship in contemporary Mozambique.

The local history, ever present in Lunga, and reconstruction of people's historical experience are the main topics of Chapter Four. The abandoned catholic chapel-school buildings, the destroyed bridge or the desolate remains of colonial splendor in the isolated Administrative Post were the physical evidence of history that kept on surfacing in the most of my respondents narratives. It is reflected in this thesis in a constant dialogue between the historical past and the present of the coastal communities. In Chapter Four I situated the research within the cultural and historical context based on the theory of bifurcated state (Mamdani, 1996) and then moved to the specific cases of Agostinho Siquilata, Regulo Movere and other respondents from Lunga. These examples illustrated people's awareness and efforts in negotiating their livelihoods and identities against the political circumstances that were beyond their control.

I explored further these themes in Chapter Five, focusing on the second dimension which is the specific mode of coastal life invariably connected with the sea and the everyday struggle against uncertainty and exclusion. The coastal Lungans considered fishing as a viable and subsistent livelihood base and find other economic resources distant and out of reach. The fishing skills acquisition is invaluable for the community members to live within their structural constraints. The struggle over the relative value of schooling versus coastal-based knowledge therefore ensued.

In Chapter Six I contrast schooling to the other education domains presented in Chapter Three. I discuss the position and the role of a teacher as a physical representation of the 'Other' of the margin, similarly to the roles of other state

officials. Their perspectives play an important part in construction of the coastal habitus in Lunga.

In Chapter Seven I demonstrated how the coastal societies in Lunga responded to some of the social and livelihood conditions. While in Chapter Four I aimed at reconstructing the historical experiences of the coastal communities, the following chapters were based on the living experiences of people. Studying these two dimensions allowed me to see how people themselves provided interpretations from their contexts and examine them in relation to the histories and policies. In effect, coastal habitus emerged: a complex and intriguing picture of people acting as conscious agents dealing with the undiscussed and undisputed.

Under the concept of coastal habitus - embodied matrix of dispositions, categories of perception and classification of practices - I returned to the issues raised in the previous chapters. Habitus, acquired unconsciously from early childhood, can refer to individual and collective levels (Bourdieu 1992, Reay 2004). Lungan collective coastal habitus, with its elements of local history, religion and common identification with coastal modes of life represents complexity and messiness of history and people's lives immersed in it. I presented three different case studies of coastal habitus from my respondents' individual biographical histories. Their perceptions of educational practices were culturally mediated responses to the collective uncertainty and marginalization of the coastal livelihoods. They acknowledged presence of school, and in some cases recognized its utilitarian value, but they did not see schooling as essential for their survival.

In this concluding chapter I capture and discuss meta-themes emerging from the findings. I argue that schooling is a site of political struggle and examine how this struggle is perceived in the coastal milieu. Reaching deeply in the cultural past of Lunga I linked people's reconstructed experiences with their daily lives in the

present day. Bourdieu's concept of habitus helps in comparing the two dimensions of their retrospective interpretation of history and coherent resistance with unconscious and undisputed, ambivalent responses in the present day.

8.1 Historical past in present

This thesis is situated in the coastal habitus of the fishing communities of northern Mozambique. The themes of place and space played an important role in creating and reproducing the specific identity of the coastal society who had always revealed the deep distrust towards authorities of the state. The continuum of global-to-local underlies their specific situation. During the fieldwork in Lunga I found on many occasions that historical past was present in the contemporary lives of the people studied. They were aware of it and passed the local history from generation to generation. The exceptional example of preservation and continuity of the local linages along with the historical events of Portuguese domination and establishment of Marxism can be seen in the narrative of Regulo Movere of Lunga in Chapter Three.

Similarly to the case of Regulo Movere, the coastal people negotiated their lives among the political and historical circumstances, resisting the imposition of control and attempting to avoid unwanted structures. Rafael da Conceiçao suggests that "the process of exclusion of coastal societies from the economic and political power was initiated by the consolidation of colonial power in the beginning of twentieth century" (2006: 33). The end of colonialism and the power seized by Frelimo with its revolutionary discourse represent a final coup on the pride and history of the coastal elites, considered then contra-revolutionary:

> Expelled as a historical protagonist, they find refuge in the identity of exclusion, ostracism, in the pride of being closed in themselves, in their embittered memories, and their hate towards exterior (da Conceição 2006:34).

8.2 Schooling as a site of political struggle

History of state sponsored schooling in Mozambique is evidently connected with colonization. The idea of education system for the *indigenas* surfaced after the slow and gradual end of slavery when it became urgent to adapt Africans to the other forms of production, and later, acquiring a profession (Cabaço 2010; Newitt 1995). Fluency in Portuguese was necessary for this purpose, and also it was an essential symbol of the colonization process. The Mozambicans could acquire the 'civilized' *assimilado* status, provided they proved their fluency in Portuguese (Mondlane, 1976). In effect, the local languages were banned from institutions and made social mobility totally dependent on knowledge of Portuguese and indispensable in pursuit of, however limited, socioeconomic dividends.

Upon the independence in 1975 that situation had not changed. A new education system was built in order to eliminate the colonial capitalist legacy and lay foundations of the new productive country of the *Homem Novo*:

> Education aims to replace the tradition, its rigid dogma. The system of class, age, initiation rites, aims to integrate the old ideas in the youth, destroying their initiative. All that is new, different and unknown is attacked in name of tradition. This prevents all progress and society continues in its immobility (Machel, 1973:3).

Portuguese was adopted as the official language – although with a new ideological context. It was:

> (…) a well considered and carefully examined political decision, aimed at one objective – the preservation of national unity and the integrity of the territory. The history of appropriation of the Portuguese language as a factor of unity and leveler of differences dates back to the foundation of Frelimo in 1962 (Ganhão, 1979: 6).

Portuguese was carefully cultivated through schooling and literacy campaigns as a language of power and authority, with the aim of unifying the nation as well as the ranks of Frelimo. Through the legitimacy and power of the language, Frelimo sought to construct legitimacy of their political power, "underscoring the moral excellence of the Frelimo cadres and their right and authority to rule" (Stroud, 2002: 263).

Newly independent Mozambique retained centralized institutional structures reminiscent of Frelimo's colonial predecessors despite a radical ideological shift. From the instrument of colonial domination, schooling became a vehicle of new Marxist ideology. The state launched vigorous campaigns to eradicate the colonial legacy and made a tremendous effort in establishing "an appealing array of ingredients with which to build a new education system as a part of newly independent, productive country" (Brook-Napier 2010:372).

Despite this rhetoric, however, educational reforms were subordinated to the prioritized economic development. The initial advances were halted by the civil war and destruction of infrastructure, compromising MINED's capacity to oversee the sector (Errante, 2009). The Cold War added to the legacy of colonialism in shaping the state system. In a situation where arbitrarily drawn colonial borders contributed to the ethnic grievances, compounded with a Renamo destabilization strategy introduced initially from Rhodesia and after 1980 from South Africa, Frelimo soon could no longer exercise state functions of providing security and social services to its citizens and lost its monopoly on violence and state

bureaucracy. Civilians were targeted indiscriminately as well as "administration buildings, primary and secondary schools, and health posts (that) were all projections of the FRELIMO state – which was responsible for tens or hundreds of thousands of deaths – and 'therefore legitimate targets'" to induce government response (Hultman, 2008:826). Violence perpetrated by Renamo forced the closing of more than 2,700 schools between 1983 and 1987, displacing 460,000 students and 7,350 teachers, according to a UNICEF-funded study by the Mozambican Education Ministry. The study reported 193 teachers killed and 185 kidnapped in that period (Askin, 1988:9): "Renamo and its South African backers seem imbued with ''this mad vision of Pol Pot destroying everything that could have a connection with the past or with social advancement,'' added former Mozambican Security Minister Sergio Vieira[78] " (idem). Remarkably, Vieira was a director of the Centre of African Studies of Eduardo Mondlane University between 1987 and 1992.

The civil war of the 1980s was undoubtedly one of the most traumatic experiences of the coastal communities: the mass exodus of 1987 from Lunga was etched in the memories of my respondents. However, their attitudes towards the rebels were not clear and most of my respondents refrained from explicit criticism of, or admitting their affiliation with Renamo.

> It appears that the vast majority of Renamo's military, political and administrative personnel who served during the war were captured. It must be stressed, however, that the meaning of having been "kidnapped" or "captured" varied. Some were simply caught in an attack and taken entirely against their own will. Others claim to have arranged to be captured, while others were surprised in atatcks but "did not bother to run away". (…) They found

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[78] Sergio Vieira – b. 1941, one of the founders and high ranking officials of Frelimo; former Minister of Security and Director of the Central Bank of the Machel regime; between 1987-1992 director of the Center of the African Studies of the Eduardo Mondlane University. Notably, Vieira was on of the most enthusiastic formulators of the idea of the *Homem Novo* in Mozambique. (Source: Fernandes 2013:39).

themselves in the middle of Renamo attack and then "couldn't leave." Some would then add that they "didn't really want to leave either" (Manning, 2002:84).

Christian Geffray (1991) argues that Renamo was a chance for rural youth to escape the despair and frustration of their daily lives. In his study based in Nampula Province he noted that there were no economic opportunities available for young people despite Frelimo's promises. On the community level, however, he observed an opportunity of "recuperation of an insulted identity" and return to the traditional values suppressed by Frelimo. Significantly, Geffray described the consequences of duality of education system in the bifurcated state: "the city and its literate, educated and lusophone population belongs to Frelimo" (in Manning, 2002:86).

Geffray's arguments may have initiated a shift in the paradigm where it became possible to be critical towards the Frelimo socialist project. It is interesting to note that introduction of local languages and curriculum changes, as well as reform of pre-service education and in-service training of teachers, improvement of teachers' salary level and other conditions of service were given attention around 1990. But according to Takala (1998), the concerns of education system improvements arise and are discussed every five years under pressure of approaching elections:

> Overall, there are no such differences between the Government's education sector policy documents of 1990 and 1995 which would give reason to infer that the emergence of competitors to the Frelimo Government in the arena of elections has led to changes in the Government's educational policy after 1990 (Takala, 1998: 327).

8.3 Complexities and resistances of coastal habitus

The coastal habitus is fundamentally connected with Islam. According to da Conceição (2006), Bonate (2008) and Alpers (1999 and 2001), Islam is a defining factor of the identity of the coastal societies of northern Mozambique. It was also a decisive factor contributing to the gradual exclusion of the coastal societies from the social, political and economic life in the country.

> The history of Islam in both the Comoros and Mozambique dates back many centuries, but both experienced a significant revival in the ardor of their belief and practice from the second half of the nineteenth century as part of the wider reform currents sweeping the world of Islam and the Muslim response to the forcible imposition of European colonial rule in Africa and the islands (Alpers, 2001: 84).

The introduction of the colonial education system in the north was invariably connected to Catholicism; the Catholic missions ran most of the primary schools as *escolas-capelas*. Conversion to Catholicism was "the unique means of social promotion" (da Conceição 2006: 190). The coastal societies stayed loyal to their old life principles and Muslim religion. The question if it was a conscious decision of resistance against the colonial domination remains open; as a result, the majority of the members of coastal societies placed themselves on the margins of the *assimilação* process.

The independence of 1975 brought about revolutionary rhetoric of popular democracy and building a socialist state for all citizens and creating the one Nation. How could this affect the coastal societies?

Frelimo's imposed ideology of "scientific socialism" in order to eliminate any tribal, ethnic, racial or religious differences. The "one Nation" should also be free of any social practices deemed "obscurantist" or "backward". The Islam, along with

initiation rites, traditional spiritual healing as well as religious teachings in madrassas was banned. Frelimo thus undermined the legitimacy of basic structures of coastal chieftainship authorities. Bonate (2008) describes events of harassment and victimization of Muslims on many occasions, among others, upon returning from *hajj* as alleged "reactionaries".

> It was the historical northern Mozambican Muslim leadership that suffered more than any other group because the state actively sought to eliminate the pillars of their authority in both religious and African 'traditional' domains. The new government seemed to have conveniently forgotten about Muslim participation in the liberation war in northern Mozambique (Bonate, 2008:643).

Understandably, the coastal societies became hostile towards the newly installed power. They responded in a similar manner as they had done to the Portuguese. Feeling persecuted, they opposed the new authorities by distancing themselves – the Administrative Post of Lunga still stands alone and miles away from any local settlement despite the excellent location and the font of potable water. Commerce and fishing were done clandestinely, and religious rituals performed in the most discreet form. "Today, the new whites are all coming from Maputo"– remarked one of the respondents in Antonio da Conceição's (2006:189) study of fishers in Cabo Delgado.

Coastal habitus is resistant to schooling also because of its another key attribute - the patriarchal culture of masculinity and economic power:

> The psychological characteristics of fishermen show remarkable similarities cross-culturally. There is substantial evidence that fishermen in many societies are aggressive, courageous, and independent. This is perhaps to be expected in a dangerous occupation where decisions must be made by one's self and quickly" (Acheson, 1981: 296).

Their control over the commercial catch marks the basis of the masculine authority domain. Rejection of schooling seems to fit with the masculine tradition of being born fishermen.

Schooling stands in a direct opposition to this lifestyle. Teachers in Lunga are strangers from another communities, convinced about their superiority and incredulous about the local resistance and lifestyle choices. Deployed for an imprecise number of years, teachers journey from their remote work location back to their homes and back again. This may be an effort to prove the unity of the country; the teachers may be considered as mediators of the nationhood, and importantly, they will be forced to propagate the official language of the state. In their capacity of intellectuals they also proliferate literature of the national leadership. The majority of Lungans did however not consider the non-fishing life trajectory valued and promoted at school viable.

Lunga has been an ungoverned periphery for a long time, representing both a challenge and a threat to the colonial and post-colonial authorities (Pinto Correia 1938; Melo Branquinho 1969; Hanlon and Waterhouse 1994). It became a home to the fugitive group who as much as resisted authorities, it was never prepared for a direct opposition to them; instead, they sought for alternative lifestyles outside of the state structure. James Scott describes the forms of resistance of "relatively powerless groups" as

> foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, (…) feigned ignorance, (…) and so on. (…) They require little or no coordination or planning; they make use of implicit understandings and informal networks; they often represent a form of individual self-help; they typically avoid any direct, symbolic confrontation with authority (Scott 1985: xvi).

These attitudes however are a manifestation of a conscientious drive of resistance of powerless, dominated people. My observations from Lunga differ from this view.

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The antagonism towards schooling and state authorities did not take shape as a coherent form of "false compliance" or determined planned sabotage; instead, it took form of ambivalence.

8.4 Contribution to a wider field of enquiry

The literature of the latter half of the twentieth century is rich in the discourses on ambivalence of education, especially concerning the issues of inequalities and social reproduction. Bourdieu (1977) wrote extensively about the role of education reinforcing the dominance of the particular social groups, reflecting their culture and interests through their possession of available cultural resources. Wills' (1977) study of British 'lads' changed the general idea of passive students subjected to social reproduction. On the contrary, the working class students actively and consciously resisted the schooling's "middle class" ideology, in effect getting working class jobs. It is important to note that it was not schooling that conformed them to their social position, but the youth themselves were "very much a part of the dynamic process" (Levinson and Holland 1996:9).

Michael Corbett analysis of schooling in the Nova Scotia fishing community also concludes that the people he studied were "aware of these forces that work to displace and integrate them and of how 'experts' in schools have tried to help at least some of them to become modern, functional, deployable strangers in the landscape of modern capitalism" (2007:256).

The coastal habitus and ambivalence to schooling also challenges the usual policy discourses about de-pollicised education being a universal social good (UNICEF 2013a and 2013b; World Bank, 2013). The main discourses endorse education as

a major factor in development as "critical to a nation's comparative advantage" (World Bank 2013). World Bank, the single largest source of funding for education programmes aims to tie education to the national economic interests addressing the "surging demand for secondary education in many parts of the world" that "offers developing countries an invaluable opportunity to prepare a well-trained workforce can generate growth in a knowledge-driven economy" (World Bank, 2013). Clearly, it affirms the state sponsored education as subject to the market and defines it as a competitive good.

In Lunga schooling does not even seem to be a space of debate or intervention. Coastal habitus working on unconscious level makes the ambivalent attitudes pass unquestioned. There is neither a decided opposition towards schools, nor a support and drive for the educational benefits. Lungans present a very indifferent stand towards schooling, which in turn makes the schools lose their institutional meaning and status. School and its credentials are out of the local channels of recognition. Could separation of education from direct state control give a greater autonomy to the local communities in the inclusion of indigenous perspectives? The differences between indigenous and state assumptions about production and uses of knowledge should be addressed. Presently, school and home for Lungan pupils reveal opposing culture norms and may devalue the pupils' traditional worldviews and coastal lifestyles. Situated in a domain of complex, unquestioned area of social activity without a clear narrative of opposition, ambivalence to schooling seems to be the only response.

8.5 Implications and future avenues for research

> Education is always a tool of emancipation as well as of oppression. By taking school seriously and acquiring formal education, individuals resisted some things and capitulated on others. The same is true of refusing education and staying in the local area (Corbett 2007:270).

The coastal discouragement over the formal schooling and their assessments of the utility of education involves issues of resource availability, knowledge, identity, language and power. It also illustrates that links between education and modernization can go unfulfilled when mass education fails to create "productive" citizens. In this context, the coastal communities' valorisation of their "traditional" identity and subsistent livelihoods is a cultural response to preserve their values in the contemporary world.

There are several possible avenues for this research to be taken forward in the future. Here I wish to touch briefly upon them.

The first concerns thinking more creatively around the role of the school in a specific cultural milieu. School could become a place where people could deal with complex problems of life on the coast and generate opportunities for the community. An abyss between the school and coastal life seems paradoxical given that the main objective of the education system is to provide its students with knowledge that should be used by them in daily life in improving their living conditions (MINED 2003). A topic for further research then may be what kind of mechanisms through which the school could become an organic part actively participating in the life on the coast.

The second, related area for future research concerns the question of how to manage and facilitate teachers' deployment to the problematic areas like Lunga.

The young, newly graduated teachers deployed temporarily to a remote part of the country find themselves in an ambiguous position between modern urban society on which their position is based and a rural community, from which they distance themselves in order to keep their position. They lack (or are unwilling to recognise) a fundamental knowledge about the impact of the dominant education discourses on marginalized communities. Additionally, the enormous pressure from the central government to present good enrolment and pass rate figures are compounded with increasing criticism from the public opinion about the low quality of teaching and declining teachers' morale.

Another area of research that has not been explored but merits a further enquiry is the impact on the coastal lives in the perspective of the new interest of the government in the possible investments in Lunga. In January 2011 the first secondary school opened in Motomonho and the plans about moving the Posto Admninstrativo from the isolated Lunga location to the central setting in Lagoa were announced, possibly motivated by the authorities' to change the colonial setting and get closer to the local community. There are also talks about establishing a new luxury tourist resort on the Lunga beach, similar to the existing in Chocas Mar in the northern part of Mossuril District. These investments would likely bring some infrastructure developments to the coast, one of which would be a long awaited reconstruction of the bridge on the Monapo River and electrification of the area. The Lungans however suspect a hidden agenda of the government of attempting to tighten a grip on a so far politically ambiguous territory. The latest clashes in the political arena in Mozambique confirm that

> 21 years after the peace accord Renamo is no longer a serious political force (…) while
> Frelimo, the ruling party, by contrast, has built an effective party machine similar to
> European parties, and the middle level leadership has substantial autonomy to work within

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guidelines set by the top leadership. And there is renewal, which changes at the top of the party (Hanlon, 2013).

With regards to the areas for policy debate and possible interventions, this research has shown the importance of a space and scope of schooling. We cannot assume that people have unquestioned committed attitudes towards state education – be it support or contestation. In Lunga there is a need to move schooling into an area of conscious debate.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of interviews conducted during the fieldwork

The template is as follows: [number], [name/"pseudonym"], [position], [organization/location], [date of interview], [age], [gender]. N/a means that information was unavailable.

Members of local institutions

Maputo:

3, J. Capaina, manager, IDPPE, 21/10/10, n/a, male

4, Rui Silva, director of IPPE, 22/10/10, n/a, male

5, Tania Pereira, manager, IPPE, 22/10/10, n/a, female

6, Elsa Alfaica, manager, INDE, 1/11/10, n/a, female

Leaders

7, Saide Marrufo, director, Nacala Muslim Agency, 22 and 23/11/10, n/a, male

10, Agostinho Siquilata, administrator, Frelimo, Mossuril, 6, 7, and 8/12/10, 75, male

17, Hafiz Jamu, sheikh, Ilha de Moc., 14/02/11, 37, male

24, Badur Ali, sheikh, Muanangome, 26/02/11, 40+, male

29, Alfane Tauria, regulo Movere, Lagoa, 9, 11, and 15/05/11, 51, male

41, Rafa Pereira, Chefe de Posto, Lunga, 21/06/11, 40+, female

42, J. Naite, director of IDPPE, Nacala, 26/06/11, n/a, male

43, J. Romualdo, project officer, IDPPE, Nacala and Lunga, 26 and 30/06/11, n/a, male

Teachers

8, Joao Lundo, director of the Education Dept, Ilha de Moc, 2/12/10, n/a, male

9, Mario Paciano, director of the Education Dept, Mossuril, 6/12/10, n/a, male

12, H.B., teacher, Motomonho, 13/12/10; 8/01/11; 27, male

19, E.H.J., school director, Motomonho, 18/02/11, 41, male

21, Rosalia Mariquele, teacher, Motomonho, 19/02/11, 23, female

22, David Macamo, teacher, Motomonho, 19/02/11 + several other occasions, 20, male

26, C.A., teacher, Muanangome, 20 and 23/03/11, 40+, male

27, Americo F., teacher, Magomano, 23/03/11, 28, male

33, Antonio F., teacher, Muanangome, 18/05/11, 32, male

34, Jorge Agostinho, teacher, Muanangome, 18,19 and 20/03/11, 33, male

37, "Albino", school director, Muanangome, 20, 21, 23/05/11, 50+, male

Fishermen

11, "Mr O", fisherman/carpenter, Lunga, 12 and 13/12/10; 7/01/11, 58, male

20, "Mr U", fisherman, Lagoa, 19/02/11, 30+, male

35, "Amir", fisherman, Muanangome, 18/05/11, 34, male

36, "Adamo", fisherman, Muanangome, 19/05/11, 30, male

38, "Ibraimo", fisherman, Motomonho, 23/05/11, 17/06/11, 57, male

39, "Abdul", fisherman, Magomano, 27/05/11, 28, male

40, "Mussagy", fisherman/boat constructor, Muanangome, 20/05/11, 32, male

Elders

13, "Mr T.", humu/shopkeeper, Motomonho, various occasions, 64, male

14, M.Mussagy, elder, Motomonho, 10/02/11, 50+, male

15, U. Xabuto, elder, Motomonho, 10/02/11, 50+, male

16, X. Mucussede, elder, Motomonho, 10/02/11, 50+, male

Others

18, Ayuba Ussene, carpenter, Lunga, 16/02/11; 11/03/11; 60, male

23, Albino M., enterpreneur, Ilha de Moc, 22/02/11, 55, male

25, Vitramo, curandeiro, Motomonho, 19/03/11, 60+, male

28, "Celia", bar owner, Motomonho, 3/05/11, 39, female

31, "Cohaneque", student, Motomonho, 17/05/11 and many other occasions, 16, male

32, B., student, Motomonho, 20/05/11, 15, female

Appendix 2: Linguistic diversity of Mozambique

Figure A1: Mozambique's largest language groups (L1) with percentage of speakers.
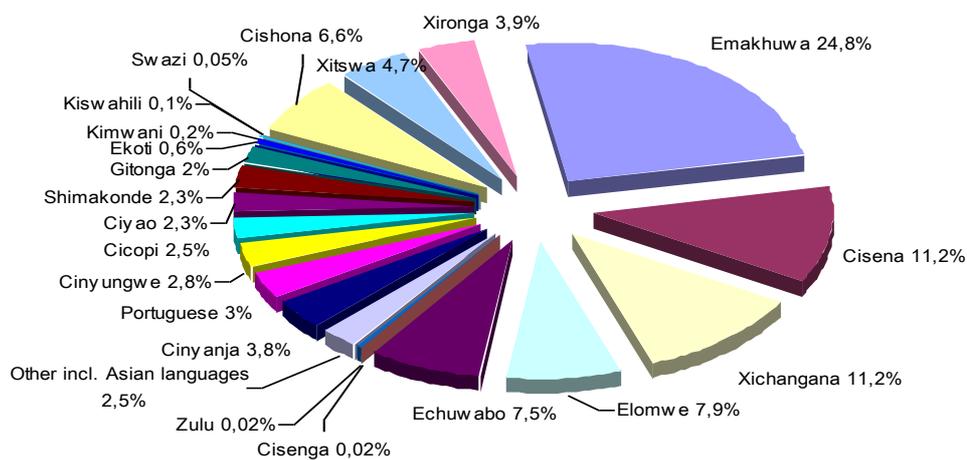
Source: Inquérito Nacional aos Agregados Familiares sobre Condições de Vida, Resultados Gerais. Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Maputo, 1998.

Ranking as one of top 15 linguistically most diverse countries in Africa (Lopes, 1998), Mozambique is in a situation where no local language can impose hegemony over the others. This fact has several implications – higher probability of political stability, as well as certain social and power relationships. Some of the local languages, constituting a minority in Mozambique, spread over the national borders, as in the case of

> Kiswahili and Shimakonde spreading north to the neighbouring state of Tanzania. Ciyao spreads to Malawi and Tanzania. Cinyanja spreads to Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia. Elomwe and Cisena are also home languages in Malawi. Cishona spreads to Zimbabwe. Xichangana is shared by South Africa, where it is known as Shangaan (or also Tsonga).

The same is true of Zulu. As for Swazi, it is shared by the Kingdom of Swaziland, where it

is termed siSwati (Lopes, 1998: 446).

The regional multilingualism is revealed by informal economies; "itinerant salesmen travel from Mozambique to South Africa and Zimbabwe using Zulu or Changana" (Stroud, 2003: 26) instead of metropolitan languages. This form of social organization encompasses a local reaction to global developments (ibid). It is interesting to note that Arabic is not included in the surveys and statistics, being usually referred as a 'language used for religious purposes'. *Al-Quraan* (the Koran) is being taught in madrassas throughout predominantly Muslim Northern Provinces.

Figure A2: Language Map of Mozambique
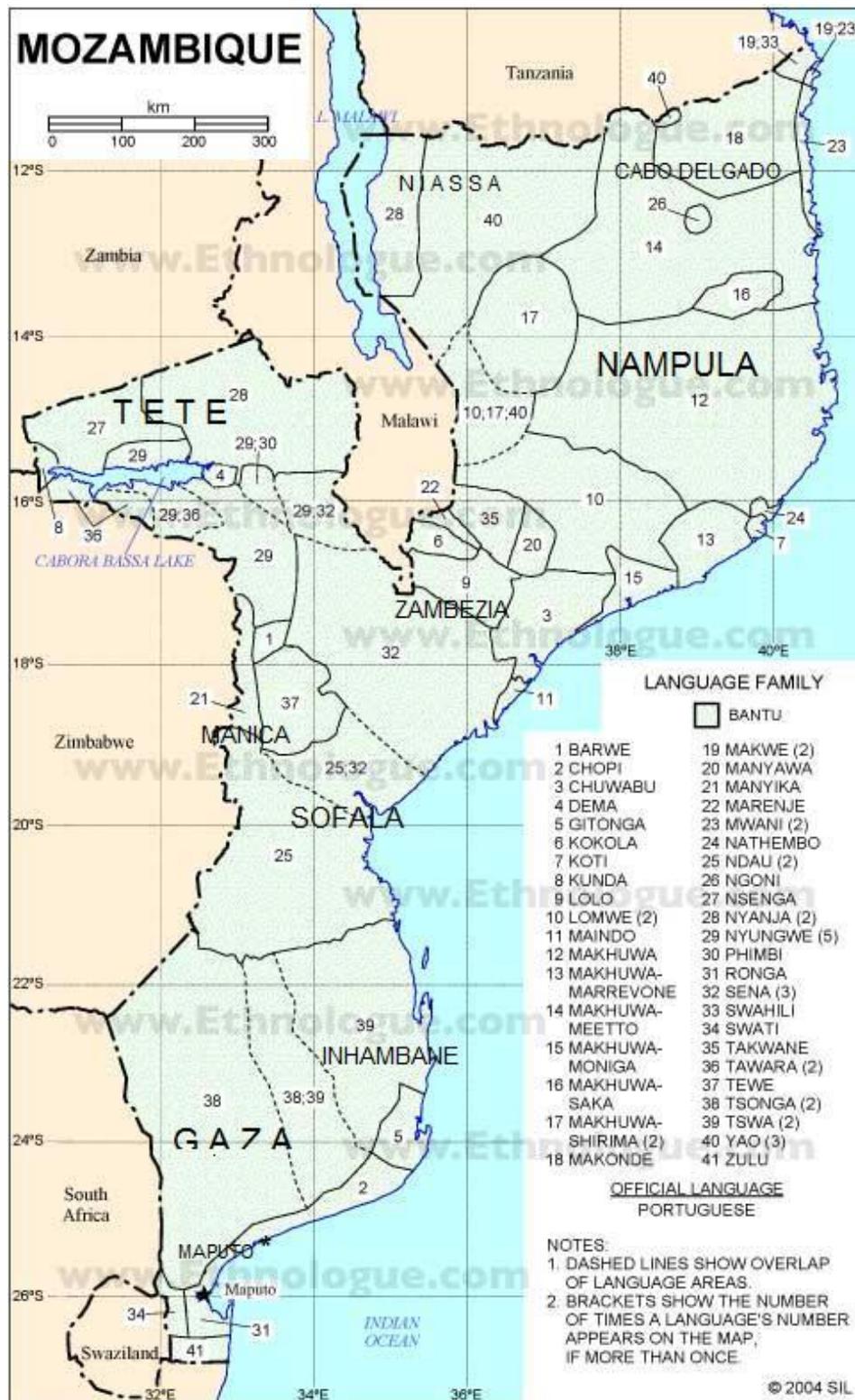
Source: Gordon (2005)

Appendix 3. List of materials obtained from the fieldwork

	Details	A type of material	Obtained from	Contribution to topics
1	INDE, w/d ca. 2006. Sugestoes para abordagem do curriculo local.	Teachers manual	Elsa Alfaica, INDE, Maputo, 1 November 2010	Local curriculum, contents and ways of teaching
2	Fernando, D. (1996) A organizacao social na sociedade tradicional. Ministerio da Administracao Estatal, Maputo	Brochure	Elizabeth Szabo, Universidade Catolica de Mocambique, Nampula, April 2011	Matrilineal societies, traditional authorities
3	Viegas, A (2010) Lunga: a guisa de retrospectiva.	Brochure	Erasmo Tocota, Universidade Pedagogica, Nampula, April 2011	Historical past of Lunga area. Catholic mission schools in the 1950's.
4	Waterval Islamic Institute (2000) Durussul Isslam. W I I, Johannesburg	4 brochures	Monika Nielsen, UEA 2012 & Badur Ali, March 2011, Muanangome	Examples of madrassa teaching materials
5	Document of Alfane Tauria to the Administration of Mossuril District, 1995	PDF of the original document	Alfane Tauria, May 2011, Lunga	Details of the historical past of the Lunga traditional rulers (regulado Movere)
6	Melo Branquinho, J.A. Gomes, de (1969) *Relatório da Prospecção ao Distrito de Moçambique (Um estudo das estruturas das hierarquias tradicionais e religiosas, e da situação político-social)*	PDF of the fragments of original documents	Arquivos Historicos de Mocambique, Maputo, June 2011	Historical background from 1960's. Colonial interests and handling of the religious and traditional leaders in Lunga area
7	Instituto Nacional de Investigacao Pesqueira (2010) Resumo Trimestral das Capturas Totais por Arte por Província Amostrada	ME file with raw data	Tania Pereira, INDP, Maputo, October 2010	National official data on fishing methods and catch (per province)
8	Carducci G (1998) Um programa de desenvolvimento humano sustentavel e conservacao integral	PDF document	Liazzat Bonate & J Chabane, Universidade de Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, Oct 2010	Background information on Ilha de Mocambique

9	Ministerio de Administracao Estatal (2005) Perfil de Distrito de Mossuril	PDF document	L Bonate & J Chabane	Background data on Mossuril district
10	INDE/MINED Mocambique (2008) Programa das Disciplinas do Ensino Basico III Ciclo. INDE, Maputo	MW document	Ventura Caetano, Escola de professors Chimoio, February 2011	Teaching objectives of civic and moral education (6th and 7th grade)
12	Mualeque, D O et al. (2009) Grau de implementacao do sistema de informacao estatistica da pesca artesanal e avaliacao do estado de exploracao dos recursos accesiveis a pesca atersanal em Nampula	MW document	Tania Pereira, Instituto nacional da Investigacao Pesqueira, Maputo, October 2010	Statistical data on artesanal fishing and use of natural resources
13	IDPPE (2009) Recenseamento da pesca atersanal 2007. Principais resultados.	Brochure	Rui Silva, IDPPE, Maputo, October 2010	Statistical data on artesanal fishing
14	Artigo 74 (Carlos Cardoso) – from Edu Civica e Moral, 6a classe	JPEG file	Cochanca Salimo, Motomonho, March 2011	
15	Calendario de actividades (Adult education – literacy classes)	JPEG file	Ossufo Abudo, Motomonho, July 2011	Calendar of activities of the adult literacy classes
16	Lesson plan for the Portuguese, 2nd gradelesson (handmade by the teacher)	JPEG file	David Macamo, 20 June 2011	Contents and way of school teaching
17	A map of Lunga area (handmade)	JPEG file	Rafa Pereira, Chefe de posto Adm de Lunga, 21 june 2011	
18	6 instructional leaflets for fishermen (IDPPE)	6 leaflets	Joao Romualdo, Lunga, July 2011	Artesanal fishing. Also literacy + relation between institutions and fishers

EXMO SENHOR ADMINISTRADOR DO DISTRITO DE MOSSURIL-

MOSSURIL

EXPOSIÇÃO

ALFANE TAURIA, maior de 46 anos de idade, filho de Tauria Sulujama e de Muara Simba, e Issa Sumaila, maior de 43 anos de idade, filho de Sumaila Muiranzana e de Mariamo Simba, ambos naturais e residente no Posto Administrativo de Lunga-Distrito de Mossuril, herdeiros legítimos do Regulado Mover, vem por este meio, respeitosamente expor a V.Excia o seguinte:

Os exponentes são herdeiros do Regulado Mover e assim passam informar detalhadamente a origem do Regulo Mover.

O Malogrado Mover, era um capitão de guerra tradicional e na altura chamava-se Mover Mutianaro. Este dirigiu a terra com a residência fixa em Milapane, actual Parra. Antes de chegada dos colonos Portugueses, o referido Mover dirigiu terra como Rei, isto para dizer que antes do colonialismo Português, a terra estava dividida em zonas e com a sua respectiva estrutura tradicional. Assim passam a citar que em Mossuril estava o Rei Mucuto-Muno, Lunga estava o Rei Mover e em Mogincual estava o Rei Mucupore.

O Mover foi Rei de Mutomonho e dirigiu a área até a sua morte. Após da morte deste, foi substituido pelo seu irmão de nome Mover Nanzaia Pithanha, que também dirigiu e depois de um longo tempo, veio apanhar a morte doentiamente.

Quando este morreu, entrou o seu sobrinho denominado por SATACA, tendo dirigido o império Mover, e depois de alguns anos conscidiu com a chegada dos Portugueses e ele recebeu na qualidade de dono da terra. Havido um Senhor chamado Moiide Natecume, que na altu-

ra teria pedido ao Rei SATACA,para que lhe desse um terreno para fi-
xar a sua residência e o referido Rei cedeu.Com a chegada dos colo-
nos em Moçambique em particular nas zonas do Rei Mover,o Molide Na-
tecume adiantou e fez contactos segredamente aos Portugueses e pediu
para que fosse colocado como Regulo da zona,ainda mas sem direito.

E este,conforme as possibilidades que tinha e como na altu-
ra o Rei SATACA estava muito velho,então o Natecume conseguiu derro-
ta e acabando por ocupar o lugar sem a vontade da maioria.

E assim,surgiu que qualquer pedido que os colonos quesessem
na zona,tinham que delegar o Molide Natecume para dar a Ordem e =
ao mesmo tempo passou a responder como Regulo,sem consentimento do
Rei Mover.Porém o indicado Molide Natecume,chegou ao ponto de passar
como Regulo da zona,segundo aproximação que teve com os Portugueses,
e não como o dono da terra.O referido Molide Nantacuane,era proveni-
ente da zona de Quivulane-Mogedoria Panto.

Paralelamente,na visita feita pelo GOVERNADOR GERAL DE NOME
HEGINIO GRAVEIRO LOPES,o Rei Sataca deu a sua intervenção apresenta-
ndo assim que aquela terra lhe pertencia e não era do Molide Natecu-
me,porque teria feito calunias e passou como Regulo.E como o Rei Sa-
taca não tinha conhecimentos acadêmicos,os Portugueses apreceberam
em como estava ofendê-los. E conforme a vingança do Senhor Molide Na-
tecume que na altura era tido Regulo,falou com os Portugueses para
prender o Rei legitimo da terra e preço como sobrinho de Mover,por-
que estava exigir o seu direito do Regulado.

Depois de preço do Rei Sataca,então o Molide Natecume,ficou
mandar livremente e logo que este faleceu,o seu sobrinho de ALUPA MO-
MADE,ficou inscrito como sucessor para ficar no lugar do tio.E na
altura o referido sucessor era pequeno,este não conseguiu assumir a
sua responsabilidade,porque a idade não correspondia para o tal car-
go.

Porém, na falta deste, entrou o seu tio de nome MUMADE ATUMANE, como família do Nolide Natecume e não como o familiar do SATACA (MOVER).

Então em 1965, família Mover, começou revindicar o seu direito do regulado. No ano de 1969, os Portugueses e através do Chefe do Posto Administrativo da Lunga, o Exmo Senhor MENTOSA, informou a família Mover para que procurasse um elemento na tribo, capaz e com uma certa idade e habilitações literárias para retornar no poder ao Regulo Mover. Estando em estudo para haver uma designação de uma família que se encontrava na escola, capaz e com uma certa idoniedade de mandar, e o assunto fracassou com a chegada da FRELIMO, virtude dos colonos terem abandonado o País.

Verificando-se a procuração feita pelo Governo da FRELIMO, para plantação da estrutura tradicional no País, mais Outra vez foi reconduzido ao cargo o Senhor AIUPA, Mucub, ainda sem direito.

Assim, os exponentes como donos do Regulado Mover, solicitam a Excia, para que este assunto, seja estudado para se conseguir a via mais viável para devolução do Regulado aos donos ligitimos com direito, conforme rege a exposição, pelo que,

AGUARDA-SE A INTERVENÇÃO DE V.EXCIA

Alta consideração

Mossuril, aos 2 de Novembro de 1995.-

José Sucumilo

Alfane Taurá

Appendix 5: The credentials from University of East Anglia and Ministerio de Educação de Moçambqiue

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
University of East Anglia

UEA
University of East Anglia

School of International Development
Faculty of Social Sciences

University of East Anglia
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

Email: dev.general@uea.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 1603 592329
Fax: +44 (0) 1603 451999

www.uea.ac.uk/dev

7 September 2010

Dear Sir / Madam,

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr Przemyslaw Antoni Wojcik
UEA Registration Number: 3307166

This is to confirm that the above-named student is registered as a full-time postgraduate (PhD) student with the School of International Development at the University of East Anglia.

Mr Wojcik is currently conducting fieldwork for his doctoral thesis on 'Education and Citizenship in Mozambican Fishing Communities'. He intends to conduct fieldwork in Mozambique between 14th October 2010 – September 10th 2011.

If you have any queries regarding Mr Wojcik's research project, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me at the email address below.

Yours sincerely,

Bryan Maddox (Dr.)
Senior lecturer in Education and Development & PhD supervisor for Przemyslaw Antoni Wojcik
E-mail: b.maddox@uea.ac.uk

Head of School's Office
School of International Development
University of East Anglia
Norwich NR4 7TJ
UK

THE QUEEN'S
ANNIVERSARY PRIZES
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2009

06/12/010

REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE
_____
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO
DIRECÇÃO NACIONAL DE EDUCAÇÃO GERAL

À
DPEC Nampula

Serve-se a presente para credenciar o senhor **Przemyslaw Antoni Wojcik**, estudante do curso de Pós-Graduação em Desenvolvimento Internacional, no Reino Unido, para realizar trabalhos de pesquisa sobre o tema Educação e Cidadania nas Sociedades Costeiras em Moçambique nessa Província.

Cordiais saudações.

Maputo, 03 de Novembro de 2010

A Directora Nacional

Antuia Mogne Soverano
(Docente de N1)
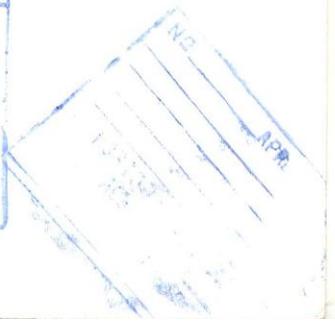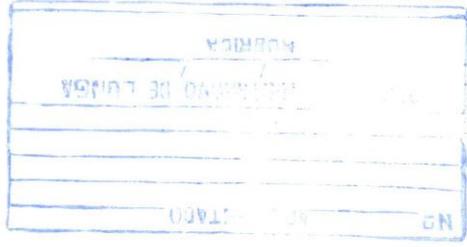
Appendix 6: The consent form (in Portuguese and English translation)

O CONSENSO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO NA PESQUISA

Educação e cidadania nas comunidades costeiras em Moçambique

Eis e a proposta da participação na pesquisa sendo feita pelo sr. Antoni Wojcik de departamento de Estudos de Desenvolvimento na Universidade de East Anglia em Norwich, Reino Unido. A sua participacao e enteiramnte voluntaria. Por favour le a informação em baixo e nao hesita perguntar sobre quaisquer duvidas antes de decidir sobre a sua participação.

O Proposito da Pesquisa

A pesquisa pretende investigar o papel da educaco em processo de construccao da activa cidadania nas comunidades costeiras em Mocambique e em particular procura de:

- Investigar as maneiras nas quais as varias formas da provisao de educacao pode contribuir a reproduccao social e as relacoes das comunidades pesceiras com o estado?

- Considerar as duvidas sobre a relevancia da escolaridade nas comunidades de pesca e as diferencas entre ambiente urbano e rural no curriculum

- Investigar o significado ea manifestação de cidadania, como pode ser alcançada no contexto das comunidades de pesca e que, necessariamente, beneficiá-las?

- Explorar as maneiras que as comunidades piscatórias interagam com o fornecimento do estado, o seu conhecimento e acesso à informação sobre os seus direitos e deveres, e as provas e as percepções da educação em ajudar as pessoas a articular essas demandas.

Accesso E Confidencialidade.

Esta pesquisa tem o character participatorio e e feita com a intenção de partilhar com todas as partes interesadas na area de educação, iste e, o Ministerio de Educação e Cultura de Moçambique no nivel distrital e provincial, ou qualquer Escola Primaria ou instituto de treinamento ou capacitação dos professores. Porem, se existir qualquer informação sensivel ou pessoal fornecida por sua parte, ha de ficar retida ou anonima.

Participação E Retirada.

A sua participação nesta pesquisa e enteiramente voluntaria.

Se decidir de participar, voce esta livre de retirar o seu consenso e nao continuar com a participação no qualquer momento.

Assinatura do Participante

Eu lei e entendi a informacao fornecida em cima; fui dado a oportunidade de fazer perguntas e todas as minhas perguntas foram respondidas satisfactoriamente.

Assinando este formulario, eu concordo a participar na pesquisa em cima descrita.

_____   _____

   Nome de participante   Assinatura

Assinatura de researcher

Tinha explicado a pesquisa ao sujeito e respondi todas as perguntas dele/a.

_____

Assinatura

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Education and citizenship in the Mozambican fishing communities

This is the offer to participate in a research study by Antoni Wojcik from the department of Development Studies at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Please read the information below, and do not hesitate to ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to investigate the role of education in the process of building of active citizenship in the coastal communities in Mozambique. In particular, it seeks to investigate the ways in which various forms of educational provision might contribute to the social reproduction and relations with the state; the differences between rural and urban settings in the curriculum; the meaning, expressions and benefits of citizenship; and the ways that fishing communities interact with state provision, their duties and rights, and the perceptions of education in helping people to articulate their demands.

Right to refuse or end participation in the study

If you agree to join this study, we can agree a time for the first interview which is convenient for you. You can decide not to participate in this study. If you agree to participate, at any time you have the right to refuse to answer any question that you do not want to discuss, and you can stop an interview at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you decide to withdraw from the study at any time, it will not adversely affect you in any way.

Study procedures

I will visit your household, at a time convenient to you, to spend approximately 2 hours asking you questions about your opinions regarding schooling and other forms of education; migrations in the fishing communities; the languages spoken in the community and taught at school; your community's relations with the local and traditional authorities; the problems concerning your daily life and your community and your views on democracy and the government.

Confidentiality

Your name or any facts that could identify you or your family will not appear in any report of this study. All of your answers will be confidential and cannot be traced back to you, your children or other household members. The interview notes will be kept in a locked filing cabinet or on a computer that only study staff can use.

Risks

We do not envisage any risks in the study if you choose to participate but in case some questions make you feel uncomfortable, you may refuse to answer them or you can also stop the interview at any time.

Signature of participant.

I have read, or someone has read to me, and I understand the information provided above. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

By signing this form, I willingly agree to participate in the research it describes.

_____   _____

     Name of participant   Signature

Signature of researcher.

I have explained the research to the subject, and answered all of his or her questions

_____

     Signature

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